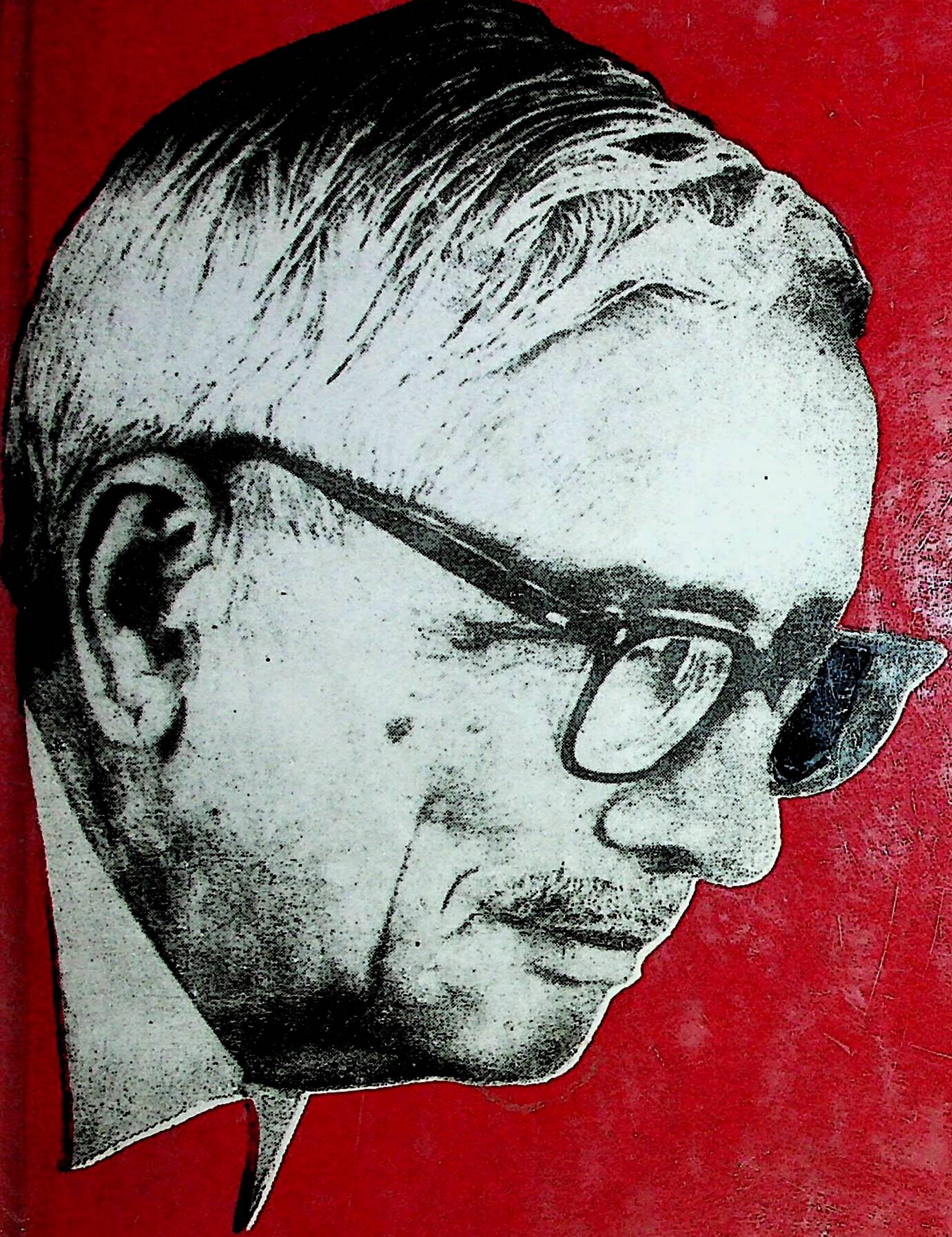
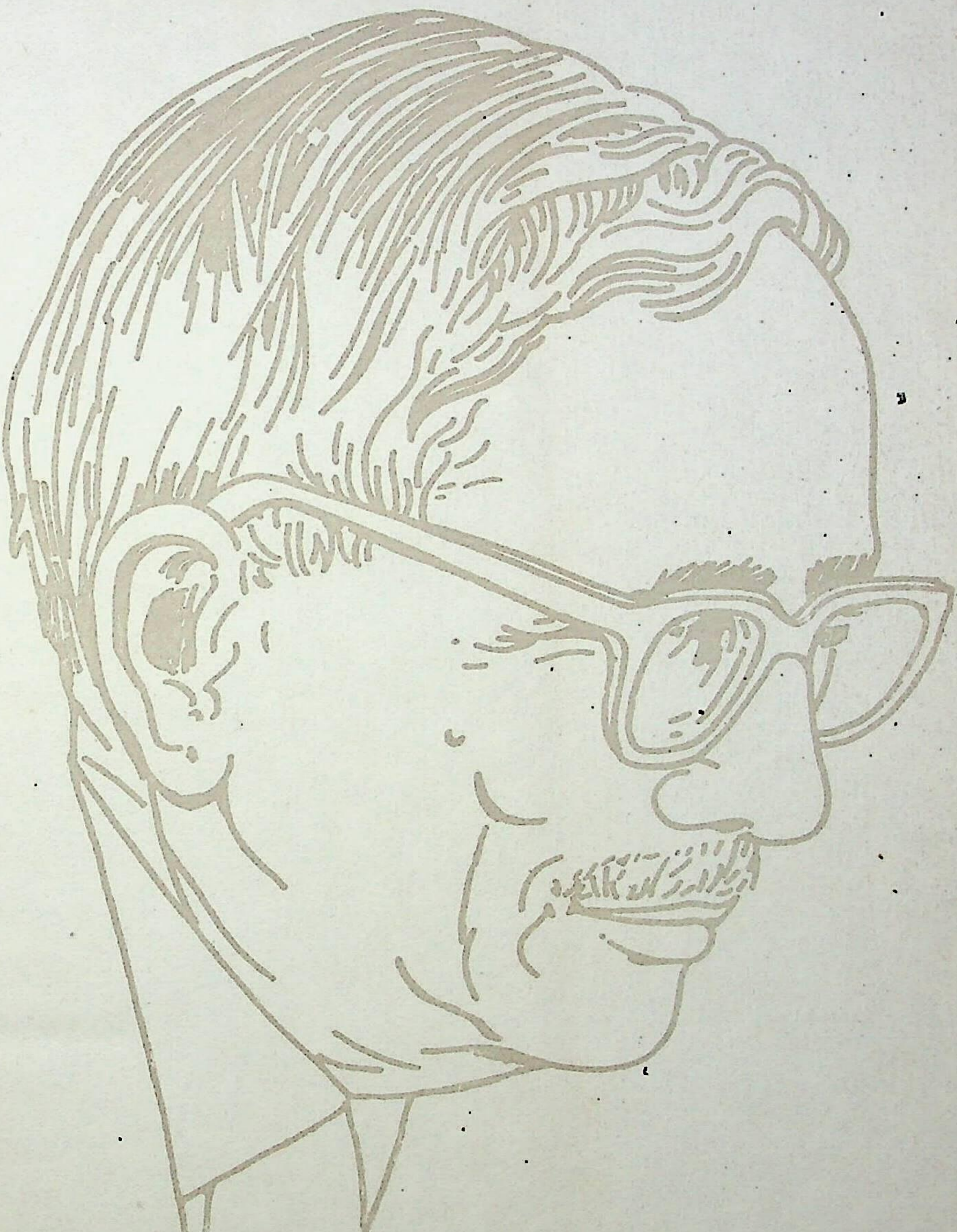


ऋतम्
श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह स्मृत्यङ्कः

Ṛtam
Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha Commemoration Volume



ऋतम्

श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह—स्मृत्यङ्क

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Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha Commemoration Volume

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सम्पादकीय

विद्वत्समाज के समक्ष 'ऋतम्' के इस विशेषांक को प्रस्तुत करते हुए मुझे सुख-दुःख की मिश्रित अनुभूति हो रही है। सुख इस वात का है कि, बिलम्ब से ही सही, यह अंक अन्ततोगत्वा प्रकाशित हो रहा है। दुःख इस बात के लिए है कि जिस विशेषांक के द्वारा हम अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद्, लखनऊ के संस्थापक-मन्त्री तथा 'ऋतम्' के प्रवर्तक श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी का अभिनन्दन करना चाहते थे उसकी नियति यह है कि आज वह उनकी स्मृति में प्रकाशित हो रहा है। 'श्रेयांसि बहुबिघ्नानि'। प्रस्तुत विशेषांक के प्रकाशन में भी प्रारम्भ से ही अनेक विघ्न-बाधायें उत्पन्न होती गयीं। इस विशेषांक के प्रस्ताव की सूचना श्री सिंह को देनी ही थी, क्योंकि 'ऋतम्' के परामर्शदाता सम्पादक मण्डल के सदस्य होने के साथ ही वह परिषद् के मन्त्री भी थे और उनकी अनुमति के बिना विशेषांक का प्रकाशन सम्भव न था। प्रचार और प्रशंसा से सदैव दूर रहकर संस्कृत तथा हिन्दी के लिए रचनात्मक कार्य के प्रति निष्ठावान् श्री सिंह जी ने बलपूर्वक इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध किया। कारण यह नहीं था कि वह परिषद् द्वारा किसी नवीन प्रकाशन के विरोधी थे। कारण था तो केवल उनकी सहज विनम्रता। मेरे प्रति उनका जो स्नेह था तथा उन्होंने मुझे जो स्वतन्त्रता दे रखी थी, उसी के बल पर बड़ी कठिनाई से मैं उन्हें इस बात पर सहमत कर सका था कि वह अपने विरोध को संयत रखें।

विशेषांक के लिए मैंने विद्वानों के साथ पत्र-व्यवहार प्रारम्भ ही किया था कि मुझे त्यूरिन विश्वविद्यालय (इटली) में प्राच्यविद्यासंस्थान के निदेशक प्रो० बोत्तो के साथ बहुविध कार्यों में सहयोग देने तथा त्यूरिन स्थित चेज्म्यो नामक मध्य तथा सुदूर पूर्व विद्याओं के अध्ययन के लिए संस्थापित संस्थान में कार्य करने का उत्तरदायित्व स्वीकार करना पड़ा। अनेक लेख मेरी अनुपस्थिति में ही प्राप्त हुए थे। मेरा इटली प्रवास जनवरी, ८३ के मध्य से जूलाई, ८५ तक था। वर्ष १९८४ का अन्तिम चरण परिषद् के लिये अत्यन्त अशुभ सिद्ध हुआ। १२ नवम्बर, १९८४ को काल के कराल करों ने हम सबसे श्री गोपालचन्द्र सिंह जी को छीन लिया। वह परिषद् के संस्थापक तो थे ही, परिषद् से सम्बद्ध सभी लोगों के लिये प्रेरणास्रोत भी थे। अभी हमारे अश्रु सूखने भी न पाये थे कि २६ नवम्बर, १९८४ को परिषद् के निदेशक (प्रशासन), डा० काशी प्रसाद श्रीवास्तव जी, का भी निधन हो गया। इन दोनों महानुभावों की मृत्यु परिषद् के लिए तो वज्रपात थी ही, उनके आश्रितों, मित्रों तथा प्रशंसकों के लिए एक ऐसा आघात था, जिसकी स्मृतियाँ अभी भी शेष हैं। मैं अपने आपको अपराधी समझता हूँ, क्योंकि यदि मैं विदेश न

चला गया होता, तो सम्भवतः यह विशेषांक अभिनन्दन अंक ही होता, किन्तु नियति तो कुछ और ही थी ! मैं उन सभी विद्वान् लेखकों से भी क्षमायाचना करना चाहता हूं, जिन्हें अपनी कृतियों को मुद्रित रूप में देखने के लिए इतने दीर्घकाल तक प्रतीक्षा करनी पड़ी है । मुझे आशा है कि उनका सहयोग मुझे भविष्य में भी प्राप्त होता रहेगा, क्योंकि उनके बहुमूल्य सहयोग के बिना 'ऋतम्' का प्रकाशन तथा उसका उच्च स्तर बनाये रखना सम्भव ही नहीं है ।

'ऋतम्' के विगत तथा प्रस्तुत अंकों के अन्तराल में परिषद् के अनेक हितैषी तथा संस्कृत के विद्वान् भी दिवंगत हो चुके हैं । इनमें से कुछ हैं–भारत की भूतपूर्व प्रधान मन्त्री और परिषद् की सम्मान्य पारिषद, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी; परिषद् के सम्मान्य पारिषद, डा० जनार्दन दत्त शुक्ल; दैनिक आज (वाराणसी) के सम्पादक श्री विद्याभास्कर; सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी में पालि के अवकाश प्राप्त प्राचार्य, पं० जगन्नाथ उपाध्याय; परिषद् के विशिष्ट पारिषद, श्री रामचन्द्र सिंह (स्वामी राम); परिषद् के सम्मान्य पारिषद, डा० राधाकृष्ण, परिषद् के सम्मान्य पारिषद, प्रो० ए० एल० बाशम; 'ऋतम्' के स्थायी लेखक तथा संस्कृत और भारती विद्या के विद्वान् प्रो० वी० वी० मिराशी और परिषद् की कार्यकारिणी समिति के भूतपूर्व सदस्य, डा० धर्मेन्द्र नाथ शास्त्री । इन दिवंगत महानुभावों की स्मृतियों में मैं अपनी श्रद्धासुमनाञ्जलियां अर्पित कर रहा हूं ।

मैं 'ऋतम्' के परामर्शदाता सम्पादकमण्डल का भी अत्यन्त आभारी हूँ, जिनके निर्देशन तथा सहयोग के बिना मेरे लिए 'ऋतम्' जैसी शोधपत्रिका के सम्पादन का भार बहन कर सकना सम्भव ही नहीं है । अपने सह-सम्पादक, डा० अशोक कुमार कालिया, द्वारा प्रदत्त सहयोग के लिये उन्हें साधुवाद देना भी मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूं । मैं 'ऋतम्' के प्रकाशन के लिए वित्तीय सहायता प्रदान करने के लिए उत्तर प्रदेश शासन के सांस्कृतिक कार्य विभाग के प्रति भी आभार व्यक्त करता हूँ ।

प्रस्तुत विशेषांक के मुद्रण में पूनार मुद्रक के स्वामी श्री विश्वमोहन ने जो सहयोग मुझे प्रदान किया है, उसके लिए वह भी मेरी कृतज्ञता के पात्र हैं ।

१२ नवम्बर, १९८६ जगदम्बा प्रसाद सिनहा

Editorial Preface

I am presenting this Special Volume of the *Ṛtam* to the world of scholars with mixed feelings of pleasure and pain—pleasure, because, though late, the Volume has ultimately seen the light of the day, and pain, because the Special Volume which was planned to felicitate Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha, the Founder–Secretary of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow and the founder of the *Ṛtam*, was destined to be his Commemoration Volume. As the saying goes, there are numerous hurdles in the way of a good deed—*Śreyāṃsi bahuvighnāni*—the Special Volume envisaged some four years back had come across variety of problems. As soon as the idea to bring out a Special Volume of the *Ṛtam* was conveyed to Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha—because, besides being a member of the Advisory Editorial Board of the *Ṛtam*, he was the Secretary of the Parishad and no project could be undertaken without his permission—he opposed it tooth and nail, not because he was opposed to any new venture to be taken up by the Parishad, but because of his modesty and habit of remaining aloof, far from publicity. It was with great difficulty that, out of his extreme affection for me and the freedom he had given to me, I could persuade him not to press his opposition of the idea.

As soon as the scholars were approached for contributing their scholarly articles to the Volume, I was obliged to accept an assignment in the Centre for the Middle and Far-East (CESMEO) Studies in Turin (Italy) and to collaborate with Prof. O. Botto, Director, Oriental Institute, University of Turin (Italy). Most of the articles were received in my absence. I was away for about two and a half years from January 1983 till middle of July 1985. Besides, the last quarter of the year 1984 proved to be very inauspicious for the Parishad. It was on 12th of November that year that the architect of the Parishad and the man who was a source of inspiration to anybody and every body connected with the Parishad or one who came into his contact—Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha—was snatched away by the cruel hands of death. It was followed by the sad and untimely demise of Dr. K. P. Srivastava, the then Director (Administration) of the Parishad on Nov. 26, 1984. The death of these persons was like a bolt from the blue,

and a great shock for the Parishad and the vast circle of their friends and admirers, who could not recover from it even now. I feel personally guilty, because but for my long absence from India this Special Volume could, perhaps, have felicitated the great savant of Sanskrit and Hindi, as Shri Sinha was, but it was destined otherwise! I also owe an apology to the learned contributors whom I have kept waiting so long to see their writings in print. I crave their indulgence and earnestly hope that they will be kind enough to go on lending me their kind cooperation in future also, because the publication of the *Ṛtam* and to maintain its high standard is not possible without their valuable cooperation.

Since the publication of the last Volume of the *Ṛtam*, some more well-whishers of the Parishad and scholars of Sanskrit have passed away. I would like to make a special mention of the late Prime Minister of India, Smt. Indira Gandhi, Distinguished Member of the Parishad ; Dr. J. D. Shukla, Distinguished Member of the Parishad ; Shri Vidya Bhaskar, Editor the daily *Āja* (Varanasi) ; Sri Jagannath Upadhyaya, former Professor of Pāli in the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi ; Shri Ram Chandra Sinha (Alias Śwāmi Rāma), Special Member of the Parishad ; Dr. Radha Krishna, Distinguished Member of the Parishad ; Prof. A. L. Basham, Distinguished Member of the Parishad ; Prof. V. V. Mirashi, great Sanskrit scholar and a regular contributor to the *Ṛtam*, and Dr. D. N. Shastri, former Member of the Executive Committee of the Parishad. I bow in reverence to the sacred memories of all of them.

I am extremely grateful to the learned members of the Advisory Editorial Board, but for whose guidance and active cooperation it would not have been possible for me to shoulder the onerous responsibility of editing the *Ṛtam*. I also thank Dr. A.K. Kalia, Associate Editor for, the unreserved cooperation he has given to me in bringing out the *Ṛtam* in this form. I am also thankful to the Department of Cultural Affairs, Government of Uttar Pradesh for the financial assistance generously given for bringing out this Journal.

My thanks are also due to Sri Vishwa Mohan, Proprietor of the Pnar Mudrak for the pains he has taken in printing this Volume against odds.

November 12, 1986

J. P. Sinha

AKHILA BHARATIYA SANSKRIT PARISHAD, LUCKNOW

Introduction

The Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow was started under the inspiration and kind patronage of the late Acharya Narendra Deva, the late Dr. Sampurnanand, the late Prof. K. A. S. Iyer and the late Sri Gopal Chandra Sinha in the year 1951 and was registered under the Societies' Registration Act, 1860 in the same year. Since then it has steadily grown on and is now one of the prominent research institutes of Northern India.

The aims and objects of the Parishad are as follows :—

1. Propagation of Sanskrit language and literature ;
2. Translation of Sanskrit works in Hindi and other languages and their publication ;
3. Editing and publication of Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛta manuscripts and of such published books as are either rare and out-of-print or stand in need of critical edition ;
4. Search and collection of Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛta manuscripts ;
5. Establishment of Sanskrit libraries, reading-rooms and repositories ;
6. Carrying on, encouraging and fostering research in all branches of Indology ;
7. Establishment of contact with Indian and foreign Sanskritists and Indologists and institutions where Indological studies are being carried on ;
8. Taking such other steps as may be necessary for propagation of Sanskrit language and literature and for researches in Indology.

XVIII

Activities

The Parishad is engaged in the following among other activities :—

1. *Running a Library and a Reading Room* : The Parishad possesses a library in the city of Lucknow at a place which is not far off from the main educational centres of the city. Besides manuscripts, the library contains a litle over 15,000 printed volumes, of which quite a large number represent works which are now rare and out of print. Attached to the library there is a reading-room equipped with excellent seating arrangement. The library and the reading-room are made use of at an average by not less than 30 to 40 scholars every day, which is not a mean figure for a specialised library of this kind.

2. *Search and Collection of Manuscripts* : The Parishad has so far collected a little over 20,000 manuscripts, out of which some are on palm-leaf, some on birch-bark and the others on paper. Over 2000 of the manuscripts in the Parishad's collection are in the Śāradā or Kāśmiri script. The oldest manuscript in the Parishad's collection is of Vikrama Saṃvat 1452, corresponding to 1397 A.D., which is a little less than 600 years ago.

3. *Preparation and publication of Descriptive Catalogues of the manuscripts housed in the Parishad :* With financial assistance given by the Government of India the Parishad has already published in the First Series a Catalogue of 1304 manuscripts. Three Volumes of the Second Series comprising 4033 manuscripts have also been published and the fourth one is in the Press. The work of preparing a Catalogue of the remaining manuscripts is in progress. In fact, it is a continuing process.

4. *Preparing critical editions of old and rare works:* A book on astronomy entitled *Dhīkoṭidakaraṇa* was critically edited and published in No. I of the First Volume of the Journal along with an Introduction, English translation and notes. Another such work named *Bījagaṇitāvataṃsa* was also published with a critical Introduction in No. II of the First Volume. In the Special number of the Journal comprising Vols. II to VI was published yet another work named *Bālā-Tripurā-Stavanam*. *Bhaktistotra* was published in the

VII Volume. *Ācāryapañcāśat* by Veṅkaṭādhvarin, edited by Dr. A. K. Kalia was published in Volume X. *Śvātmopalabdhiśatakam* of Sīlhaṇa edited by Dr. S. V. Singh was included in the Dr. B. R. Saksena Felicitation Volume of the *Ṛtam*. *Praśnottaramaṇiratnamālā* edited by Dr. A. K. Kalia forms a part of the present Volume. Critical editions of *Śāntināthacarita* by Devasūri and *Prastāvaratnākara* by Haridāsa are under preparation and will be brought out shortly. The Parishad also wants to take up the work of preparing a critical edition of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* with the help of all its extant manuscripts, one of which is preserved in the Parishad's own collection. This manuscript, which is on birch-bark and in Śāradā script, is almost complete. The Government of India has got this manuscript laminated free of charge at the National Archives.

5. *Honouring Distinguished Sanskritists and Scholars of Indology* : In September 1967 the Parishad brought out and presented an *Abhinandana Grantha* to Dr. Gopinath Kavirāja. A Special Number of the *Ṛtam* comprising Vols. II to VI was presented to Prof. K. A. S. Iyer to honour and felicitate him in July, 1976. A Felicitation Volume was brought out in honour of Prof. Ludwik Sternbach of Paris in December, 1979 on the occasion of his 70th birthday. Vols. XI to XV of the *Ṛtam* were combined together as a Special Number to felicitate Dr. B. R. Saksena, an eminent Linguist and Sanskritist of international repute. Vol. XVI to XVIII have been combined in the present Special Volume which is being brought out in memory of the late Sri Gopal Chandra Sinha, Founder-Secretary of the Parishad. Other *Abhinandana Grantha*-s to be presented to some other very distinguished scholars are also in the Parishad's contemplation.

6. *Publications :* The Parishad has more than 35 publications. One Smt. Lakshmi Agrawal has created an endowment for establishing a book-series in order to perpetuate the memory of her parents. Other philanthropists are requested to make similar endowments for perpetuating the memory of their near and dear ones.

7. *Holding of academic meets and seminars :* A meeting in which some scholar or the other delivers a speech or reads a paper is a regular feature.

8. *Staging Sanskrit Dramas :* The Parishad has so far staged several Sanskrit dramas in the city of Lucknow. It also staged one Sanskrit drama in Varanasi and another in Ujjain. It wants to set up a permanent stage for such dramas but lacks the necessary funds.

9. *Research Work :* Research is one of the main functions of the Parishad, which is recognised as a Centre of Research for Ph. D. and D. Litt. degrees by the University of Kanpur and Avadh University Faizabad. The library together with its manuscripts-section is being equipped in such a way as to be most helpful in this matter. The publication of the present Journal is a step in the same direction and so was the publication of various *Abhinandana Grantha*-s. The Parishad has been very fortunate in getting the services of Dr. S. V. Singh to work as the Director of Research. Scholars wishing to do research under the auspices of the Parishad have the advantage of getting guidance also from the following :—

I. Dr. Kripa Shankar Shukla, Former Professor, Mathematics Department, Lucknow University.

II. Dr. M. L. Rastogi, Sanskrit Department, Lucknow University.

III. Dr. J. P. Sinha, Sanskrit Department, Lucknow University.

IV. Pandit Ram Narain Tripathi, former Head, Oriental Sanskrit Department, Lucknow University.

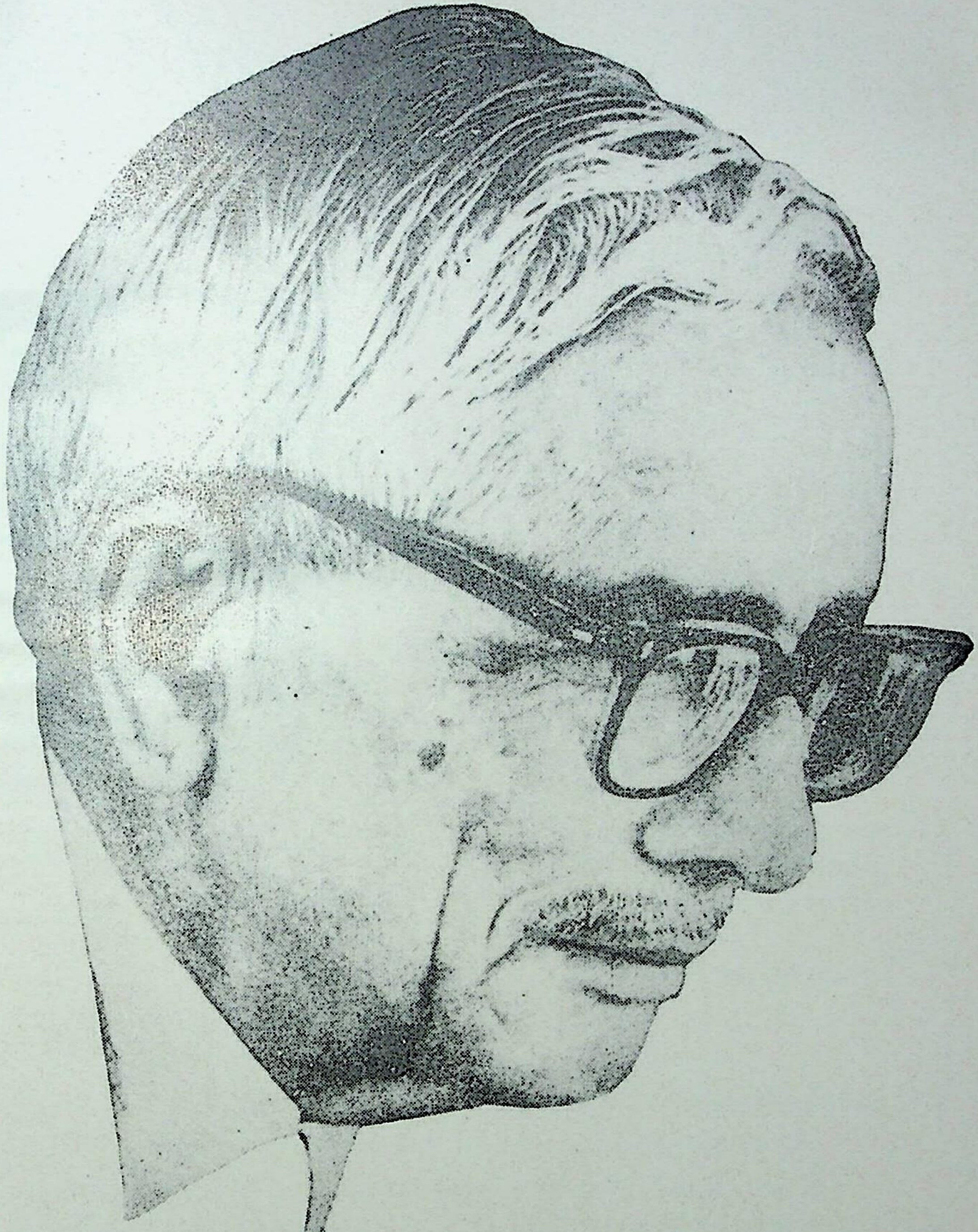
V. Dr. A. K. Kalia, Sanskrit Department, Lucknow University.

10. *Research Journal :* The *Ṛtam* is before the world of schalars and we are humbly proud of the acclaimation it has received from them.

11. *Sanskrit Magazine :* *Ajasrā* is a quarterly magazine of creative literature in Sanskrit. As many as fourteen issues have come out so far.

Management

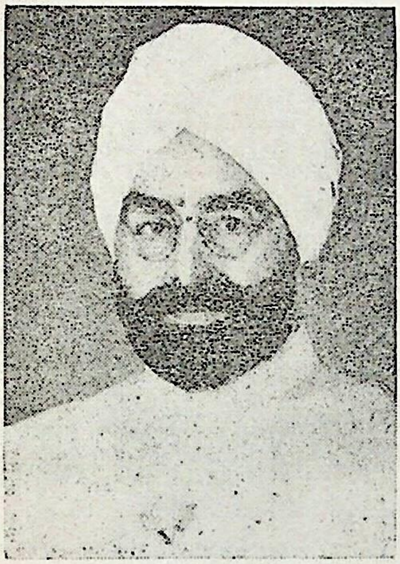
The Parishad is managed by an Executive Committee consisting of very eminent persons,



श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह

(२८ जूलाई, १९०१—१२ नवम्बर, १९८४)

Message



President's Secretariat
Rashtrapati Bhawan
New Delhi—110004

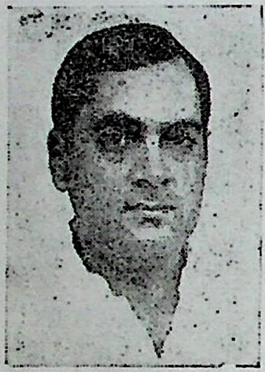
September 17, 1986

Dear Dr Sinha,

The President of India is glad to know that the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, is bringing out a special Volume in commemoration of Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha, Founder--Secretary of the Parishad on November 12, 1986. The President sends his greetings and best wishes on the occasion.

Yours sincerely,
K. SURYANARAYANA
(Press Secretary to the President)

Message



Prime Minister's Office
New Delhi—110011

August 26, 1986

Dear Dr. Sinha,

The Prime Minister is glad to know that the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, is bringing out a Special Volume of its research journal in memory of the late Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha on the occasion of his Second death anniversary. He sends his good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
PULOK CHATTERJI
(Deputy Secretary)

Message

सत्यमेव जयते

New Delhi
Dated : 8-9-1986

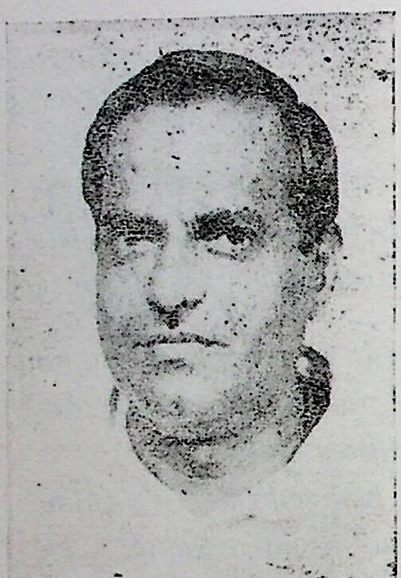
I am glad to learn that a Special Volume of Ṛtam is being brought out to commemorate the services of the late Sri Gopal Chandra Sinha to the cause of Hindi and Sanskrit

Sri Sinha was associated with many official and non-official bodies connected with the promotion of Hindi and Sanskrit languages and their literature. It is no exaggeration to say that Sri Sinha had dedicated his entire life for ensuring the growth of Hindi as our national language and also for the spread of the study of Sanskrit language and literature in all parts of the country. The contribution of Sanskrit as the link language in maintaining the unity of the country from ancient times has been significant. The rich cultural and linguistic traditions of the country, propagated by the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, have an important role in preserving and promoting the cohesiveness of the nation. The signal contributions of Sri Gopal Chandra Sinha in popularising Sanskrit and Hindi will long be remembered.

On this occasion of the 2nd death anniversary of Sri Sinha, I pay my respectful homage to the illustrious scholar.

BALRAM JAKHAR
(Speaker, Lok Sabha)

सन्देश



मुझे यह जानकर अत्यन्त प्रसन्नता हुई कि अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ अपने संस्थापक-मन्त्री, श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी, की स्मृति में 'ऋतम्' नामक शोधपत्रिका का विशेषाङ्क प्रकाशित करने जा रही है।

परिषद् देश की प्रमुख संस्था है, जिसने अपनी स्थापना के समय से ही संस्कृत के प्रचार-प्रसार और प्रोन्नयन के लिए सराहनीय कार्य किया है। संस्कृत तथा भारती विद्या से सम्बद्ध उसके प्रकाशनों के विषय में जानकर भी मुझे सन्तोष हुआ है।

श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह ने संस्कृत तथा हिन्दी की सेवा के लिए ही अपना जीवन समर्पित कर दिया और परिषद् जैसी संस्था की स्थापना की। उनका स्मरण करना परिषद् के लिए सर्वथा उचित है।

परिषद् के उज्ज्वल भविष्य के लिए तथा श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह स्मृत्यङ्क-समर्पण समारोह की सफलता के लिए मेरी शुभकामनायें।

बीर बहादुर सिंह

Message

Ministry of Human Resource Development
Shastri Bhawan, New Delhi-110001

September 25, 1986

Dear Dr. Sinha,

Please refer to your letter regarding the intention of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, to bring out a Special Volume of its research journal Ṛtam in memory of the late Sri Gopal Chandra Sinha, the Founder-Secretary of the Parishad on the occasion of his 2nd death anniversary on November 12, 1986. Although Shri Sinha worked in a different sphere, because of his deep devotion and dedication to the cause of Hindi and Sanskrit, he made significant contribution to popularise Sanskrit learning. I am sure that the Volume that you propose to bring out, will, by dealing with the contribution made by Shri Sinha, provide inspiration to all those who are concerned with an action in promoting Sanskrit learning.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
P. V. NARASIMHA RAO

Message

Minister of Steel and Mines
India
New Delhi-110011

26th September, 1986

I am glad to know that the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow is bringing out a Special Volume of its research journal 'Ṛtam' in memory of the late Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha.

It is a befitting token of gratitude towards one of the Parishad's founder-members.

I was happy to learn of the various activities the Parishad undertakes in the service of Sanskrit. Wishing you all the best in your venture.

K. C. PANT

Message

Minister of State for Commerce
India
New Delhi

September 3, 1886

Dear Shri Sanwal,

I am happy to note that the ABSP is bringing out a special volume of Ṛtam to express gratitude for the services rendered by Shri G.C. Sinha for the cause of promoting Hindi and Sanskrit.

Shri Sinha, as a Founder-Secretary of the ABSP made a very significant contribution in the development of the Parishad. Under his guidance, the Parishad could get recognition as a research institute and also able to develop a library containing manuscripts in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. Collection of these rare books and publication of research journal is in itself a very commendable job.

I wish the venture all success.

Yours sincerely,
BṚAHM ḌAṬT

संदेश

राज्यपाल, गुजरात
राजभवन
गांधीनगर-३८२०२०
गुजरात

८ सितम्बर, १९८६

मुझे यह जानकर बड़ी प्रसन्नता हुई कि अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह की द्वितीय पुण्यतिथि के अवसर पर एक विशेषांक निकालने जा रही है। स्व० श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह न केवल देवभांषा के प्रेमी थे बल्कि उन्होंने अपने आपको हिन्दी और संस्कृत के प्रचार व प्रसार में पूर्णरूप से समर्पित कर दिया था। संस्कृत-शिक्षा में सुधार लाने के लिए तथा विभिन्न शब्दकोषों के निर्माण में उनका महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान रहा है। अत एव परिषद् का उनके प्रति आभार प्रदर्शित करना सराहनीय निर्णय है। मैं इसका हृदय से स्वागत करता हूं। विशेषांक की सफलता के लिए मैं अपनी शुभकामनाएं भेजता हूं।

भवदीय
रामकृष्ण त्रिवेदी

सन्देश

त्रिभुवन प्रसाद तिवारी
उपराज्यपाल, पांडिचेरी

१० अक्तूबर, १९८६

स्व० श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी का व्यक्तित्व एक समर्पित विचारक, अध्येता और कर्मयोगी की छवि का पर्यायवाची है। उनके बारे में मेरी पहली जानकारी उस समय की है जब वह सचिवालय में सरकारी कामकाज में हिन्दी के व्यापक प्रयोग के बारे में आधारिक कार्य कर रहे थे। हम सब इससे भी प्रभावित थे कि जजी की तड़क-भड़क और शान को छोड़कर एक अकिञ्चन के तौर पर बहुत खामोशी से कार्यालय के एक कमरे में बैठकर, मां सरस्वती की आराधना का वरण उन्होंने किया था।

अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ के महामन्त्री के तौर पर उनसे फिर कुछ अधिक निकट आने का अवसर मिला। इस पद को जज साहब ने बहुत योग्यता और सफलता से सुशोभित किया। संस्कृत के प्रसार-प्रचार के लिए उनमें जो लगन और उत्साह था उसने बहुतों को प्रेरणा दी। दिल के मरीज़ और आँखों से कमजोर होते हुए भी, उनकी कार्यक्षमता, दौड़धूप या गति में कोई कमी नहीं आने पायी। संस्कृत-परिषद् का कार्यालय दोमंज़िले पर है। आमतौर पर भी ज़ीना चढ़ना उतरना कठिन होता है। पर वह नियमित रूप से कार्यालय में कार्य करते रहते। इसी तरह संस्कृत और परिषद् के काम के बारे में जिससे भी मिलना होता, अस्वस्थता के बावजूद वह भरपूर प्रयास करते रहते।

जज साहब बातचीत में अत्यन्त मधुर, विनम्रता की प्रतिमूर्ति और भारतीय संस्कृति की सजीव मिसाल थे। वास्तव में वह सचल तीर्थ थे जो पवित्रता तथा कर्मठता बिखेरते चलते थे। उनके निधन से समाज ने एक अनोखा रत्न खो दिया है। स्व० श्रद्धेय जज साहब को मैं अपनी श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित करता हूं।

त्रिभुवन प्रसाद तिवारी

सन्देश

प्रो० शीतला प्रसाद नगेन्द्र
कुलपति
लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय
लखनऊ

१५ अक्तूबर, १९८६

मुझे यह जानकर हर्ष हुआ कि अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद्, लखनऊ अपने भूतपूर्व संस्थापक-मंत्री श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह की स्मृति में अपनी शोध-पत्रिका "ऋतम्" का एक विशेषांक निकालने जा रही है। श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह ने संस्कृत भाषा और वाङ्मय को समकालीन भारतीय जीवन में प्रतिष्ठित करने में जो योगदान दिया है उसका मूल्यांकन असम्भव है। उनका समर्पित व्यक्तित्व था और वे भारती-विद्या, या यों कहिये कि सनातन परम्परा के उपासक थे। इस सन्देश के माध्यम से मैं श्री सिंह जी को अपनी भावाञ्जलि अर्पित करता हूं और ऋतम् के विशेषांक के सफल प्रकाशन के लिए शुभकामनायें भेजता हूं।

"ऋतम्" शब्द की व्यंजना बड़ी ही गूढ़ है अतः मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि जिस पत्रिका के मुख्य पृष्ठ पर यह शीर्षक होगा वह सचमुच ऋतम्भरा ही होगी।

शीतला प्रसाद नगेन्द्र

सन्देश

विशेष सचिव
मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्रालय
शिक्षा विभाग
नई दिल्ली

१७ अक्टूबर, १९८६

प्रिय श्री सिन्हा जी,

अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ के संस्थापक-मंत्री स्व० श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी की स्मृति में प्रकाशित की जाने वाली ऋतम् पत्रिका के विशेषांक के लिए आपने, अपने दिनांक ९ अक्टूबर, १९८६ के पत्र के माध्यम से मेरा सन्देश मांगा है। एतदर्थं धन्यवाद।

वस्तुतः श्री सिंह जी बड़े कर्मठ और सामाजिक समुत्थान के लिए समर्पित व्यक्ति थे। अन्य आवश्यक कार्यकलाप में व्यस्त रहते हुए भी वे हिन्दी तथा संस्कृत के लिए पर्याप्त समय निकालते थे। संस्कृत के प्रचार-प्रसार में उनका योगदान चिरस्मरणीय है।

स्वर्गीय श्री सिंह की स्मृति में प्रकाशित किये जाने वाले ऋतम् के विशेषांक के लिए मेरी शतशः शुभकामनाएं प्रेषित हैं।

आपका
किरीट जोशी

सन्देश

यह अत्यन्त प्रसन्नता का विषय है कि अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत–परिषद्, हज़रतगंज, लखनऊ अपने संस्थापक–मंत्री स्व० श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह की द्वितीय पुण्य तिथि पर ऋतम् का विशेषांक प्रकाशित कर रही है। स्व० सिंह जी परिषद् के सक्रिय उन्नायक और एकनिष्ठ सेवाव्रती थे। वे कर्मठ तथा परिश्रमी व्यक्ति थे। संस्कृत के प्रचार, प्रसार और समुन्नयन में उनकी अनन्य निष्ठा थी। उनका अद्वितीय योगदान चिरस्मरणीय रहेगा।

स्व० सिंह के प्रति श्रद्धास्वरूप प्रकाश्यमान इस विशेषांक के अवसर पर मेरी हार्दिक शुभकामनाएं स्वीकार करें।

जनार्दन प्रसाद सिंह
(वित्त सचिव)

Message

Ministry of Human Resource Development
Department of Culture
Government of India
New Delhi-110001

September 3, 1986

Dear Shri Sinha,

Thank you for your letter No. ABSB/418/86/87 dated 28 8 86, requesting therein to send my reminiscenses of Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha.

I came in contact of late Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha in 1981. His keen interest in Sanskrit language and literature and Indian Culture was exemplary. Even in the last days of his life, Shri Sinha continued to work for the promotion of the twin objectives so close to his heart. The Library of Sanskrit works and manuscripts is an existing monument of his work and devotion. During my short association with Shri Sinha I was impressed by his sincerity of purpose and human approach.

I regret that my association came late in the day with Shri Sinha. However, I fondly cherish the association and memories.

Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow is doing an appropriate work by bringing out a Special Commemoration Volume in memory of Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha, the Founder-Secretary of the Sanskrit Parishad.

Yours sincerely
R. C. TRIPATHI
(Joint Secretary)

सन्देश

सांस्कृतिक कार्य, सचिवालय
प्रशासन तथा पर्यटन
उत्तर प्रदेश शासन, लखनऊ

अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ की स्थापना वर्ष १९५१ के प्रारम्भ में आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव, स्व० डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द, स्व० प्रो०को०अ० सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर, स्व० श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह आदि प्रमुख व्यक्तियों की प्रेरणा, प्रोत्साहन तथा सक्रिय सहयोग से की गयी थी। तब से अब तक परिषद् ने अपने उद्देश्य तथा विकास की दिशा में अभूतपूर्व कार्य किया है। यह हर्ष का विषय है कि परिषद् को संस्कृत में पी-एच०डी० तथा डी०लिट्० उपाधि के लिए कानपुर विश्व-विद्यालय द्वारा शोध संस्थान के रूप में मान्यता प्राप्त है। इस परिषद् के पुस्तका-लय में संस्कृत, पालि और प्राकृत के लगभग बीस हजार हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों का वृहत् संग्रह है और लगभग इतनी ही संख्या में मुद्रित पुस्तकों का संग्रह है। निश्चय ही इन ग्रन्थों में बहुत से ग्रन्थ अप्राप्य और दुर्लभ हैं।

मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि परिषद श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह की स्मृति में ऋतम् नामक उच्चस्तरीय छमाही शोध-पत्रिका के विशेषांक का प्रकाशन भी कर रही है। मेरी शुभकामना है कि परिषद् निरन्तर अपने उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति और विकास की ओर अग्रसरित होती रहे।

सुरेन्द्र मोहन
सचिव

Message

Prof. O. Botto
Director
Istituto Di Orientalistica
University of Turin
Via S. Ottavio 20
10124, Torino (Italy)

The initative undertaken by the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow to honour with a Special Volume the great personality of the late Sri Gopal Chandra Sinha will not fail to meet the enthusiastic and admired approval of all Indologists.

The contribution he has made in various forms to the cause of the Sanskrit and Hindi studies is so impressive to arouse our· deepest admiration. To the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, therefore, goes all our gratitude and our wishes for the most complete success of this noble initiative of yours.

OSCAR BOTTO

Message

Instituut Voor Indische Talen
Culturen der Rijksuniversiteit
Institute of Indian Studies,
State University
Oude Boteringestraat 52. 9712 GL.
Groningen (Netherlands)

Dear Dr. Sinha,

In answer to your letter dated 21.7'86 I would like to tell you that I remember Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha as a man whe was honest and sincere, devoted to the study of India's heritage and a warm friend to everybody who made an appeal to his learning and generosity.

May the Parishad carry on the work initiated by him in his spirit.

Yours sincerely
H. T. BAKKER

Message

Professor & Head,
Deptt. of Sanskrit. Pali & Prakrit,
Faculty of Arts &
Director, Oriental Institute,
M.S. University of Baroda.
Lokmanya Tilak Road, Baroda

10th September, 1986

Dear Dr. Sinha

I am glad to read the brief account of the Parishad given in your letter. I am also glad to know that a Special volume in memory of Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha is going to be published on November 12, 1986. It is quite in the fitness of things that a volume in memory of and as a token of gratitude for the valuable services rendered by Shri Sinha to the Parishad in diverse ways is being brought out on the occasion of his second death anniversary on November, 12, 1986.

I pay my humble tribute to him and pray to the Almighty that your Parishad grows from more to more in the years to come.

I wish the function a grand success.

Yours Sincerely,
S. G. Kantawala

सन्देश

राजर्षि रणञ्जय सिंह (राजा)
भूपति भवन
अमेठी—२२७४०५
जनपद सुलतानपुर (उ०प्र०)

भाद्रपद, पूर्णिमा, २०४३ वि०

श्रीमन्महोदया',

ऋतम्-नामकस्य संस्कृतपत्रस्य प्रकाशनं भवद्भिः क्रियते इति विज्ञाय मनो मे मोमुद्यते । संस्कृतभाषा तु देवानां भाषा आसीत् । अस्यामेव भारतीया संस्कृतिः सन्निविष्टा वर्तते । अस्याः प्रचारेणैव देशस्य सम्पूर्णा समुन्नतिर्भविष्यति इति नात्र सन्देहलेशोऽपि दृश्यते । श्री गोपालचन्द्रसिंहमहोदयाः संस्कृतस्याऽनन्य-भक्ता आसन् । तेषां महानुभावानां स्मृतौ विशेषाङ्कप्रकाशनं तदनुरूपमेव ।

किम्बहुना विद्वत्सु,

विदुषां वशंवदः
रणञ्जयसिंहः

अन्तिम श्वास तक परिषद् का चिन्तन

पृष्ठाङ्कित हस्तलेख, जिसे जज साहब ने मरणान्तक आघात से केवल पाँच-छः घण्टे पूर्व लिखा था। क्रूर काल ने उनका यह पत्र पूर्ण न होने दिया, किन्तु इससे प्राचीन हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों की खोज और उनके संरक्षण के प्रति उनकी चिन्ता स्वयंसिद्ध है।

—सम्पादक

स्मरणीय / अन्तिम
हस्तलेख

दिनांक ११.११.२८ को
आतंक रोग से पीड़ित होने से
मृत्यु से पूर्व का लिखा हुआ पत्र
जिसे उन्हीं के सामने पं० [illegible]
प्रसाद शास्त्री जी ने पूरा किया था।

[illegible]
१५/११/२८

सेवा में -

संरक्षक,

शास्त्र-भंडार,

श्री दिगम्बर जैन मन्दिर,

चौक, लखनऊ।

विषय - शास्त्र-भंडार के ग्रन्थों की सूची

महोदय,

अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद्, लखनऊ संस्कृत और प्राकृत के प्रचार, प्रसार, एवं अध्ययन, अध्यापन और शोध में संलग्न एक साहित्यिक और सांस्कृतिक संस्था है।

2 उपर्युक्त परिषद् द्वारा एक हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ भाण्डार है, जिसमें अब तक लगभग 20,000 प्राचीन संस्कृत एवं अप्रकाशित हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ संगृहीत हो चुके हैं।

3. आपके शास्त्र भाण्डार में भी अनेक प्राचीन और महत्वपूर्ण हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ विद्यमान हैं।

4. हम चाहते हैं कि आप के शास्त्र-भाण्डार में विद्यमान ग्रन्थों की एक सूची, जो शोधकर्ताओं और सभी पाठकों के लिए बहुत उपयोगी होगी, अंकित करवाकर हमारी परिषद् में भी दें।

भवदीय

गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह
मंत्री

PART I

श्रीगोपालचन्द्रसिंहश्रद्धाञ्जल्यष्टकम्

सत्यव्रतसिंहः

पितृपैतामहं प्राप्तो देववाङ्मयशेवधिम् ।
गोपालचन्द्रसिंहो यः प्रमाणं संस्कृतात्मनाम् ।।१।।

अनुत्तरे प्रदेशेऽस्मिन्नद्याप्युत्तरनामके ।
सर्वसंस्कृतभक्तानां विद्यतेऽग्रेसरो हि यः ।।२।।

संस्कृतोत्थासु भाषासु हिन्दीत्याख्यां बिभर्ति या ।
राष्ट्रभाषा च याऽऽस्माकी तद्व्रतिर्यस्य विश्रुता ।।३।।

न्यायालयेषु निर्णीता वादानां यस्य निर्णयाः ।
आङ्ग्लशासनकालेऽपि हिन्दीभाषां व्यभूषयन् ।।४।।

स्वातन्त्र्योत्तरकालेऽपि भारते ते न सन्ति ये ।
गोपालचन्द्रसिंहस्य हिन्दीप्रेमाऽनुकुर्वते ।।५।।

देववाणीसुता हिन्दीभाषाऽतो येन देववाक्-
संराधनाय महती तपश्चर्या विधीयते ।।६।।

देववाणीसुधाम्भोधेः ग्रन्थरत्नानि गृह्णता ।
स्थापिता परिषद् येन देववाग्वेश्मसम्मिता ।।७।।

प्रथतां सुयशस्तस्य संस्कृतोद्धारकामिनः ।
दिव्ये यशःशरीरेऽस्मिन् स्थितस्यापि महात्मनः ।।८।।

गोपालगौरवम्

शारदाचरणदीक्षितः

श्रीः

या नित्या श्रुतिशीर्षदर्शिततनुर्ब्रह्मा यदाद्यप्रजा
विश्वेषां जननस्थिती विदधती मातेति या गीयते ।
अङ्के सुप्तमिवात्मजं वहति या कल्पावसन्नं जगत्
तां दुर्गां चिदचिन्मयीं परतरानन्दाय नन्दामहे ॥ १ ॥

यत्रोत्तमोत्तमजला सरितां वरिष्ठा
श्रीगोमती प्रचुरपावकपुञ्जहन्त्री ।
यस्यां वसन्ति सुरवाहुजवैश्यशूद्राः
भूयान्मुदे लखनऊ-नगरी प्रसिद्धा ॥ २ ॥

वहवो मण्डितमतयः पण्डितपतयः कवित्वदृढरतयः ।
तर्केऽतर्कितगतयः कृतहरिनतयः पुरात्र सञ्जाताः ॥ ३ ॥

प्रादुर्बभूवुरिह भूसुरभूर्गरिष्ठाः
नानापुराणनिगमागमनेमिनिष्ठाः ।
शास्त्रावगाहनविधानविदां वरिष्ठाः
वाणीविलासविलसन्महिमा महिष्ठाः ॥ ४ ॥

अत्रैव संस्कृतसमाजसमुद्दिधीर्षुः ।
धर्मागमाध्वनि तमध्वरमुच्चिकीर्षुः
निस्तन्द्रचन्द्र इव वन्द्यजनेषु धन्यः
"गोपालचन्द्रसिनहः" समभूदनन्यः ॥ ५ ॥

तन्निर्मितेयमधुना परिषत्पुनीता
कीर्त्तिं बिभर्ति भुवने भवतामभीता ।
संस्थाप्य संस्कृतगुणाभरणानुरूपं
ग्रन्थालयं सपदि ग्रन्थगणैः प्रभूतम् ॥ ६ ॥

धन्याः भवन्ति भवभावनया भवन्तः
वैविध्यशोध्यविषयाननुशीलयन्तः ।
ग्रन्थाटवीविहरणक्षमतां वहन्तः
"गोपाल"गौरवमुदार्यधियां स्मरन्तः ॥ ७ ॥

येऽहर्निशं स्वमनसा वचसा धनेन
सत्कर्मणाथ सततं महता श्रमेण ।
ये संस्कृतस्य भवनाय कृतप्रयत्नाः
तेषां स्मृतौ ऋतमुदञ्चति सन्नतं नः ॥ ८ ॥

वाणी यस्य प्रकृतिमधुरा सावलीला सुरम्या
नानाभाषाजलधितरणे सर्वथा यः समर्थः ।
सुष्ठु स्नातः प्रतिदिनमथो राजभाषासमुद्रे
प्रौढः प्राज्ञः विविधविषये तीक्ष्णबुद्धिप्रदीप्तः ॥ ९ ॥

लब्ध्वा चेष्टं विमलयशसः शृङ्गमारुह्य तुङ्गं
बन्धून् सर्वान् प्रकृतिजगुणैरात्मवन्मन्यते स्म ।
मान्यः सोऽयं परिषदि सतां "सिंहगोपालचन्द्रः"
आशीर्वाण्या परमशुभया पातु नः स्वर्गलोकात् ॥ १० ॥

ते धन्याः जगतीतले बुधवराः स्थास्यन्ति नूनं चिरं
सन्देहो न तथाप्नुवन्त्यमरतां तेषां प्रसत्कीर्त्तयः ।
तासामत्र वयं सुरक्षणविधौ योग्या भवामो न चेत्
तेषां स्थास्यति रक्षिता ह्यमरता गीर्वाणवाण्या भुवि ॥ ११ ॥

सुरभारती-समुन्नायकः श्रीगोपालचन्द्रसिंहः

बटुकनाथ शास्त्री खिस्ते

(१)

सुब्रह्मण्य-सुधीन्द्र-वक्त्र-कमलान्निस्यन्दिनीं भारतीं
श्रावं श्रावमुदारहारिचरितारम्भो यदीयोऽभवत् ।
संलग्नोऽपि च शासने सुरगिरः सक्तः सदोपासने,
शिष्टो मिष्टवचाः स भाति सुकृती गोपालचन्द्राभिधः ॥

(२)

सारल्यं सहजं स्मितैरनुगता वाचः सुधार्द्राः सदा
साहाय्यं सुधियां विधातुमनिशं पर्याकुलं मानसम् ।
विद्वद्वृन्दसमर्चने समधिका प्रीतिः प्रतिष्ठाविधौ,
वाग्देव्या भृशमुद्यमोऽपि ददृशे गोपालचन्द्रे जनैः ॥

(३)

प्राचीनाऽमितसन्निबन्धरचनाः संगृह्य मुद्रापणं,
येनाऽकारि चिरं चिरन्तनगिरां संवर्द्धनोत्साहिना ।
सौरभ्यं परिषद्दिशत्यविरतं सिक्ता यदीयश्रमै-
र्वाग्वल्लीव विकस्वरा कथमसौ न स्यात् प्रशंस्याग्रणीः ॥

(४)

विद्वांसो वसुधातले बहुविधाः सन्त्येव तत्सङ्गमः,
प्रायो दुर्लभ एव तत्प्रियकथालापोऽपि नाऽऽसाद्यते ।
प्राक् प्रत्यग् वसुधातलस्थ-विबुधज्ञानामृतान्याहरन्,
एकस्मिन् सरसीव मेलनमसौ कुर्वन्न विस्मर्यते ।।

(५)

दीपाद्दीप इवाऽऽगतं निजगुरोः सौजन्यमस्मिन् पुन-
र्नव्यज्ञानसमर्जनेऽपि सदृशी वृत्तिः पुरोधाविनी ।
विश्वेषां विदुषामकारणसुहृद् गोपालचन्द्रश्चिरं,
जीव्याच्चारुचरित्रचित्रितयशाः सम्मानितः साधुभिः ।।*

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* श्री गोपालचन्द्रसिंहमहाभागस्य जीवनकाल एव रचितानि पद्यानीमानि ।

लक्ष्मणपुरस्थाखिलभारतीयसंस्कृतपरिषत्-संस्थापनसमायोजितसर्वसत्वानां
तत्संबद्धं नविकासनप्रसारणप्रचारणविनियोजितसर्वस्वानां
संस्कृतिसंरक्षणसमर्पितसर्वस्वत्वानां सेवायुक्तन्यायाधाशानाम् अवियुक्तन्यायमार्गाणां श्रीमतां

गोपालचन्द्रसिंह-

महोदयानां करकमलयोर् उत्तरप्रदेशीयराज्यपालमहामहिम-श्रीचन्द्रेश्वरप्रसादनारायणसिंह-
महोदयानुग्रहीत-अजस्राऽभिनन्दनविशेषाङ्कसमर्पणसमारोहावसरे समर्प्यंत इदम्

अभिनन्दनपत्रम्

परिषद्द्वारिकासंस्थं भारतभूतिसारथिम् ।
ग्रन्थगोरसहर्तारं गोपालं श्रद्धया स्तुवे ॥१॥

विमतिकपटगायास्वार्थलिप्सायुगेऽस्मिन्
वचनकृतिमनोभिर्न्यायवीथ्यामटन्तम् ।
नियतममरभाषाभारतीभक्तिमन्तम्
अनुसृतनयतन्त्रं नौमि गोपालचन्द्रम् ॥२॥

करधृतसुरवाणीरागिणीवाहिवंशः
उपकृतिवरगोपीकेशपाशावतंसः ।
हतकुरुदुरितांसः कर्पितस्वार्थकंसः
जयतु जयतु गोपालाख्यनारायणांशः ॥३॥

सुमतिसुकृतिनिष्ठापद्मिनीवक्त्रभृङ्गः
प्रततिमिरवीथीशासिता ज्योतिरिङ्गः ।
परिषदुदयभृङ्गः सद्भविष्यस्फुलिङ्गः
दलितहृदरविन्दः कोऽपि गोपालसिंहः ॥४॥

कनकमसिविमिश्रं चन्द्रिकास्नातचित्रं
खचितभरतविद्यारत्नतारासहस्रम् ।
शुभकुलगुणजैत्रं दिग्वधूवक्त्रपत्रं
मधुरमतिपवित्रं राजतां मानपत्रम् ॥५॥

हिन्दीसंस्कृतसौभाग्याच्छ्रीगोपालकटाक्षतः ।
गोपालचन्द्रसिंहोऽयं जीवताच्छरदः शतम् ॥६॥

इति

लखनऊ, भाद्रपद पूर्णिमा २०४१ वि०
सोमवार, १० सितम्बर, १९८४

अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषत्-परिवारेण

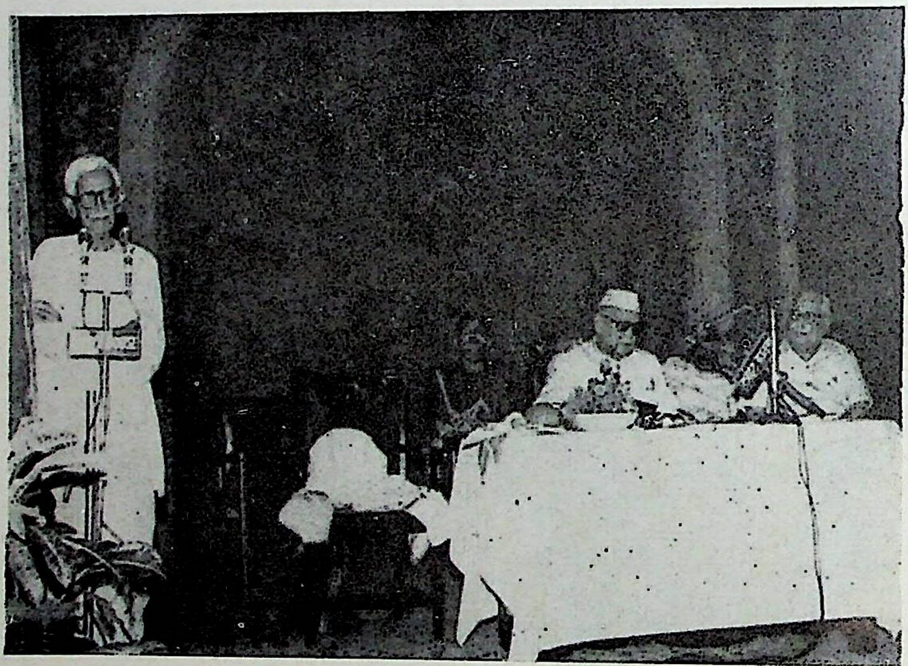
'अजस्रा' अभिनन्दन विशेषाङ्क-समर्पण के अवसर पर प्रदत्त अभिनन्दनपत्र—
रचयिता—अशोक कुमार कालिया

उत्तर प्रदेश के तत्कालीन राज्यपाल श्री चन्द्रेश्वर प्रसाद नारायण सिंह से 'अजस्रा'
का अभिनन्दन-विशेषाङ्क प्राप्त करते हुए



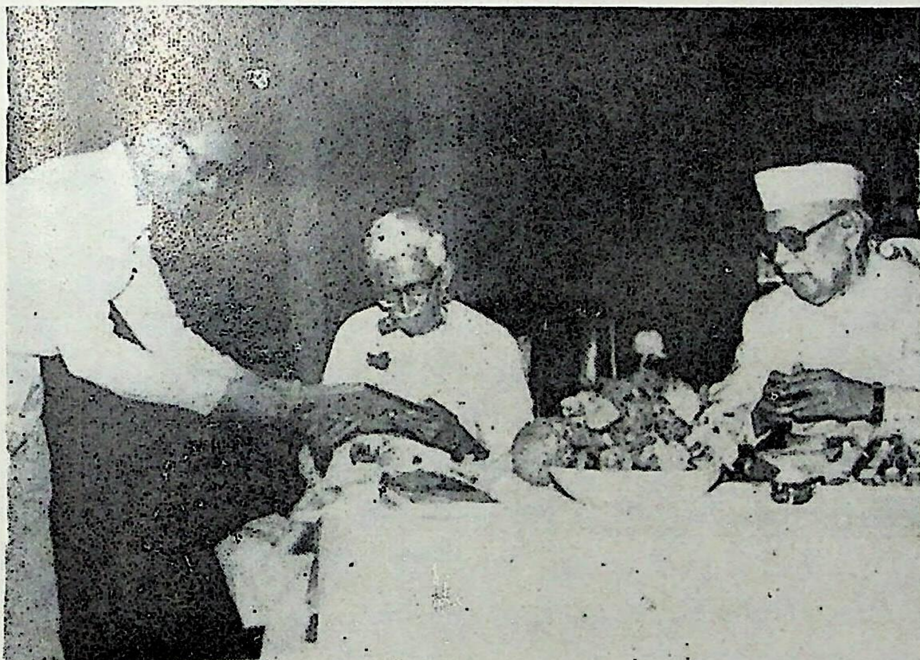
Receiving Felicitation Volume of the 'Ajasrā
from the then Governor of U. P., Shri C.P.N. Singh

अभिनन्दन का उत्तर देते हुए



Speaking on the occasion of his felicitation

'अजस्रा' के सम्पादक, डा० अशोक कुमार कालिया
अभिनन्दन-पत्र प्राप्त करते हुए



Receiving felicitation address from
Dr. A. K. Kalia, Editor of the Ajasrā

परिषत्समर्पितजीवना गोपालचन्द्रसिंहमहोदयाः

व्रजवल्लभ द्विवेदी

अखिलभारतीय-संस्कृत-परिषदनुसन्धान-पत्रिकायाम् "ऋतम्" इत्याख्यायां प्रकाशिते "श्रद्धेयप्राध्यापक : आदर्श मानव" इति शीर्षके हिन्दी-भाषा-निबन्धे, तत्रत्यायामेव संस्कृत-त्रैमासिक्याम् "अजस्रायां" च प्रकाशिते "मत्संरक्षकाः श्रीमन्तः को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य-अय्यर महोदयाः" इत्याख्ये संस्कृत-भाषा-निबन्धे च मया परिषदोऽस्याः संस्थापकेषु जीवातुभूतानां श्रीमतां को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य-अय्यर-महानुभावानां किमप्यनितरसाधारणं वैशिष्ट्यं वैदुष्यं च वर्णितम्। १९५०-५१ वर्षयोर्नवमासपर्यन्तं काशीस्थ-राजकीय-संस्कृत-महाविद्यालयस्य प्रधानाचार्यपदमलङ्कृत्य १९५१ ई० वर्षीये जुलाई-मासे पुनरेते लक्ष्मणपुरीमेव परावृत्ता आसन्। तदा कार्यवशादहं लक्ष्मणपुरीमगमम्। अय्यरमहोदयानां दर्शनाय तेषां निवासस्थानमधिगत्य तत्र महान्तं विद्वत्संमर्दमपश्यम्। तत्र समुपस्थितः प्रत्येकः सदस्यः स्वयमेव स्वीयंपरिचयं समुपस्थापयति स्म। स्मरामि स एव पुण्यतमो दिवसः परिषदोऽस्याः स्थापनाया इति।

न्यायाधीशवराः श्रीमन्तो गोपालचन्द्रसिंहमहोदयाः "अखिल-भारतीय-संस्कृत-परिषत्"-संस्थापकाः तन्मन्त्रिणश्च न्यायिककर्मसु मत्साहाय्यार्थं तैः प्रेरिता मत्कल्याणकरं सर्वविधं कार्यजातं समपादयन् इति मयोक्तपूर्वमय्यर-महोदयेभ्यः श्रद्धाञ्जलिनिवेदनवेलायाम्। भगवतः शिवस्य क्रियाशक्त्यवतारा इमे गुरुऋणमपाकर्तुमिव स्वविद्यागुरोः श्रीमतोऽय्यर-महोदयस्य सङ्कल्पं संस्कृत-परिषत्स्थापन-मुखेन कार्य्य-कलापेन साकारमकुर्वन्। साम्प्रतमत्र संस्कृत-वाङ्मय-संबद्धानां मुद्रित-ग्रन्थानां पाण्डुलिपीनां च महान् संग्रहो विद्यते। 'ऋतम्' इत्याख्या शोध-पत्रिका षाण्मासिकी, 'अजस्रा' नाम्नी संस्कृत-त्रैमासिकी च प्रकाश्येते अनया संस्थया नियतसमये। अत्र संगृहीतानां संस्कृत-ग्रन्थमातृकाणां खण्ड-चतुष्टयात्मिका विवरणात्मिका सूची, अन्ये च बहवो ग्रन्था न केवलमाधुनिकशोधसम्पादनपद्धतिनिदर्शनभूताः, अपितु साम्प्रतिकमुद्रणविधिचूडायमाना इतः प्रकाशिताः। श्रद्धेयचरणानां महामहोपाध्याय-पद्मविभूषणादिनानाविरुदधारिणां श्रीमतां गुरुवर्याणां गोपीनाथकविराजमहोदयानामभिनन्दनग्रन्थः परिषदा प्रकाशितः स्वीयं किमपि वैशिष्ट्यं बिभर्ति। एवमेव 'ऋतम्' इति षाण्मासिक-पत्रिकाया विशिष्टाङ्कौ श्रीमतां श्रद्धेयचरणानां

को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य-अय्यर-महोदयानाम्, प्रसिद्धस्य पाश्चात्य-विदुषो डॉ० लुडविकस्टर्नबाख महोदयस्य चाभिनन्दनात्मको स्वीयया विशिष्टया प्राच्यैः पाश्चात्यैश्च मनीषिभिः सममेव ग्रथितया शोध-सामग्र्या मुद्रणविधया चेदृशान् सर्वानप्यभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थानतिशाययतः। सर्वेष्वेषु कार्य-कलापेषु श्रीमतां गोपाल-चन्द्रसिंह-महोदयानां क्रियाशक्तिरेव प्राधान्येन प्रसरति स्मेति निश्चप्रचम् ।

परिषदाऽनया कविराज-महोदयेभ्योऽभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थः १९६७ ई० वर्षीये सितम्बरमासे तज्जन्म-दिवसे समर्पित आसीत् । मदीया च नियुक्तिः प्राध्यापक-पदे योग-तन्त्र-विभागीये तस्मिन्नेव हायनेऽगस्त-मासे सञ्जाता । श्रद्धेयाः कविराज-महोदयाः विभागस्याऽस्य अध्यक्षा आसन्, तेषां गृह एव च विभागस्यानुसन्धानप्रकाशनादिकः कार्य-कलापः प्रचलति स्म । तत्रैव स्थितस्य मम परिचयोऽभिनन्दनोत्सवाऽवसरे काश्यां समागतैः श्रीगोपालचन्द्रसिंहमहोदयैः सह सञ्जातः । स च शनैः शनैः प्रवर्धमानः १९७० ई० वर्ष-पर्यन्तं नितान्तं प्रगाढः संवृत्तः। सज्जनानां खलु मैत्री दिनस्य परार्द्धे वर्त्तमानायाश्छायायाः सदृशी प्रारम्भे क्षीणाऽपि सती शनैः शनैरुपचीयते । 'लघ्वी पुरा वृद्धिमती च पश्चात्" इति हि कस्यचित् सुभाषितम् ।

तदात्वे हि कस्यचन विशिष्टस्य कार्यस्य सम्पादनाय कृतं साहाय्यमेतेषामवश्यमेव चर्चा-योग्यमस्ति । जबलपुराभिजनेभ्य एतेषां भगिनीपतिभ्यः श्रीमद्भ्यः कुंवरबहादुरसिंहामहोदयेभ्यो मध्यप्रदेशीयोच्चन्यायालयस्य वरिष्ठ-बैरिष्टर पदवीमलङ्कुर्वद्भ्यो लिखितं पत्रमेकमादायाऽहं तत्राऽगच्छम् । दिनद्वयं यावत् तत्राहं स्वगृहनिर्विशेषम् ग्यवसम् । यानचालकस्यानुपस्थितौ श्रीमतां बैरिष्टरमहोदयानां यानचालन-दक्षा पुत्री पितुराज्ञामुपलभ्य मां तत्र-तत्र नीतवती । सम्पूर्णस्य कुटुम्बस्य स्नेह-सिक्तः स व्यवहारो नाऽद्यापि मम स्मृतिपदवीं जहाति । अतिथिदेवानां भारतीयानामीदृशो व्यवहारः साम्प्रतं विरल एव दृश्यते ।

१९७३-१९७५ वर्षेष्वहं विश्वविद्यालय-सेवातो राजकीय-सेवायां प्रेषितो न्यायालय-शरण्यतां गतो न्यायाधीशचराणां श्रीगोपालचन्द्रसिंह-महोदयानां साहाय्येन परामर्शेन च तत्कालमयापयम् । तदा सिंहमहोदयाः सम्पूर्णानन्द-संस्कृत-विश्वविद्यालय-कार्य-परिषदः सदस्या आसन् । सम्पूर्णस्य वादस्य न्यायालयोपयुक्तायाः सामग्र्याः सारं संकलय्य, तदुपपादन–समर्थानि प्रमाणानि च प्रदाय तदा महदुपकृतमेभिर्महानुभावैः। लक्ष्मणपुरप्रवाससमये परिषत्पुस्तकालय-भवने, महानगरस्थे स्वभवने च यथेच्छं निवास-सौकर्यमुपकल्पयतामेतेषां महानुभावानामौदार्य्यं सत्यं "उदार-चरितानां तु वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्" इत्याभाणकं स्मारयति ।

१९७५ ई० वर्षीये ग्रीष्मतौ उत्तरप्रदेशस्य तदानीन्तना राज्यपाला महामान्याः श्रीमन्तो डॉ० एम० चेन्ना रेड्डीमहोदया उत्तरप्रदेशस्य कदाचन ग्रीष्मकालीनराजधानीं नैनीतालनगरीं जिगमिषव आसन् । स्वसंबद्धं सर्वं वृत्तं क्रोडीकृत्य प्रार्थनापत्रमेकं महामान्य-राज्यपाल-महोदयायाऽद्यैव देयमिति राज्यपालसचिवमुखादवगत्य किं कर्त्तव्यविमूढोऽहं तस्यां ललाटन्तपायां निदाघ-वेलायां मध्याह्ने सर्वो लोको विश्रामाभिलाषुको भवतीत्यप्यविगणय्य 'अर्थी दोषान्न पश्यति' इत्याभाणकं चरितार्थयन्निव सिंहमहोदयानां महानगरस्थं भवनमभ्यगाम् । मदीयां सर्वां परिस्थितिमेते पूर्वत एव जानन्ति स्मेति नूतनमुदन्तं श्रुत्वा संक्षिप्ततमं प्रार्थनापत्रमेकमेभिः प्रारूपितम्, येन

किलान्ततो वर्षसमाप्तितः पूर्वमेव पुनरपि मया स्वकीयं सम्पूर्णानन्द-संस्कृत-विश्व-विद्यालयस्थं योग-तन्त्र-विभागीयं प्राध्यापकपदमधिगतमिति नूनं सर्वात्मनाऽभिनन्दनार्हा एतादृशाः पुण्यभाजो भवन्तीति किमु नाम चित्रम् ।

जयति बुधगणे सिंहगोपालचन्द्रः

रामनारायण त्रिपाठी

गीर्वाणैः सिद्धसाध्यैर्ऋषिमुनिकृतिभिर्भूषिते साधुवृन्दैर्
दक्षे तीरे सरय्वा रघुपतिनगरे विश्रुते पुण्यपूते ।
मर्यादावित्तविद्याविनयनयभरख्यातकायस्थवंशे
भारत्याः सेवकोऽसावलभत जननं सिंहगोपालचन्द्र ।।१।।

आराध्याराध्यदेवीं गुरुवरसविधे शारदां सर्ववन्द्यां
भक्त्या भूरिश्रमेणाऽभजत सफलतामुच्चशिक्षासु साध्वीम् ।
निर्णेतुं चाऽभियोगं विषमनयपथं सत्पदेऽसौ नियुक्तो
न्यायाधीशत्वभारं निपुणतरधियाऽवोढ गोपालचन्द्रः ।।२।।

वृत्तिं वृत्तं च शीलं चरितमनुपमं निर्वहन् साधु लोके
मित्रे स्वीये कुटुम्बे व्यवहृतिकुशलो मान्यसामान्यवर्गे ।
न्यायं कुर्वन् प्रजास्वप्रतिहतमनसा पक्षपातादिशून्यः
सम्मानं राज्यद्वाराऽश्रयत सुविपुलं सिंहगोपालचन्द्रः ।।३।।

पारुष्यं नैव वाण्यां लसति च नितरां यस्य वाचंयमत्वं
हासो गम्भीरभावः स्फुरति च वदनेऽपेक्ष्य वेलां सदुक्तिः ।
आलस्यं नैव गात्रे सततमुपकृतौ शोभते चित्तवृत्तिः
सोऽयं गोपालचन्द्रो गगनगगिरामर्हणायां प्रसक्तः ।।४।।

आर्हन्त्या कार्यजातं जगति परिवहन् शासकीयं गरिष्ठं
सम्यग् भाषां सुराणां श्रयितुमिह पुरे लक्ष्मणस्याऽतिरम्ये ।
संस्थामस्थापयच्चाऽखिलभरतभुवोऽलङ्कृतिं संस्कृतस्य
ज्योत्स्नामेकां तमोघ्नीं प्रसरणकरणे सिंहगोपालचन्द्रः ।।५।।

सैका संस्था मनोज्ञा निजकृतिलतया साम्प्रतं प्रज्ञलोकं
संव्याप्योत्फुल्लकीर्त्या हरति सुमनसां संस्कृतं चारु चेतः ।
गाते देशे विदेशे दिशि दिशि गवते जीवनाधातृगाथां
जीवैधस्वोत्सहस्व प्रजपति सततं सिंहगोपालचन्द्र ! ॥६॥

गोपालत्वं पराम्बापदयुगकमलोपासनाद्याभिराभिश्
चन्द्रत्वं ह्लादराशेर्विकिरणकरणाद्धृद्वचोभिश्च कृत्या ।
सिंहत्वं विघ्नसत्त्वे प्रयतनतरसा लक्ष्यसिद्ध्या समन्ताद्
अन्वर्थ्यात्माभिधानं जयति बुधगणे सिंहगोपालचन्द्रः ॥७॥

क्रान्त्वाऽशीतिं वयो यो युवजनसदृशश्चेष्टते याति धत्ते
कार्यं सिद्धिं विधानं विमलमतिदिशा सर्वबाधां जहाति ।
सर्वात्म्येनाऽभिवृद्ध्यै मम दिशतितरामुत्तमायुः स्वकीयं
सोऽयं गोपालचन्द्रो भवतु शुभयशा वक्ति संस्थेयमाप्ता ॥८॥*

* पद्यानीमानि श्रीगोपालचन्द्रमहोदयानां जीवनकाल एव रचितानि ।

संस्मरणसुमनोऽञ्जलिः

अरुणोदय न० जानी

मदीयाय गुरुतुल्याय सुहृद्वर्याय श्रीमते गोपालचन्द्रमहोदयाय तत्कृतकार्याभिनन्दनार्थम् 'अखिलभारतीयसंस्कृतपरिषदा 'ऋतम्' इत्यस्य विशिष्टाङ्कस्य समर्पणं करिष्यत इति तत्सम्पादक-डॉ० सिनहामहोदयस्य पत्रेणोदन्तं ज्ञात्वाऽत्यन्तं प्रासदम्। एतादृशस्य प्रशस्यकर्मण आयोजनार्थं परिषदः शुभान् प्रयत्नांश्चाऽभिनन्दामि।

अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यापरिषदः कस्मिंश्चिदेकतमेऽधिवेशने परिचितेन गोपालचन्द्र-महोदयेन परिचयो ममोत्तरोत्तरमभिवृद्धिमगच्छत्। परिचयसमकालमेव तस्य गीर्वाणवाण्यां साहित्ये च कमप्यनुत्तरं स्नेहं वीक्ष्याऽत्यन्तं प्रभावितोऽभवम्। मम च तस्मिन्नादरोऽपि दृढतरबद्ध-मूलोऽभवत्। 'लक्ष्मणपुरमेकदाऽऽगत्य परिषदः कार्यजातं प्रवृत्तयश्चाऽक्षिलक्षीकर्तव्याः' इति सस्नेह-मामन्त्रितोऽहं १९७२ तमे वर्षे जूनमासे तमवसरमलभे। रेल्वे स्टेशनस्य प्रधानद्वाराद् बहिर्निर्ग-च्छन्नहं प्राप्तमत्पत्नम्, मां प्रत्युद्गन्तुं समागतम्, द्वारोपान्तस्थितं दृष्ट्वाऽऽश्चर्यचकितो रोमाञ्चि-तश्च समजनिषि। स्वकीयेन वाहनेन मां स्वगृहं नेतुमागताय तस्मै न्यवेदि मया 'भवदीयमामन्त्रणं प्रत्याख्यातवतो दूयते मनो मे। मया तु मदीयाः सम्बन्धिनः श्रीमन्तो रमाशङ्करशुक्लमहोदयाः प्रागेव निवेदिताः 'अहं भवदीये गेहे निवत्स्यामि' इति। 'अतो मया तत्रैव गन्तव्यम्' इति। श्रीसिंहमहोदया मामार्यनगरे मत्सम्बन्धिगेहे स्थाप्यागामिनि दिवसे स्वगृहे भोजनार्थमामन्त्र्य न्यवर्तन्त।

द्वितीयस्मिन् दिवसे प्रातरेव श्रीरमाशङ्करगेहमागत्य ते मां स्वकीयेन वाहनेन परिषदः कार्यालयं नीत्वा कार्यकर्तॄनधिकारिणः परिचाय्य परिषत्कार्येण प्रगत्या च मां पर्यचाययन्। तत्रत्यां प्रवृत्तिं प्रगतिं च दृष्ट्वा हर्षनिर्भरोऽहमभवम्। मध्याह्ने तैः सार्धं गृहं गत्वा तेषामातिथ्यमन्व-भावि। भोजनानन्तरं विश्रम्य तैरपराह्णे चहापानानन्तरं परिषत्प्रकाशिता हस्तलिखितग्रन्थसूचयो मह्यं दर्शिताः।

श्रीसिंहमहोदया अखिलभारतीयसंस्कृतपरिषदः स्थापने कारणभूताः। एतेषामेव सफलैः प्रयासैः परिषदियमस्तित्वं प्रापत्। एतस्या अधिसंस्थापकानामिम एकतमाः। एतेषामेव निरर्गलैः

प्रयत्नैः परिषदद्य २०,००० हस्तलिखितग्रन्थान् तावत्संख्याकानि मुद्रितपुस्तकानि च बिभर्ति। एतादृशमेतेषां परिषदा एकात्मभावं दृष्ट्वा कस्य सचेतसश्चेतो न नरीनृत्येत।

तदानीम् अहमदाबादस्थित—भोजसंशोधनमन्दिराल्लब्धस्य बालात्रिपुरास्तवनस्यैका प्रतिलिपिर्मत्सविध आसीत्। अशुद्धायास्तस्याः संशोधनायाऽपराः प्रतयोऽपेक्षिता आसन्। वटपत्तनस्थ प्राच्यविद्यामन्दिरेऽस्य प्रतिमलब्धवता पृष्टा मया श्रीसिंहमहोदयाः 'वर्तते भवदीयभाण्डागारे स्तोत्रस्याऽस्य काचन हस्तलिपिः' ? इति। प्रकाशिता सूचीग्रन्था दृष्टा आवाभ्याम्। तत्र न कश्चन् निर्देशो दृष्टः। ततः श्रीसिंहमहोदयैरुक्तम्—'वटपत्तनं प्रतिनिवृत्तेन भवता मत्समीपे स्तोत्रं प्रेषणीयम्। लब्ध्यां हस्तलिप्यां तथा भवत्प्रेषितस्तोत्रस्य तुलनां कृत्वा पाठान्तराणि निर्दिश्य प्रतिप्रेषयिष्यामि' इति।

तदनुसारं मयैका प्रतिलिपिः प्रेषिता। ४-९-१९७३ दिनाङ्किते स्वकीये पत्रे श्रीसिंहमहोदया न्यवेदयन्—'जून १९७२ तमे वर्षे भवता साकमवलोकितेऽस्मिन् भाण्डागारे भवत्सम्पादयिषितस्तोत्रस्य नैकोऽपि हस्तलेख उपलब्धः। सरस्वतीभवनस्थ-भाण्डागारेऽपि तामन्विष्यतो मे प्रयासो वन्ध्य एव। वाराणसीस्थस्य कालीमठस्य ग्रन्थसम्पदं परिषदर्थं लब्धुमहं बद्धकटिरिदानीम्। तेषु कदाचिद् भवत्स्तोत्रस्य हस्तलेखं लब्धुं सफलो भवेयमित्याशासे।...........मद्भाग्योपचयात् परिषदर्थं कालीमठग्रन्थसम्पदमधिगन्तुं सफलप्रयासोऽहं तत्रत्यग्रन्थेषु भवत्स्तोत्राऽन्वेषणे व्यापृतोऽस्मीदानीम्।' किन्तु समन्वेषणानन्तरमनुलेखे लिखितं तैः पत्रान्ते—'न काऽपि हस्तलिपिस्तस्मिन् संग्रहे' इति।

तेषां पत्रस्येदमुद्धरणं सिंहमहोदयानां व्यक्तित्वं स्वभावं चोद्दिश्य बहु बहु कथयति। तद्यथा—

(१) श्रीसिंहमहोदयाः सर्वेभ्यः संशोधकेभ्योऽनेकविधं साहाय्यं दातुं सर्वथा बद्धपरिकराः सन्ति। अस्मिन् विषये ते न जातु जायन्ते हतोत्साहाः।

(२) परिषदो ग्रन्थसम्पत्त्यभिवृद्ध्यर्थमेते सर्वदा प्रयत्नशीलाः सन्तः 'कुत्र कुत्र सन्ति भाण्डाराः, कथं च ते परिषदर्थं समुपलब्धव्याः' इति चिन्तापरास्तदधिगमार्थं निरन्तरमात्मानं कदर्थयन्ति, परिषद्भाण्डागारञ्च समेधयन्ति।

(३) एकस्य लघुस्तोत्रस्य हस्तलेखस्याऽन्वेषणे सोत्साहमविलुप्तधैर्यञ्च कथमेते क्लेशयन्ति स्वमात्मानमिति।

डिस्ट्रिक्ट-सेशन-जज्जेति बहुमानार्हमधिकारिपदं भुक्तोज्झितानामेतेषां सौहार्दं सौजन्यञ्च सम्पश्यतो न कस्याऽपि मनस्युदेष्यत्ययं विचारः कदाचिदपि 'अहो, एतैरेतादृशं पदं पूर्वमलङ्कृतम्' इति। एतेषां निरभिमानित्वम्, विवेकित्वम्, परोपकारित्वञ्चाऽनितरसाधारणमेव।

नैमिषारण्ये भगवत्या ललिताम्बाया दर्शनं कामयमानस्य मे तद्यात्रार्थं बहुविधं साहाय्यमाचरितवतां श्रीसिंहानां स्मरणमद्यापि न जहाति स्मृतिपथं मे।

इदानीं वयसः ८२ तमे वर्षेऽपि श्रीसिंहमहोदयाः तथैव कार्यपरायणाः सोत्साहाश्च दरीदृश्यन्ते । अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यापरिषदः ३१ तमेऽधिवेशने जयपुरनगरे समुपस्थितान् तान् दृष्ट्वा किमप्याश्चर्यमन्वभूवम् । नेत्रामयग्रस्तत्वान्मां झटिति निर्ज्ञातुं ते न प्राभवन् । तदर्थं च क्षमायाचना कृता । प्राच्यविद्यापरिषदः प्रायः सर्वेष्वधिवेशनेषूपस्थितवतां श्रीसिंहमहोदयानां नेत्ररुजा तेषामुत्साहो मनागपि न शिथिलितः ।

इत्थं हिन्दीसंस्कृतसाहित्ययोरभिवृद्ध्यर्थं सततं प्रयतमानानां श्रीसिंहमहोदयानामुत्साहः प्रयासाश्च सादरमभिनन्दनीयाः । श्रीसिंहमहोदयानामनर्गलैः प्रयासैर्लब्धजनुरियमखिलभारतीयसंस्कृतपरिषद् श्रीसिंहानां यशःपताकां सुचिरमुत्तोलयिष्यतीत्यत्र न कोऽपि शङ्काऽवकाशः ।*

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* श्रीमतां गोपालचन्द्रसिंहमहोदयानां जीवनकाल एव लिखितोऽयं लेखः ।

दिनानि तानि

धर्मेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री

कथमिवाहं तद्दिनं विस्मरामि यदा श्रीगोपालचन्द्रसिंहमहोदयो १९५४ तमे खीष्टीये वर्षे मयराष्ट्रस्य न्यायाधीशपदे नियुक्त आसीत् । तेषु दिनेषु सोऽधिकं कालं मम समीपस्थ एव निवसन्नैषीत् । मयराष्ट्रीया जनाः तस्मिन् समये तद् दृष्ट्वा आश्चर्यचकिता अपृच्छन् यत्किमिदं रहस्यं यन्मयराष्ट्रस्य न्यायाधीशः स्वाधिकं समयं मम समीप एव यापयति । न तैः सम्भावितमपीदं यत्संस्कृतभाषाप्रेम आवयोः सामान्यम् । तस्मादेव कारणात् परस्परं सामीप्य एव निवसन्तौ समयं यापयतः । तेषु दिनेषूत्पन्नं हार्दिकं प्रेम अस्माकं हृदये न केवलम् अद्यपर्यन्तं जागर्ति, अपितु यावज्जीवनं स्थास्यति ।

वे मेरे लिए माता, पिता, भ्राता सभी कुछ थे

(श्रीमती) मञ्जरी सिन्हा

अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ के जन्मदाता, पोषक, संवर्धक तथा उसके संस्थापक-मन्त्री, संस्कृत और हिन्दी के प्रकाण्ड विद्वान्, विधिशास्त्रज्ञ श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह को अधिकाँश लोग 'जज साहब' के नाम से जानते थे। लोग उन्हें भूतपूर्व सदस्य राजभाषा (विधायी) आयोग, सचिव; उत्तर प्रदेश हिन्दी शब्दकोश समिति; आदाता एवं सचिव हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन-प्रयाग; सचिव, प्राच्यविद्या संस्थान, दिल्ली; सदस्य, वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय कार्यकारिणी समिति; सदस्य, भाषा विशेषज्ञ समिति के रूप में अथवा काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा के शब्दकोश निर्माता के रूप में जानते थे, जिन्होंने पुलिस सम्बन्धी, शिक्षाविभाग सम्बन्धी तथा विधिशब्दावली का प्रामाणिक हिन्दी कोश बनाया था। प्राय: लोग उन्हें लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय में धर्मशास्त्र के अवैतनिक प्रवक्ता तथा संस्कृत परीक्षक के रूप में जानते थे, रॉयल एशियाटिक सोसायटी, ग्रेट ब्रिटेन; एशियाटिक सोसाइटी, कलकत्ता; एशियाटिक सोसाइटी, बम्बई; अमेरिकन ओरियण्टल सोसाइटी, यू. एस. ए.; पेन; (मुम्बई); उत्तर प्रदेश हिन्दी ग्रन्थ अकादमी; केन्द्रीय शिक्षण संस्थान, आगरा; ब्रज साहित्य मण्डल, मथुरा; हिन्दुस्तानी अकादमी, प्रयाग; नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा, वाराणसी; हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन प्रयाग इत्यादि के माननीय सदस्य के रूप में जानते थे।

परन्तु मुझे उन्हें अत्यधिक निकट से जानने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ—परम स्नेही पूज्यपाद श्वशुर के रूप में। मेरी सास नहीं थीं, किन्तु यह कमी उन्होंने महसूस नहीं होने दी– सास-ससुर दोनों का ही प्यार देकर। सच तो यह था कि वे मेरे लिये माता, पिता, बन्धु, सखा सभी कुछ थे। अपने एकमात्र सुपुत्र के लिये बड़े जतन से उन्होंने मेरा चयन किया था।

उस वर्ष दीक्षान्त समारोह में प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के समस्त संकायों के छात्र-छात्राओं के बीच सर्वगुण सम्पन्न विद्यार्थी को दिया जानेवाला कुलपति स्वर्णपदक मुझे प्रदान किया गया था। समाचारपत्रों में प्रकाशित चित्रसहित मेरा संक्षिप्त परिचय जानकर उन्होंने स्वयं ही मेरे पिता को इस विवाह का प्रस्ताव भेजा था। उनका वह पत्र आज भी मेरे पिता जी ने संजोकर रखा है, जिसमें जज साहब ने अपने भावी समधी को लिखा था—"वैसे तो वर-वधू पक्ष में मैं

किसी को छोटा बड़ा नहीं मानता, किन्तु यदि कोई बड़ा हो सकता है तो कन्या का पिता ही, क्योंकि वह दान देता है। लेनेवाला सदा ही देने वाले से छोटा होता है। मुझे आपकी कन्या के अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं चाहिये......।" छोटे से शहर गाज़ीपुर में इस ऐतिहासिक विवाह की धूम मच गयी थी जिसमें किसी भी रस्म पर प्रतीक स्वरूप एक रूपया भी उन्होंने स्वीकार नहीं किया था—मंगल विधान के लिये रोली, अक्षत, पत्र-पुष्प को ही पर्याप्त मानकर।

परछन की वेला में स्वयं आरती उतारी थी—'सुमंगलीरियं वधू······।' अन्न से भरे वृहत् पात्र में अपने हाथों से मेरे चरणयुगल रखे थे 'अन्नपूर्णा भव······।' भावविह्वल वात्सल्य से दुलरा कर जिस नवनिर्मित आवास में उतार कर ले गये थे वह भी उन्होंने उतनी ही ललक से अपनी पुत्रवधू के स्वागतार्थ बनवाया था। और वह स्नेहोद्गार मात्र औपचारिक नहीं था। वह भावातिरेक, क्षणिक भावावेश भी नहीं था। आजीवन मुझे उनका वही निश्छल स्नेह, वही अनन्य अनुराग मिलता रहा। जीवन की अन्तिम बेला में भी उन्होंने मेरा नाम ही पुकारा था... कैसे भूल सकूंगी उन्हें, उनका वह प्यार, उनका वह दुलार!

आज स्मरणाञ्जलि बाँधे निमीलित नयनों में कितनी ही स्मृतियाँ आकार ले रही हैं और उनका संस्कृत-परिषद्-प्रेम हर याद में रचा बसा पाती हूं। विवाह से पूर्व जब वे पहली बार मुझे देखने आये थें तो वाग्दत्ता भावी पुत्रवधू को आभूषण के रूप में परिषद् के विशिष्ठ पारिषदत्व से विभूषित किया था। याद आता है मेरे विवाह के बाद वे कितने उत्साह से पहली बार मुझे संस्कृत परिषद् दिखाने ले गये थे। इतना समृद्ध और सुव्यवस्थित संस्कृत शोध-संस्थान देखकर मैं जितनी अभिभूत थी, वे उसे दिखाकर उतने ही उल्लसित······ इधर पाण्डुलिपियों का विभाग है, यहाँ वेद, पुराण, श्रुति, स्मृति..., यहाँ दर्शन शास्त्र, इधर धर्मशास्त्र... इस ओर हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों का सूचीपत्र तय्यार हो रहा है। इस प्रकोष्ठ में संस्कृत और तत्सम्बन्धी पत्र-पत्रिकायें और जर्नल हैं। सचमुच उनकी संस्कृत-परिषद् उनकी जिजीविषा थी जिसे वह पूर्णतया समर्पित थे।

मुझे लगता है मेरा संस्कृत-अध्ययन ही सबसे बड़ा वरदान रहा मेरे लिए उनकी पुत्र-बधू बनने का सौभाग्य जुटाने में। उन्हें अपने पुत्र के लिए बधू के साथ ही अपनी परिषद् के लिये भी उपयुक्त पात्रता अपेक्षित थी पुत्रबधू में। विवाह के बाद ही जब मैंने संस्कृत-परिषद् के तत्वावधान में 'कुमार सम्भव' के पञ्चम सर्ग पर आधारित नृत्यनाटिका प्रस्तुत की थी तो उनका उत्साह देखते बनता था। पृष्ठसंगीत के लिये कलाकारों को जुटाना, पूर्वाभ्यास से लेकर मञ्च, ध्वनि और प्रकाश-व्यवस्था तक के लिए मेरे साथ दौड़ भाग करना··· और हर सम्भव सहयोग के बाद भी कार्यक्रम की अभूतपूर्व सफलता का सारा श्रेय मुझे देकर भी वह कितने निहाल थे। पुत्रवधू ही नहीं पौत्र-पौत्रियों तक की प्रतिभा का परिषद् के हित में किञ्चिन्मात्र भी उपयोग उन्हें आह्लादित कर देता था। संस्कृत-परिषद् उन्हें प्राणों से भी अधिक प्रिय थी।

संस्कृत के प्रति यह अनुराग और निष्ठा उन्होंने पैतृक दाय के रूप में अपने पिता और पितामह से पाई थी। उनके पितामह रायबहादुर रामशरण दास अंग्रेज़ी-फ़ारसी के बहुत बड़े विद्वान् और संस्कृत के प्रकाण्ड पण्डित थे। उत्तर प्रदेश के वे सर्वप्रथम संस्कृत में एम० ए० थे।

इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय के संस्थापकों की सूची में सिनेट हॉल की आधारशिला में आज भी उनका नाम अंकित है जिसके मैट्रिक से लेकर एम०ए० कक्षाओं तक का संस्कृत पाठ्यक्रम उन्हीं ने बनाया था। श्री रामसरन दास जी का फ़ैजाबाद में एक विशाल पुस्तकालय था जिसमें रॉयल एशियाटिक सोसायटी के जर्नल, बंगाल एशियाटिक सोसायटी के जर्नल, प्राच्य विद्याओं सम्बन्धी अन्य शोध पत्रिकाओं के साथ ही उस समय तक देश-विदेश में प्रकाशित संस्कृत के लगभग सभी ग्रन्थ थे। इन्ही महत्त्वपूर्ण और अलभ्य ग्रन्थों ने आगे चलकर अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ के वर्तमान पुस्तकालय की आधारशिला का काम किया था।

रायबहादुर रामसरन दास जी के संस्कृत-पाण्डित्य तथा उपर्युक्त पुस्तकालय के कारण अयोध्या और आस पास के पण्डितों में उनका मान था। वे अपनी शंकाओं के निवारण और साहित्यिक परामर्श के लिए उनके पास आया करते थे। नित्यप्रति सायंकाल शास्त्रचर्चा, काव्य-चर्चा की महफ़िलें भी जमतीं थीं जिनमें 'रघुवंश', 'कुमारसम्भव' इत्यादि अमर ग्रन्थों का पाठ भी चलता था। 'दुर्गासप्तशती', 'शिवमहिम्नस्तोत्र' और 'हनुमान् चालीसा' का आद्योपान्त पाठ उनकी दैनिक पूजा का अनिवार्य अंग था। उनके अस्वस्थ होने पर प्राय: वह पूजा गोपाल चन्द्र जी ही करते थे, जिसके कारण बहुत कम आयु में ही ये तीनों ग्रन्थ उन्हें आद्योपान्त कण्ठस्थ हो गये थे। इस प्रकार बालक गोपाल चन्द्र के सुकुमार मन पर अपने पितामह के व्यक्तित्व, वैदुष्य, साहित्य-प्रेम और संस्कृतानुराग की अमिट छाप पड़ी थी।

गोपाल चन्द्र जी के पिता श्री रुद्रदत्त सिंह व्यवसाय से वकील थे, किन्तु अपने पिता के वैदुष्य, संस्कृत और हिन्दी प्रेम तथा काव्य-शास्त्रनुराग के परिमल से व्याप्त संस्कार उन्हें सहज ही मिले थे। इस प्रकार श्री गोपाल चन्द्र को पिता की छत्रच्छाया और पारिबारिक वातावरण का भी सर्जनात्मक सहयोग मिला था। लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय में एम० ए० संस्कृत में प्रथम स्थान पाने के साथ ही प्राच्य विद्याओं में सर्वाधिक अंक पाने पर प्रदान किया जाने वाला स्वर्णपदक का मिलना अथवा एल-एल० बी० की परीक्षा में भी विश्वविद्यालय में प्रथम स्थान प्राप्त करना उनके लिए सहज सम्भाव्य था।

पिता की इच्छा थी बेटा वकील बने। श्री गोपाल चन्द्र ने पिता की इच्छानुसार वकालत प्रारम्भ की। तदनन्तर मुन्सिफ़ी की परीक्षा पास करके मुन्सिफ़ और कालान्तर में जज हुए। तब अवध चीफ़ कोर्ट इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट से अलग था। अवध के बारह ज़िलों में ही तबादला होता था। वेतन लाकर पिता को दे देते थे और विद्यार्थी जीवन के समान ही आवश्यकतानुसार ख़र्च की राशि पिता से ले लेते थे।

विवाह हुआ बनारस में। पहली सन्तान के होते ही पता चला पत्नी को राजयक्ष्मा है। तब यह रोग असाध्य था। लम्बी बीमारी के बाद मृत्यु शय्या पर मरणासन्न पत्नी ने वचन लिया मेरी पुत्री के लालन पालन के लिए मेरी छोटी बहन से विवाह करना। पूरा परिवार विरुद्ध था, उस परिवार को क्षयग्रस्त जानकर। किन्तु उन्होंने यह विभीषिका भी सरमाथे ली थी, मृत पत्नी को दिया वचन निभाने के लिये। मेरी सास, उनकी दूसरी पत्नी, की भी नियति वही थी। उन्हें साथ ही कैन्सर भी था। पत्नी की सेवा, बच्चों का लालन-पालन, कोर्ट-कचहरी,

सांस्कृतिक, साहित्यिक गतिविधियाँ सब कैसे होता था, आज उनकी भी समझ में नहीं आता जो उस समय के साक्षी हैं।

सिविल जज होकर फ़ैज़ाबाद पहुंचे तो सरकारी आवास में न रहकर अपने नाना के उस भव्य प्रासाद में रहना शुरू किया जो खण्डहर हो चला था। सास मेरी थीं भवाली सैनिटोरियम में, पर बड़े जतन से उन्होंने उस कोठी को संवारना शुरू किया जिसमें पितामह की काव्यशास्त्र-विनोद की सुखद स्मृतियाँ आज भी रची बसी थीं। पुरानी बैठक में बड़े बड़े पीतल के गमलों में आधुनिक पाम—ताड़वृक्ष—पीतल के ही पेल्मेट, भारी पर्दे, कालीन, जाज़िम। हवेली एक बार फिर उसी गरिमा से मण्डित हो उठी काव्यशास्त्र चर्चाओं से, कवि-गोष्ठियों से गूंज उठी।

जहाँ कहीं भी स्थानान्तरण हुआ हर जगह काव्यगोष्ठियाँ, हिन्दी-सेवा, संस्कृत-सेवा, सांस्कृतिक गतिविधियाँ…। अंग्रेज चीफ़ जस्टिस को यह न भाया। उनके आगाह करने पर श्री गोपाल चन्द्र का उत्तर स्पष्ट था—"न्यायाधीश आप भी हैं और मैं भी। मुकद्दमों के फैसले यदि सही करता हूं तो मातृभाषा की सेवा को भी सही समझता हूं। यह आपके किसी कानून में वर्जित नहीं है। अन्ततः डिस्ट्रिक्ट जज न बनूँ, आप इतना ही तो कर सकते हैं"?

भारत स्वतन्त्र हुआ। चीफ़ कोर्ट हाईकोर्ट के अन्तर्गत हो गया। अवध के बाहर भी तबादले हुए। डिस्ट्रिक्ट जज होकर ही वह सेवा निवृत्त हुए। मुकद्दमों के फैसले वह हिन्दी में ही लिखते रहे। सरकार-सेवा, साहित्य-सेवा से गौण ही बनी रही।

'माईलॉर्ड' की तर्ज पर भारतीय न्यायालयों में न्यायाधिकारी को 'हुज़ूर' कहने की परिपाटी थी। जज साहब ने वकीलों को ही नहीं, अपने अर्दली तक को भी कभी 'हुज़ूर' नहीं कहने दिया। मोटर स्वयं चलाते तो अर्दली को सामने साथ ही बिठाते, अंग्रेज़ी शिष्टाचार के तहत पीछे की सीट पर नहीं।

उनका आदर्श ही उनका व्यवहार था। समानता में विश्वास था तो अपने अधीनस्थ अधिकारियों, कर्मचारियों तक को समान समझा। मातृभाषा प्रेम था तो मातृभाषा के व्यवहार में कभी कोई संकोच न हुआ चाहे वह न्यायालय का फैसला हो, चाहे पत्र-लेखन। सिद्धान्ततः दहेज का विरोध किया तो शाब्दिक नहीं, आचरण में उतारकर। दूसरों के लिए अपनी सुविधा-असुविधा का विचार त्यागकर परोपकार में ही सुख जाना। अपने बड़े जामाता के निधन जैसे दारुण दुःख के क्षणों में भी निरुद्विग्न रहकर सुख-दुःख समभाव में अपनी दृढ़ आस्था को साकार किया। ईर्ष्या, द्वेष, काम, क्रोध, लोभ, मोह से परे, फल की आशा किये बिना निष्काम कर्म ही करते रहे।

अपने स्वास्थ्य के प्रति वे सदैव सजग रहे। बिना मिर्च मसाले का सात्त्विक, निरामिष भोजन करते थे। दुग्ध उनका प्रिय पेय था। योगासन, व्यायाम और प्रातःभ्रमण उन्होंने अन्तिम दिन तक नहीं छोड़ा। निरन्तर अपनी शारीरिक, सामाजिक, वैयक्तिक कठिनाइयों को नकारते रहे, बढ़ती आयु को नकारते रहे, गिरते स्वास्थ्य को नकारते रहे, क्षीण होती नेत्र ज्योति को नकारते रहे, अन्ततः बहुधा परिषद् न जा पाने की व्यथा को भी नकारते रहे। नहीं नकार सके तो उस शाश्वत सत्य को—'जातस्य हि ध्रुवो मृत्युः' और १२ नवम्बर, १९८४ को हम सभी इस क्रूर सत्य, उस दुर्निवार भवितव्यता, उस निर्मम नियति के आगे विवश रह गये…।

अपने परिवार के साथ



With his family

एक साधु, तपस्वी, कर्मठ विद्वान्

विद्या भास्कर

समूचे उत्तर प्रदेश में फैला हुआ हमारा एक बड़ा परिवार है। उसके मुखिया थे स्वर्गीय डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्द जी। उसके प्रमुख तथा वरिष्ठ सदस्य हैं श्री गोपालचन्द्र सिंह। हम सभी कनिष्ठ सदस्य इनको जज साहब कहते हैं। बाबू जी (डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्द जी) और हमारी उम्र में जितने वर्षों का अन्तर है, उसके बीच में जज साहब की उम्र पड़ती है। इस अर्थ में जज साहब हम कई लोगों से अवस्था में वरिष्ठता की ओर हैं। फिर भी जज साहब का व्यवहार तथा आत्मीयता हम लोगों के प्रति वैसी है जो समवयस्कों के प्रति होनी चाहिए। इस वृहत् परिवार के हम कनिष्ठ सदस्यों ने अपनी ओर से जज साहब के प्रति कनिष्ठता का यथासम्भव व्यवहार रखा है, तथापि हमें जज साहब से वही स्नेह मिला है जो प्रायः समवयस्कों को ही मिलना चाहिए। जज साहब की इस महानता से हम सभी अभिभूत हैं, किन्तु हम यह नहीं कह सकते कि हमने इस घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध का कोई अनुचित लाभ उठाया है। इसका श्रेय हमको नहीं, जज साहब को मिलना चाहिए। स्वभाव से सर्वतः सरल होते हुए भी जज साहब ने हमें सीमोल्लंघन का कोई अवसर नहीं दिया —हमें भी कभी इसका दुस्साहस नहीं हुआ।

नैकट्य की इस दशा ने हमें जज साहब के सद्‌गुणों से जितना सीखना चाहिए था अथवा उनकी विद्वत्ता, पाण्डित्य तथा धर्मशास्त्र, विधि, राजनीति, लोक-व्यवहार आदि के विषय में जितना जानना चाहिए था उतना उन्होंने सीखने और जानने नहीं दिया। इस प्रकार का ज्ञान हमें अब होने लगा है, जब हम भी वार्द्धक्य के निकट पहुंचने लगे हैं। इसका एक बड़ा कारण शायद यह है कि जज साहब ने हमें कभी यह ज्ञान ही नहीं होने दिया कि वह कितने विविध विषयों के गहरे विद्वान् हैं। विधि इनके अध्ययन, प्रयोग तथा व्यवहार का विषय रहा है। इनको अपने जीवन के लम्बे समय में अंग्रेजी भाषा के माध्यम से काम करना पड़ा है। अंग्रेज़ों के बनाये कानूनों की व्याख्या तथा परिभाषा कर अपने निर्णय लिखने के सिलसिले में इन्हें अंग्रेज़ों के बनाये कानूनों का गम्भीर अध्ययन करना पड़ा है। नज़ीरों का बड़ा अम्बार अंग्रेज़ी में लिखे कानूनों में है। जिलों की अदालतों में भी वहीं नज़ीरे मान्य होती हैं जो इंगलैण्ड की न्यायालयों और प्रीविकौंसिल में मान्य हैं। इन पर हमारे जज साहब का वास्तविक अधि-

कार हो जाना स्वाभाविक था। हमारे जज साहब उन भारतीय न्यायाधीशों में नहीं रहे हैं, जो अंग्रेज़ी कानून और नज़ीरों का तो बढ़िया ज्ञान रखते हैं लेकिन विशुद्ध भारतीय विधानों के बारे में विचार करने की ज़रूरत पड़ने पर बगले झांकने लगते हैं, उनसे कन्नी काटते हैं या जानकारी के लिए वरिष्ठ वकीलों, नये-पुराने न्यायाधीशों अथवा सहयोगियों, सहायकों की मदद लेते हैं। भारत में भारत के कानूनों की व्याख्या कर भारतीय परिवेश में मुकदमों का निर्णय करने वाले ऐसे न्यायाधीशों की भरमार रही है जिन्हें भारत की परिस्थिति का ज्ञान नहीं के बराबर रहता है। अंग्रेज़ों की तो बात ही अलग है, जिनका हमारे देश पर साम्राज्यवादी शासन उसके डेढ़-दो सौ बरस पहले से लेकर आज से ३५-३६ बरस पहले तक रहा है। जज साहब भारतीय वाङ्मय का अध्ययन कितना गम्भीर है, यह उनके निकटतम रूप से सम्बन्ध रखने वाले भी आसानी से नहीं जान सकते हैं। जब तक उनके ज्ञान के विषय को छेड़ा न जाये तब तक यह मालूम करना कठिन है कि वह कितने गहरे हैं। जिस वृहद् परिवार का मैंने आरम्भ में ज़िक्र किया है उसके एक अन्य प्रमुख सदस्य श्री परिपूर्णानन्द वर्मा हैं। वह अपराध विज्ञान के असाधारण, बिरले विशेषज्ञों में हैं। श्री परिपूर्णानन्द जी बतलाते हैं कि हमने अपने अध्ययन के विषय में (अपराध के बारे में) बातचीत के सिलसिले में किसी पश्चिमी विधि विशेषज्ञ के मत का उल्लेख किया और कहा कि अपराध और दण्ड व्यवस्था के सन्दर्भ में यह मत अभिनव है। हमारे जज साहब ने तुरन्त उस धर्म संहिता तथा स्मृतिग्रन्थ का उल्लेख कर उद्धरण दिया जिनमें हमारे शास्त्रकारों ने उस सन्दर्भ का समुचित सविस्तर विवेचन करके रख दिया है। विश्वविख्यात विद्वान् परिपूर्णानन्द जी को यह मानना पड़ा कि उनका इस विषय का अध्ययन अभी अपूर्ण है। श्री गोपालचन्द्र सिंह अक्सर आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव का ज़िक्र करते हैं और बतलाते रहते हैं कि आचार्य जी जितने बड़े विद्वान् थे उतने ही विनम्र भी थे। इस सम्बन्ध का एक श्लोक का भी जज साहब उद्धरण देते हैं, जिसमें कहा गया है कि विनय विद्या देती है, अधिक फलवाले वृक्ष के झुके रहने पर ही उसकी महत्ता का ज्ञान हो पाता है। हममें से जो लोग जज साहब के इस वर्णन को सुन चुके हैं, उन्हें तुरन्त यह स्मरण हो आता है कि जज साहब जो कुछ कह रहे हैं, वह उन्हीं के ऊपर लागू होता है।

श्री गोपालचन्द्र जी वास्तव में सार्वजनिक जीवन के आदमी हैं। यदि न्यायिक प्रशासन में उनका प्रवेश न हुआ होता और उन्होंने सार्वजनिक जीवन के अथवा जनसेवा के कार्य को अपनाया होता तो उनकी चाहे जितनी भी भौतिक हानि हुई होती, देश का बहुत लाभ हुआ होता। लेकिन जब सार्वजनिक सेवा कार्य को हम राजनीति के दलदल से सम्बद्ध देखते हैं, तब यह बात अनायास कहनी पड़ती है कि राजनीतिक जीवन में आजकल प्रविष्ट पाखण्ड, धूर्तता तथा स्वार्थपरता जज साहब को लेशमात्र कलुषित नहीं कर पाती, फिर भी उन्होंने उससे दूर रहकर देश का बड़ा उपकार ही किया है। असली बात शायद यही है कि राजनीतिक जीवन में व्याप्त गन्दगी ने उनमें वितृष्णा उत्पन्न कर दी है और उन्हें उससे दूर रहना ही उचित जान पड़ा है। लेकिन यह बात ध्यान में रखने की है कि जज साहब ने अपने समय के इन सभी

चरित्रवान्, मेधावी, अध्ययनशील, सेवाव्रतधारी राजनीतिक नेताओं से सम्पर्क बनाये रखा है जिनका जीवन देश के लिए समर्पित था। ऐसे लोगों में राजर्षि पुरुषोत्तमदास टण्डन, डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्दजी, आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव जी सर्वप्रमुख हैं। इनमें से हर एक ने जज साहब की विशेष योग्यता तथा रचनात्मक सेवा-प्रवृत्ति को जानकर अपने-अपने क्षेत्र में उन्हें जन सेवा कार्य में प्रवृत्त किया है। आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव जी संस्कृत भाषा तथा साहित्य की समृद्धि के बड़े इच्छुक थे और इस क्षेत्र में जज साहब के सेवा कार्य से बहुत प्रसन्न तथा प्रभावित रहा करते थे। अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ के लिए जन-सहयोग की मांग करते हुए आचार्यजी ने अपने हाथों से एक अपील लिखी थी, जिसका मुद्रण तथा प्रकाशन होने के पहले ही आचार्य जी का देहावसान कोयम्बात्तूर में हो गया था। आचार्य जी संस्कृत के लिए स्वयं जो कुछ करना चाहते थे, वही जज साहब को करते देखकर प्रसन्न थे। डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्दजी ने जज साहब की हिन्दी के प्रति निष्ठा को देखते हुए ही उन्हें काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा की संविधान रचना में काम में लगाया था। विधिशब्दावली के निर्माण का काम भी जज साहब से उन्होंने ही लिया था। राजर्षि टण्डन जी उन लोगों में थे, जिन्हें जज साहब से सार्वजनिक काम लेने के "लालच" में अपनी मनोवाँछा का दमन तथा त्याग करना पड़ा था। राजर्षि जब अतिशय रुग्ण तथा क्षीण होकर शय्याग्रस्त हो गये थे, तब पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने उनका आग्रह मानकर हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन का उद्धार करने में शासकीय सहयोग देना स्वीकार किया था। प्रस्ताव यह था कि सरकार अपने हस्तक्षेप से सम्मेलन की नयी नियमावली बनवा दे, जिसके अनुसार सम्मेलन का कार्य सम्पादित हो। एतदर्थ भारत सरकार ने अधिकार सम्पन्न शासन निकाय का संघटन किया था। यह काम पण्डित जवाहर लाल जी ने श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री के सुपुर्द किया था। शास्त्री जी ने राजर्षि टण्डन जी से प्रथम शासन निकाय के पदाधिकारियों तथा सदस्यों की नाम-सूची पर परामर्श किया था। राजर्षि जी ने इच्छा प्रकट की थी कि प्रयाग उच्च न्यायालय के अवकाशप्राप्त मुख्य न्यायाधीश श्री कमलाकान्त वर्मा अध्यक्ष तथा श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह सचिव नियुक्त किये जायें। शास्त्री जी ने जब इस विषय पर पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू से परामर्श किया तब पण्डित जी ने यह इच्छा प्रकट की कि उस समय बम्बई के राज्यपाल पद से मुक्त हुए श्री श्रीप्रकाश जी को अध्यक्ष नियुक्त किया जाये। राजर्षि टण्डन जी इस नियुक्ति के विरुद्ध थे। उन्होंने अपनी ओर से प्रस्तावित नामों के आग्रह को छोड़ा नहीं। इस हालत में एक प्रकार का अवरोध उत्पन्न हो गया था। विद्वद्वर डाक्टर बाबू राम सक्सेना, जो वर्षों तक सम्मेलन के प्रधान मन्त्री के पद पर रह चुके थे, उन दिनों दिल्ली में पारिभाषिक शब्दावली आयोग के अध्यक्ष पद पर काम कर चुके थे। वह राजर्षि टण्टन जी और श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री के बीच मध्यस्थ के रूप में सहायता कर रहे थे। उन दिनों मैं हिन्दुस्तानी एकेडेमी का सचिव था। एक दिन मेरे पास डाक्टर सक्सेना का टेलिफ़ोन दिल्ली से आया। उन्होंने कहा कि टण्डन जी के पास जाकर यह सन्देश दे आइये कि शास्त्री जी गोपाल चन्द्र जी को सचिव के पद पर नियुक्ति कराने के लिए तैयार हैं, शर्त यह है कि टण्डन जी श्री श्रीप्रकाश को अध्यक्ष नियुक्त किये जाने की स्वीकृति दे दें। यदि वह अध्यक्ष पद पर श्री

प्रकाश जी की नियुक्ति स्वीकार न करेंगे तो सचिव पद पर गोपाल चन्द्र जी के बजाय किसी अन्य सज्जन की नियुक्ति करनी पड़ेगी। मैंने तुरन्त राजर्षि जी की सेवा में उपस्थित होकर डाक्टर सक्सेना का सन्देश सुनाया। राजर्षि जी ने एक क्षण का भी समय गंवाये बिना कहा— "अगर यही बात है तो आप कह दीजिए कि लाल बहादुर अध्यक्ष पद पर श्री श्रीप्रकाश को नियुक्त करा दें, लेकिन गोपाल चन्द्र जी सचिव अवश्य रहेंगे।" मैंने तदनुसार डाक्टर सक्सेना को बाबूजी के निर्णय की सूचना दे दी। राजर्षि टण्डन जी अनेक कारणों से श्री श्रीप्रकाश जी के मनोनयन को नापसन्द करते थे, किन्तु जब शास्त्री जी का यह विकल्पपूर्ण आग्रह आया तब उन्होंने श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह के हाथ से निकल जाने देना सर्वथा अनुचित माना। कड़वा घूंट पीकर उन्होंने श्री श्रीप्रकाश जी के विरुद्ध अपनी आपत्ति छोड़ दी। जज साहब की योग्यता, कार्यकुशलता, हिन्दी के प्रति समर्पण भावना आदि ने राजर्षि जी को जज साहब की अपरिहार्यता को स्वीकार करने के लिये बाध्य कर दिया था। शासन निकाय संघटित नहीं हो पाया था। उसकी पहली बैठक भी नहीं हुई थी कि राजर्षि टण्डन जी का शरीर छूट गया। उस दिन किसी निजी काम से मैं लखनऊ में था। जज साहब और मैंने यह शोक समाचार पण्डित कमलापति त्रिपाठी को वहीं (लखनऊ में) दिया। कमलापति जी की मोटर पर हम तीनों तुरन्त प्रयाग के लिए रवाना हो गये। उस शाम श्मशान से लौटने पर जज साहब ने कहा— "टण्डन जी के उठ जाने से मेरा बड़ा नुकसान हुआ है। ऐसा महापुरुष चला गया है जो सार्वजनिक सेवा का कोई न कोई काम मुझसे लेता रहता था।"

शासन निकाय के विधिवत् संघटित हो जाने के बाद उस पर अनेक प्रकार की आफतें आती रहीं। इनसे जज साहब ने कैसे छुटकारा पाया यह उनकी विधि-विशेषज्ञता तथा निर्णय-कुशलता का प्रखर परिचय है। महाधिवक्ता पण्डित कन्हैयालाल मिश्र का जज साहब से पुराना परिचय था। पण्डित कन्हैयालालजी स्वयं उच्चकोटि के हिन्दी प्रेमी तथा विद्वान् थे। हम लोग मिश्र जी को "पण्डितजी" कहा करते थे। शासन निकाय के आरम्भ काल से ही पण्डित जी ने जज साहब की मदद की थी। शासन निकाय की कार्य-पद्धति का निरूपण पण्डित जी ने किया था। शासन निकाय की सरकारी अधिसूचना प्राप्त होने पर पण्डित जी ने उच्च न्यायालय में निकाय की ओर से आवेदन किया कि हमें काम करने की सुविधा प्राप्त करायी जाय। उन दिनों प्रयाग उच्च न्यायालय की ओर से नियुक्त आदाता के रूप में प्रमुख वरिष्ठ अधिवक्ता श्री जगदीश स्वरूप जी काम देख रहे थे। उच्च न्यायालय को यह निर्णय करना था कि आदाता तथा शासन निकाय के बीच कार्य का विभाजन कैसे किया जाये। पण्डित कन्हैयालाल मिश्र का यह सुझाव उच्च न्यायालय ने मान लिया कि आदाता के पद पर शासन निकाय के सचिव श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह की नियुक्ति कर दी जाये। महाधिवक्ता ने यह भी कहा कि वर्तमान आदाता की स्वीकृति लेकर ही निर्णय किया जाये। जब उच्च न्यायालय ने आदाता महोदय के सम्मुख यह समस्या रखी तब श्री जगदीश स्वरूप ने प्रसन्नता पूर्वक आदाता का काम श्रीगोपाल चन्द्र सिंह के सुपुर्द कर देने की इच्छा व्यक्त की। हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के प्रथम शासन निकाय की नियमावली बनाकर सम्मेलन का निर्वाचन करा देने का जो काम जज साहब ने उठाया था,

उसमें अनेक विघ्न-बाधायें आयी थीं, जिनका सामना उन्होंने अत्यन्त विनम्रता तथा अपने मृदु व्यवहार से किया था और विजय पाई थी। सर्वाधिक बाधा निकाय के दो-चार सदस्यों की ओर से उपस्थित की जाती रही थी। जज साहब ने श्री कन्हैया लाल मिश्र के परामर्श पर यह निश्चय किया था कि नियमावली बनाने के काम में तो सदस्यों की बात मानी जा सकती है, किन्तु दिनानुदिन के प्रबन्ध कार्यों में वह आदाता की हैसियत से काम करेंगे और उसमें कोई हस्तक्षेप स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे। इसके बाद काफ़ी समय तक जज साहब निर्विघ्न रूप से काम करते रहे थे। भारत सरकार के विधि मन्त्रालय ने सम्मेलन सम्बन्धी विधेयक का प्रारूप तैयार करने में त्रुटियाँ न की होतीं तो सम्मेलन की नयी आदर्श नियमावली ऐसी बन गयी होती, जिससे सम्मेलन को वास्तव में हिन्दी की सर्वप्रमुख संस्था के रूप में काम करने और निरन्तर उन्नति करने का मौका मिलता। क्षुद्र स्वार्थ की राजनीति ने सम्मेलन का सर्वनाश कर रखा है।

यह बात सभी लोग जानते हैं कि संस्कृत के विकास तथा उन्नयन के लिए श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह ने अपना जीवन अर्पित कर रखा है। उनके पितामह प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के संस्थापकों में से थे। अपने विद्याप्रेमी पितामह के संस्कृत ग्रन्थों का भारी संग्रह इन्होंने अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद्, लखनऊ को दान कर रखा है और परिषद् की देखभाल वह इसी गम्भीर उत्तर-दायित्व की भावना से करते हैं, जिससे महामना पण्डित मदन मोहन मालवीय हिन्दू विश्व-विद्यालय की तथा राजर्षि टण्डन जी हिन्दी सहित्य सम्मेलन की किया करते थे। जज साहब को परिषद् के लिए उत्तम विद्वानों तथा संस्कृत के सेवकों का सहयोग मिला है। निष्ठावान् व्यक्तियों का संग्रह कर पाना कठिन काम है। संयोजनकर्ता की कर्मठता तथा परिश्रम इसमें सहायता करती है, किन्तु इन दोनों से अधिक महत्व संयोजक के स्नेहपूर्ण स्वभाव का है। जज साहब के इस गुण ने परिषद् की नींव को आज पक्की कर रखी है। उन्होंने हमेशा संघर्ष बचाया है। एक बार जब वह हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के शासन निकाय के शरारती सदस्यों से परेशान हो गये थे, तब मैं ने यह परामर्श दिया था कि वह इसी बहाने से पद त्याग कर दें। जज साहब ने उत्तर दिया—"मैं संघर्ष नहीं कर सकता।" सब तरह की टीका टिप्पणी को सहन करते हुए अपने काम में लगे रहने का यह गुण मेरे विचार से जज साहब ने आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव जी से सीखा है, जो धैर्य तथा सहनशक्ति के प्रदर्शन में निराले थे और जिन्होंने सब तरह की व्यक्तिगत हानि उठाते हुए भी कभी कोई अप्रिय प्रसंग स्वयं नहीं उठाया बल्कि सभी तरह के संघर्ष को हंसते हंसते झेला।

श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह की विनोदप्रियता तथा हास्य-व्यंगपूर्ण टीका-टिप्पणी करने की अद्-भुत क्षमता की जानकारी कम लोगों को, निकटवर्ती लोगों मात्र को, होगी। ऐसे क्षणों में जज साहब बालक, युवक, प्रौढ़ सब कुछ बन जाते हैं, और सब के साथ इनका हास परिहास वैसे चलता है जैसे समवयस्कों में सहज है।*

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* यह संस्मरण श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी के जीवनकाल में लिखा गया था। अब इस संस्मरण के लेखक भी दिवंगत हो चुके हैं।

कर्मयोगी श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह

अमृत लाल नागर

शायद सन् ४९ या ५० की बात है। आकाशवाणी के पंचायतघर कार्यक्रम के तत्कालीन अधिकारी स्वर्गीय राम उजागर दुवे ने मुझे और आदरणीय गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी को एक अवधी काव्यगोष्ठी के प्रसंग में दो संक्षिप्त वार्तायें देने के लिए आमन्त्रित किया था। श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी को पुराने अवधी कवियों के सम्बन्ध में एक वार्ता प्रसारित करनी थी, और मुझे आधुनिक अवधी के मूर्धन्य कवि तथा मेरे आदरणीय परमस्नेही मित्र स्वर्गीय पं० बलभद्र प्रसाद दीक्षित 'पढ़ीस' के कुछ संस्मरण सुनाने थे। पहला परिचय वहीं हुआ। श्री गोपाल चन्द्र जी तब कदाचित् सेशन्स जज थे, और सब लोग उन्हें जज साहब कहकर पुकारते थे। मैं भी माननीय को जज साहब ही कहने लगा। न्यायपालिका की सेवा से मुक्त हुए अब उन्हें कई वर्ष हो चुके हैं, किन्तु आदरणीय बुजुर्ग को इसी नाम से सम्बोधित करता हूँ। दूसरी बार जज साहब से मथुरा वृन्दावन की एक साहित्यिक गोष्ठी में भेंट हुई। घर के लोग दूर गांव में मिले, इसलिये स्वाभाविक रूप से आकाशवाणी केन्द्र का औपचारिक परिचय अनौपचारिकता की भूमि पर आ गया। जब लखनऊ में संस्कृत परिषद् की स्थापना हुई तब हमारी मुलाकातें अधिक होने लगीं। सन् ५२ या ५३ में परिषद् की एक बैठक मेरे घर पर भी हुयी थी। प्रातः स्मरणीय आचार्य को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर महोदय ने उस गोष्ठी की अध्यक्षता की थी। संस्था अभी पालने में ही झूल रही थी। उसका विधान आदि उस समय निर्माणाधीन था। उन्हीं दिनों के आस-पास तत्कालीन केन्द्रीय सूचना-मंत्री डा० गोपाल रेड्डी को मुख्य अतिथि के रूप में आमन्त्रित करके परिषद् ने लखनऊ में एक बड़ा जलसा किया था। उसके बाद जज साहब के मुख से यह वाक्य सुना: "यह सब तो ठीक है, अच्छा है, लेकिन परिषद् के द्वारा जो काम होने चाहिये वे नहीं हो रहे हैं।"

स्वर्गीय श्रद्धेय सम्पूर्णानन्द जी उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्यमन्त्री बने। संस्कृत माँ शारदा की वीणा बनकर गुन्जार करने लगी। उन्हीं दिनों परिषद् को कुछ सरकारी सहायता भी प्राप्त हुयी। सम्पूर्णानन्द जी के पुत्र और सुख्यात लेखक स्वर्गीय भाई सर्वदानन्द मेरे बहुत पुराने मित्र थे, अतः उनके यहां मेरा आना-जाना बहुत होता था। जज साहब भी बाबू जी के यहाँ अक्सर

आया-जाया करते थे। मेरे प्रति उनका स्नेह भाव अब पहले से अधिक बढ़ गया था। जहाँ तक याद है, जज साहब उस समय तक न्यायपालिका की सेवा से निवृत्त होकर उत्तर प्रदेश शासन के विधि विभाग के लिए एक हिन्दी शब्दकोष बना रहे थे। चूंकि अब वे स्थायी रूप से ही लखनऊ में रहने लगे थे, इसलिये हमारी भेटें अक्सर होने लगीं। कभी-कभी अचानक ही मेरे घर पर पधारने की कृपा करते थे। उनकी बातों में संस्कृत परिषद् के कार्यकलाप को लेकर प्राय: असन्तोष प्रकट होता था। स्वतन्त्र भारत में बड़े-बड़े नाम और उद्देश्यों का प्रचार करके अनेक जेबी संस्थाएं बन गयीं थीं, जो चन्द लोगों के निहित स्वार्थो को ही पूरा करने के अधिक काम आती थीं। जज साहब परिषद् को ठोस काम करनेवाली संस्था बनाना चाहते थे। उनके सपने ऊँचे थे। श्रद्धेय अय्यर जी और डा० सत्यव्रत सिंह जैसे विद्वान् भी उन्हीं के समान चिन्तित थे। यह लोग परिषद् को विशाल और अक्षयवट वृक्ष के रूप में देख रहे थे, जबकि परिषद् रूपी बरगद बोनसाई बनाकर किसी ड्राइंग रूम की शोभा बढ़ाने के लिये तैयार हो रहा था। संस्कृत भाषा के प्रति खरा लगाव होने के कारण उन्होंने अपने घर का एक बहुमूल्य पुस्तकालय परिषद् को अर्पित कर दिया था। उन्हीं के प्रयत्न से परिषद् को हज़रतगंज में वह स्थान मिला जिसमें आज भी उसका कार्यालय और पुस्तकालय स्थापित है। परिषद् में कुछ आवश्यक फेरबदल हुये और जज साहब फिर सक्रिय होकर उसमें भाग लेने लगे। ऐसा लगता था, कि न्यायप्रिय जज साहब को शायद सपनों में भी परिषद् की भलाई के काम ही नज़र आया करते थे। सवेरे से ही उनकी मोटर जिस-जिस के यहाँ जा पहुँचती। कभी पाण्डुलिपियों की सूचना पाई तो उधर जा रहे हैं, कभी परिषद् के लिये कुछ धन बटोरने की इच्छा से जा रहे हैं, कभी प्रेस और छपाई के लिए दौड़-धूप कर रहे हैं। आज की स्वार्थ भरी दुनिया में अपनी इष्ट देवी का ऐसा लगनभरा पुजारी प्राय: कम ही देखने को मिलता है। उन्हीं की निरन्तर दौड़-धूप के कारण परिषद् को केन्द्र और प्रदेश की सरकारों से अनेक अनुदान राशियां प्राप्त हो सकी थीं। शोध कक्ष बना, प्रकाशन आरम्भ हुआ, देश-विदेशों से संस्था का नाता जुड़ने लगा, और गोष्ठियां भी पहले से अधिक होने लगीं। एक बार कश्मीरी महल्ले के किसी पुराने परिवार में उन्हें संस्कृत की लगभग तीन-चार हजार पुस्तकें होने की सूचना मिली। लैला की टोह मिले तो मजनू फिर खामोश नहीं बैठ सकता है। जज साहब रोज कश्मीरी मोहल्ले के फेरे लगाने लगे और अन्त में इस अमूल्य निधि को प्राप्त करके ही दम लिया। इस बहुमूल्य ग्रन्थ कोष में शारदा लिपि में लिखी कई सौ पाण्डुलिपियाँ भी उन्हें प्राप्त हुयी थीं।

जज साहब आज लगभग ८३ की आयु के लपेटे में आ चुके हैं, कार नहीं चला पाते, आँखों की ज्योति भी कुछ कम हो गयी है, लेकिन नज़रे बद्दूर, बुढ़ापा अभी उनके दिल की नौजवानी के कहीं आस-पास तक भी नहीं आ पाया है। उन्हीं के प्रयासों से संस्कृत-परिषद् के लिये भूमि एलाट हो चुकी है, उस पर भवन निर्माण की योजना भी तेजी से बढ़ रही है।

अभी हाल ही में जज साहब मेरे यहाँ पधारे, पूछा: "यह कान्यकुब्ज ब्राह्मण लखनऊ में बाजपेई बने या पहले से थे?"

मैंने निवेदन किया : "बाजपेयी तो और भी जगहों पर जहाँ बाजपेय यज्ञ हुये होंगे, बने होंगे जैसे बटेश्वर, चंदनपुर आदि के बाजपेयी । पर जहां तक स्वर्गीय पण्डित अम्बिका प्रसाद जी बाजपेयी और स्वर्गीय रूपनारायण पाण्डेय जी जैसे पुराने लोगों के द्वारा मुझे मालूम हुआ है, उसके अनुसार लखनऊ में ही सम्राट् अकबर के द्वारा 'बाजपेय यज्ञ' कराये जाने पर लखनऊ के बाजपेयी प्रतिष्ठित हुये थे । उपमन्यु गोत्रीय पण्डितवर बुद्धिशर्मा जी उस समय के महान् कर्मकाण्डी विद्वान् माने जाते थे । चूँकि लखनऊ और अवध कान्यकुब्ज साम्राज्य के पहले से ही अभिन्न अंग थे, इसलिए कान्यकुब्ज ब्राह्मणों की बस्ती यहां पहले ही से विद्यमान थी । रानी कटरे के एक पुराने और सुप्रतिष्ठित कुल के स्वर्गीय पं० राधेनारायण बाजपेयी 'भारतीय प्रजा-वैद्य' तथा बाद में स्वर्गीय पं० मथुरा प्रसाद जी बाजपेयी ने भी मुझे यह बतलाया था कि यहाँ के पण्डित इतने विद्वान् माने जाते थे कि इस नगरी को छोटी काशी कहा जाता था । मुसलमानों के आक्रमण से पहले तक कान्यकुब्ज ब्राह्मण ही यहाँ के प्रशासक भी थे । पं० अम्बिका प्रसाद जी बाजपेयी ने कुरियाघाट के पास उस स्थान को, जहां आज गदर के मारे गये अंग्रेज सैनिकों का कब्रिस्तान है, ब्राह्मणों की प्राचीन यज्ञशाला का स्थल बतलाया था । इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि आज से लगभग २८-३० वर्ष पहले तक उस कब्रिस्तान की चहारदीवारी में गुप्तकालीन ईंटे ही लगी हुई थीं ।"

जज साहब बड़ी देर तक सुनते रहे, फिर एकाएक कुछ झुंझलाकर कहा : "तो फिर यह सब बातें तुम लिखते क्यों नहीं हो ?"

मैने कहा : "मैंने कुछ लेख तो अवश्य लिखे हैं, जज साहब, पर उन्हें पुस्तक का रूप अभी तक नहीं दे पाया हूं ।" मेरे कमरे में रखी लखनऊ की पुरानी ईंटों और मूर्तियों के संग्रह की ओर कुछ देर नज़र भरकर देखते रहे, फिर एक बार उनकी उत्तेजना उभरी । कहा : "आखिर इतना संग्रह किस उद्देश्य से किया है तुमने ? यह सब उपन्यास-वुपन्यास लिखना छोड़ो, पहले इस सामग्री का संकलन तैयार करो । लखनऊ से लेकर अयोध्या तक की बारीकी से पुराता-त्त्विक जाँच होनी चाहिए ।"

मैं फिलहाल तो अपना उपन्यास ही पूरा करूँगा, परन्तु जज साहब को यह विश्वास अवश्य दिलाता हूँ कि उनकी आज्ञा का पालन किये बिना न तो मैं मरूँगा और न ही उनके बरदहस्त की छाया मेरे सिर से हटेगी । मेरे संकल्प की शक्ति अवधनन्दन श्रीराम हैं ।

लगन के धनी निष्ठावान् कर्मयोगी इस वयोवृद्ध महापुरुष के श्रीचरणों में मेरी शत-शत प्रणामाञ्जलियाँ सादर, सविनय, सप्रेम अर्पित हैं ।*

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* यह संस्मरण श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी के जीवनकाल में लिखा गया था ।

श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह : एक सौम्य व्यक्तित्व

भगवती शरण सिंह

गोपाल चन्द्र जी से मेरी पहली मुलाकात हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के वाराणसी अधिवेशन में हुई थी। यह सम्भवतः सन् ३९ या ४० की बात होगी। सन् ठीक से याद नहीं कि यह सम्मेलन किस वर्ष हुआ था। एक और बात याद नहीं रह गयी कि वह स्थान कौनसा था, जहां मेरी उनकी प्रथम भेंट हुई थी, पर यह जाने कैसे चित्त पर स्पष्ट और आज तक अमिट बना हुआ है कि वह जो भी स्थान रहा हो कुछ ऊँचाई पर था और मैं लोहे की रेलिंग पर झुका हुआ अन्यमनस्क भाव से कहीं कुछ देख रहा था। एक व्यक्ति वहीं और खड़ा था जिसने स्वयं ही अपने आप अपना परिचय देते हुए कहा—या यों कहूं कि मेरा ध्यान उस खोयेपन से हटाया, या अपनी ओर आकृष्ट किया—कि मेरा नाम गोपाल चन्द्र है, मैं जुडिशियल सर्विस में हूं और काशी आया हूं, सम्मेलन के अधिवेशन में। मेरी और उनकी वय में जो अन्तर था वह उस समय भी स्पष्ट हो रहा था। मैंने आदर भाव से उन्हें नमस्कार करते हुये कहा कि मैं अभी विद्यार्थी हूं। सम्मेलन में मेरी भी दिलचस्पी है। मुझे पंडित माखन लाल जी की देख-रेख करने का काम सुपुर्द किया गया है। माखन लाल जी का हार्निया का आपरेशन हुआ था। पूरी तरह स्वस्थ नहीं हुए थे, फिर भी सम्मेलन मे भाग लेने आये थे। उन दिनों काशी में बहुत सुविधाजनक होटल नहीं थे और अगर थे भी तो भी 'एक भारतीय आत्मा' को विदेशी ढंग के होटल में ठहरना या ठहराया जाना स्वीकार्य न होता। अतः टाउन हाल के मैदान के सामने ही एक देशी-विदेशी ढंग के होटल में, जिसका नाम ग्रैंड होटल था, उन्हें ठहराया गया था। सम्मेलन नज़दीक में ही नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा के मैदान में आयोजित हुआ था।

उसके बाद गोपाल चन्द्र जी से फिर कब भेंट हुई—यह याद नहीं पर कुछ दिन बाद बराबर होती रही, जब वे काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा में होने वाले कोश कार्य से सम्बद्ध हुए थे और अक्सर बनारस—उन दिनों तक बनारस का नाम वाराणसी नहीं हुआ था—आते-जाते रहते थे। मुझे उस समय भी यह कुछ अजीब ही लगा था कि उम्र में इतने बड़े, योग्यता में इतने अधिक, और शासकीय अधिकारी होकर भी मुझ जैसे सामान्य युवक पर उनकी अकारण कृपा क्यों कर हुई और क्योंकर उनका स्नेह बढ़ता गया। एक दिन मैंने बाबू जी (स्व० सम्पूर्णा-

नन्द जी) के घर पर भी जब उनको देखा तो उनके चले जाने के बाद मैने बाबू जी से ही जिज्ञासा की कि ये कौन व्यक्ति हैं। बाबू जी ने बताया कि ये श्री राम चन्द्र सिन्हा के छोटे भाई हैं और हिन्दी के काम में, उसके संवर्धन में, उसके प्रचार-प्रसार में बड़ी रुचि लेते हैं। मेरा काम इतने से बिल्कुल नहीं बना। श्री राम चन्द्र सिन्हा के भाई हैं बस इतनी जानकारी और बढ़ी। लगा कि ये श्री राम चन्द्र सिन्हा भी जरूर कुछ होंगे जिनसे सम्बद्ध कर इनका परिचय बाबूजी ने दिया है और शायद श्री राम चन्द्र सिन्हा के भाई होने के कारण ये बाबूजी के निकट जा सके होंगे।

मैंने उस दिन तो फिर बात आगे बढ़ायी नहीं थी, पर मन में यह जिज्ञासा बनी रही कि ये श्री राम चन्द्र सिन्हा कौन हैं। एक दिन अवसर पाकर मैंने बाबू जी से श्री राम चन्द्र सिन्हा के बारे में फिर पूछा तो कुल तीन बातों का ही पता चला कि वे एक बहुत ही मेधावी युवक की हैसियत से कभी जर्मनी चले गए थे। उन्होंने अपने लड़के का नाम कुछ बहुत ही संस्कृत-निष्ठ रखा था और असेम्बली के सदस्य होते हुये उन्हें स्व० पं० मोतीलाल नेहरू जी 'यंग पिट' कहा करते थे। अंग्रेजी इतिहास के 'पिट दि यंग' के बारे में जितना पढ़ा जाना था उससे कहीं मिलान करने पर श्री राम चन्द्र के प्रति कुछ आकर्षण तो बढ़ा पर फिर उनसे मिलने या उनके बारे में अधिक जानने का कभी अवसर न मिला। बहुत वर्षों बाद जब उन्हें लखनऊ में देखा तो वे नंगे बदन एक खाकी जांघिया पहने ज़मीन पर ही बैठने का व्रत लिए हुए दिखाई पड़े थे। उसका ज़िक्र शायद आगे संदर्भ आने पर करूं। लेकिन श्री गोपाल चन्द्र जी से परिचय हो जाने के बाद ऐसा लगा कि वे बराबर अपनी ओर आकृष्ट करते रहे। अपने बारे में कुछ भी न कहते हुए भी उनके व्यक्तित्व में कुछ ऐसा था कि मेरे जैसा व्यक्ति उनके प्रति अधिकाधिक श्रद्धा भाव ही रखता गया।

इस पहली मुलाकात और बीच-बीच की भेंट में लगभग सात-आठ साल बीत गये थे। मैं भी पढ़ाई समाप्त कर दीवानी अदालत में वकालत करने लगा था। वैसे तो अभी मेरी वकालत के पेशे में शुरुआत ही थी पर जिन दो कारणों से मैं थोड़ा अपने समवयस्कों और हमपेशे वालों में कुछ अधिक चर्चित हो गया था उसमें श्री गोपाल चन्द्र जी के व्यक्तित्व और साधना का हाथ स्पष्ट था। एक कारण जिसे मैं बहुत महत्त्व नहीं देता फिर भी लिख रहा हूँ वह यह था कि मुझे फौजदारी अदालत और उसका काम कुछ बहुत ही निम्न दर्जे का लगता था, यद्यपि उस क्षेत्र में बड़े नामी गिरामी वकील इस पेशे के इतिहास में हो गये हैं। मैंने अपने को दीवानी के ही काम में सीमित रखा था। दीवानी के काम में परिश्रम अधिक करना पड़ता है और ऊपर की सीढ़ियाँ चढ़ना बहुत मुश्किल है—यह सभी कहा करते थे। पर शायद मुझे वे सीढ़ियां नसीब नहीं होने वाली थीं। अतः उस ओर ध्यान दिये बिना ही मैं अपने काम में लगा रहा। इसी बीच एक घटना घटी। मेरे जैसे नये वकील के लिए दीवानी के किसी बड़े मुकदमें में प्रमुख वकील बनना अनहोनी बात होनी चाहिये थी पर मेरे एक मित्र ने जिन्होंने स्वयं ही वकालत पढ़ी थी, अपने घर के एक मुकदमें में मुझे वकील नियुक्त करना निश्चित कर लिया

था। मेरे बहुत मना करने और समझाने पर भी वे न माने और बहुत ही बड़े मूल्य के मुकदमे का मुझे अपना प्रतिनिधि बना लिया था।

मेरे सामने यह बड़ा धर्म संकट था। इतना बड़ा मुकदमा, उसकी बुनियादी बातों को समझना, और फिर उसका अर्ज़ीदावा तैयार करना एक मुश्किल काम लगा। उन दिनों अंग्रेजी शब्द प्लेण्ट के लिए उर्दू का शब्द अर्जीदावा ही चलता था। यदि मैं किसी वरिष्ठ स्थानीय वकील से सहायता लेना चाहता तो शायद यह जानकर कि वह उसमें प्रमुख वकील नहीं होगा तो मुझे आवश्यक सहायता न मिलती और अगर मिलती भी तो भी मेरा दावा या तो अंग्रेजी में लिखा जाता या उर्दू में। अब तक लगता है श्री गोपाल चन्द्र जी का प्रभाव मुझ पर बखूबी जम चुका था और अब मैं उन्हें जज साहब कहने लगा था। मैंने मन ही मन निर्णय कर लिया था कि यह दावा तो हिन्दी में ही लिखा जायेगा, पर मेरे मित्र मुवक्किल की भी राय जानना जरूरी था, क्योंकि अगर वह सही, स्पष्ट और हर तरीके से मज़बूत दावे के रूप में प्रस्तुत न किया जा सका तो हानि तो उनकी होनी थी। जब मै उनसे राय लेने गया तो प्राय: यह निश्चय कर चुका था कि वह इस खतरे को मोल नहीं लेंगे और यह मुक़दमा किसी दूसरे के सुपुर्द कर देंगे। इस बात की मन ही मन खुशी भी थी कि मेरी छुट्टी इस कठिन कार्य से हो जायेगी पर ऐसा भी नहीं होना था। वे किसी कीमत पर मुझे छोड़ने पर राज़ी नहीं थे। अत: उन्होंने कुछ सोचने के बाद कहा कि 'आप जिस भाषा में चाहें अर्ज़ी दावा तैयार करें।'

अब क्या करता ? तभी जज साहब की याद आयी। पर दुर्भाग्य से वे उन दिनों काशी में नहीं थे। उनके पास जा सकता था, पर कुछ संकोच और कुछ इस कारण भी कि सरकारी अधिकारी और जज होते हुये वह इस काम में मेरी सहायता करने से इनकार न कर दें, मैं उनके पास नहीं गया। पर उनके आदर्शों का भूत मेरे ऊपर सवार था। बहरहाल बात बहुत आगे न बढ़ाकर इतना ही कहना चाहूंगा कि वह विवाद-पत्र—उसका यही हिन्दी नाम उस समय मैंने रखा था—हिन्दी में तैयार हुआ और उसके तैयार करने में हिन्दी के प्रसिद्ध विद्वानों और मेरे ऊपर अपार स्नेह रखने वाले आचार्य विश्वनाथ प्रसाद मिश्र ने मेरी बड़ी मदद की थी और वह श्री राजाराम नाम के एक सिविल जज की अदालत में दाखिल हुआ था। उसने न केवल उन्हें प्रसन्न किया था—क्योंकि उनका कहना था कि उसमें हिन्दी और बहुत कुछ संस्कृत-निष्ठ शब्दों के रहते हुये भी उसकी भाषा उन्हें बड़ी सुबोध और प्रवाहयुक्त लगी थी—वरन् स्व० श्री बलराम उपाध्याय जी ने भी, जो बाद को इलाहाबाद हाईकोर्ट के जज हुए, उसकी सराहना की थी और मुझे बधाई दी थी। फिर उस मुकदमे में आगे क्या हुआ यह सब यहां अप्रासंगिक होगा पर इतना कहना जरूरी है कि उस विवाद पत्र को तैयार करने के पीछे केवल श्री गोपाल चन्द्र जी के व्यक्तित्व, उनकी हिन्दी-निष्ठा और विचारों की निर्भीकता का प्रभाव था और कुछ नहीं।

सन् ४८ में वकालत छोड़कर लखनऊ चले आने पर तो उनसे रोज़-रोज़ का सम्बन्ध बन गया और ऐसा बना कि मैं न केवल उनका ही सगा छोटा भाई बन गया वरन् उनकी पत्नी ने भी मुझे सगे भाई का स्नेह दिया था। उसी नाते उनके बच्चे भी मुझे मामा ही कहते थे। यहां

इस निजी सम्बन्ध की चर्चा उद्दिष्ट नहीं है। श्री गोपाल चन्द्र जी स्वयँ में एक विशिष्ट सम्बन्ध थे। सम्बन्ध के बारे में कहा गया है कि ये तीन प्रकार के होते हैं।

विद्याजो योनिजश्चैव प्रीतिजश्च प्रकीर्तितः।
मित्रं तु प्रीतिजं ज्ञेयं स सम्बन्धः सुदुर्लभः॥

गोपाल चन्द्र जी यही दुर्लभ सम्बन्ध थे। वे भाग्यशाली थे जिनको उनका यह प्रीतिज सम्बन्ध मिला था। वह दुर्लभ भी था, क्योंकि वे अपने में ही अपने को सीमित रखे हुए मितभाषी व्यक्ति थे। अतः न तो सहसा खुलते थे और न ही सबसे आकृष्ट होते थे। उनमें कुछ ऐसा विवेक था जो उन्हें अपने लिए प्रीतिभाजन व्यक्तियों को चुनने में मदद दिया करता था। उनका चुनाव तर्क बुद्धि से या किसी स्वार्थभाव से कभी नहीं हुआ था। मैंने यह भी देखा और जाना है कि ऐसे प्रीतिभाजन बन जाने पर भी अगर किसी ने उन्हें कभी चोट पहुंचाई है तो भी उनकी सहज कृपा उससे विमुख नहीं हुई है और न ही उन्होंने उसे प्रत्यक्ष अथवा अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से प्रकट किया था। एक बार सम्बन्ध बन जाने पर बनाये रखना ही उनका स्वभाव था।

हिन्दी के लिए उन्होंने कितना और किस रूप में काम किया यह एक स्वतन्त्र चर्चा का विषय होगा पर हिन्दी के प्रति उनकी जो निष्ठा थी वह मुझे अभी बहुत ही कम देखने में मिली है। हिन्दी के लिए उन्होंने अपनी शासकीय सेवा में अभिवृद्धि खोने की चर्चा न कभी किसी से की और न उसका दुःख माना। उन्हें हिन्दी के प्रति एक ऐसा लगाव था जिसकी व्याख्या संक्षेप में सम्भव नही है, पर उसको स्पष्ट करने के लिए कई तरह के दृष्टान्त सामने आते हैं। उनमें एक जो मेरी समझ में सबसे अधिक उपयुक्त जान पड़ता है वह यह है कि वह हिन्दी को वैसा ही मानते थे जैसा शरीर को स्वस्थ रखने के लिए स्नायुयों में ऊर्ज्वसित और अप्रतिहत रक्त प्रवाह आवश्यक माना गया है। उनकी आस्था थी कि हिन्दी में ही बिना सोचे हिन्दी समृद्ध नहीं हो सकती है। वह विचार-प्रक्रिया को ही हिन्दीमय बनाना चाहते थे। ज्ञानार्जन के लिए अन्यान्य भाषाओं की जानकारी और उनमें उपलब्ध ज्ञान का संग्रह वह आवश्यक मानते थे, पर उस अर्जित ज्ञान का रोपण या उलथा उन्हें प्रिय नहीं था। मेरी समझ में उनका यह विश्वास अन्त तक दृढ़ रहा कि जब तक हमारी सारी विचार-प्रक्रिया अपनी मातृभाषा में होनी शुरू नहीं होगी तब तक कोई भी भारतीय भाषा समृद्ध नहीं हो सकती है। पर मेरे लिये तो वे एक ऐसे सौम्य व्यक्तित्व ही बने रहे कि जिनका सान्निध्य और स्नेह सदा अनिर्वचनीय बना रहा।

मेरे मित्र–स्व० श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी

भैरव दत्त सनवाल

स्व० श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी से मेरा परिचय सर्वप्रथम स्व० प्रो०को०अ०सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर के घर में सन् १९५० के आस पास हुआ था। उस समय वह सचिवालय में ही विशेष कार्याधिकारी के रूप में कार्य कर रहे थे। मुझे इतना स्मरण है कि उस समय स्व० प्रो० अय्यर ने श्री सिंह जी का परिचय संस्कृत तथा हिन्दी के उन्नायक के रूप में दिया था। श्री सिंह जी स्व० प्रो० अय्यर के शिष्यों में से थे तथा उनका बड़ा सम्मान करते थे। श्री सिंह जी संस्कृत तथा हिन्दी के उन्नायक तो थे ही, वह उन सभी ऐसे व्यक्तियों से बहुत जल्दी घुल मिल जाते थे, जिन्हें संस्कृत-हिन्दी के प्रति विशेष रुचि थी। यही कारण था कि स्व० प्रो० अय्यर के निवास-स्थान पर होने वाला वह प्रथम परिचय निरन्तर बढ़ते-बढ़ते मैत्री में परिवर्तित हो गया और यह मैत्री भी निरन्तर प्रगाढ़ होती ही गयी। अपने-अपने सेवा कार्य से हम दोनों कभी एक साथ रहते थे, कभी दूर-दूर हो जाते थे, किन्तु हम दोनों में पत्र-व्यवहार होता रहता था।

सन् १९५१ में अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ की स्थापना के बाद से श्री सिंह मेरे और निकट आने लगे थे, क्योंकि उनकी धारणा थी कि मेरे माध्यम से सम्भवतः परिषद् की कुछ सहायता हो सकती थी। पहले तो उन्होंने मुझे परिषद् का सामान्य पारिषद बनाया था किन्तु कालान्तर में उन्होंने मुझे परिषद् का सम्मान्य पारिषद बनाकर भी गौरव प्रदान किया था। मैं जहां कहीं भी रहता था सिंह जी मुझे परिषद् की गति-विधियों से बराबर अवगत कराते रहते थे, कभी औपचारिक निमन्त्रण पत्र आदि के द्वारा और कभी व्यक्तिगत पत्रों द्वारा। जब मैं उत्तर प्रदेश शासन का मुख्य सचिव होकर लखनऊ में आ गया तब तो उनसे प्रायः भेंट हुआ करती थी। वह जब भी किसी से मिलते, थोड़े से औपचारिक परिचय के बाद परिषद् के विषय में ही बात करने लगते थे। मुझे एक भी ऐसे अवसर का स्मरण नहीं आ रहा है जब उन्होंने किसी बड़े-से-बड़े अधिकारी से भी अपने व्यक्तिगत कार्य के लिए कुछ कहा हो। हां, मुझे यह भी स्मरण नहीं है जब उन्होंने किसी साधारण-से-साधारण व्यक्ति से भी परिषद् के विषय में चर्चा न की हो। ऐसा था उनका परिषद् के प्रति लगाव!

संस्कृत के प्रति उनकी जो निष्ठा थी उसकी परिणति ही परिषद् के रूप में हो गयी थी। हिन्दी के प्रति की गयी उनकी सेवायें भी चिर-स्मरणीय हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश शासन में विशेष कार्याधिकारी के रूप में उनके द्वारा अनेक विभागों से सम्बद्ध तैयार की गयी पारिभाषिक शब्दावलियां उनकी विद्वत्ता तथा संस्कृत-निष्ठा की प्रमाण है। पहले केन्द्रीय शासन द्वारा गठित पारिभाषिक शब्दावली आयोग के सदस्य के रूप में और फिर राष्ट्रभाषा (विधायी) आयोग के पूर्णकालिक सदस्य के रूप में उनके द्वारा तैयार की गयी शब्दावलियां दीर्घकाल तक उनके अध्यवसाय तथा वैदुष्य का स्मरण कराती रहेंगी।

श्री सिंह सरल तथा निश्छल स्वभाव के व्यक्ति थे। उनकी विनम्रता तथा उदारता से वे सभी लोग भली भांति परिचित हैं, जिन्हें उनके सम्पर्क में आने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है। अपने चारित्रिक गुणों के कारण वह सभी के आदर और श्रद्धा के पात्र बन गये थे। उनमें संगठन शक्ति भी अद्भुत थी। परिषद् के कार्य में उन्होंने अनेक व्यक्तियों को लगा रखा था। प्रशासनिक सेवा से मेरे अवकाश ग्रहण कर लेने के बाद उन्होंने मुझे भी परिषद् से सम्बद्ध कर लिया था। परिषद् की स्थापना के समय से जीवन-पर्यन्त स्व० प्रो० अय्यर परिषद् के अध्यक्ष बने रहे। प्रो० अय्यर और श्री सिंह के गुरु-शिष्य सम्बन्धों का परिषद् की गतिविधियों को आगे बढ़ाने में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान था। श्री सिंह ने आग्रह करके मुझे भी परिषद् का उपाध्यक्ष नियुक्त करवा दिया था। प्रो० अय्यर के निधन के पश्चात् श्री सिंह के आग्रह से मुझे परिषद् की अध्यक्षता स्वीकार करनी पड़ी थी। परिषद् के अध्यक्ष के रूप में मुझे श्री सिंह को और भी निकट से देखने-समझने तथा उनके साथ कार्य करने का सुयोग प्राप्त हुआ था, क्योंकि परिषद् की स्थापना के समय से जीवन-पर्यन्त श्री सिंह जी उसके मन्त्री के रूप में कार्य करते रहे थे। संस्कृत की सेवा तथा परिषद् के उन्नयन के प्रति उनके उत्साह में न तो उनकी वृद्धावस्था ही बाधक बन सकी और न ही दिन-पर-दिन क्षीण होती हुई उनकी नेत्र-ज्योति। ८० वर्ष की ऊपर की वय तक वह स्वयं ही कार चलाते रहे और अत्यन्त उच्च रक्तचाप तथा हृदय रोग से पीड़ित रहते हुये भी वह नित्य प्रति कई-कई सीढ़ियां चढ़कर परिषद् जाते रहे। इस अवस्था में भी उन्हें परिषद् के लिये दौड़-धूप करते देखकर उत्तर प्रदेश के तत्कालीन राज्यपाल महोदय श्री चन्द्रेश्वर प्रसाद नारायण सिंह जी तथा पांडिचेरी के वर्तमान उप-राज्यपाल श्री त्रिभुवन प्रसाद जी उनसे अत्यन्त प्रभावित रहा करते थे। इन्हीं महानुभावों की सहायता से श्री सिंह जी को परिषद् के लिये भूमि अधिग्रहण करने में सफलता प्राप्त हुई थी। श्री सिंह के अनुरोध पर ही मैंने परिषद् के प्रस्तावित भवन की रूप रेखा भी तैयार करवा ली थी, किन्तु परिषद् भवन को देख सकना उनकी नियति न थी।

श्री सिंह जी के निधन से संस्कृत-जगत् और परिषद् की तो अपूरणीय क्षति हुई ही है, मैंने भी एक कर्तव्य-निष्ठ, सच्चरित्र तथा संवेदनशील मित्र खो दिया है। 'ऋतम्' के विशेषाङ्क के माध्यम से मैं भी उन्हें अपनी श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित कर रहा हूं।

एक विलक्षण व्यक्तित्व

धर्मेन्द्र मोहन सिन्हा

बात सन् १९४६ की है जब सर्वप्रथम मुझे श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह के दर्शन हुए थे। उस समय वे सुल्तानपुर ज़िले में सिविल जज थे और अवस्था में वे मुझसे लगभग २० वर्ष बड़े थे परन्तु प्रथम दर्शन में ही वे इतने खुले हृदय से मिले मानों वर्षों से उनका संग रहा हो। उनके व्यक्तित्व की यह पहली झांकी थी। लगभग ४० वर्ष इस स्नेह की अनवरत वर्षा में रहने का मुझे सौभाग्य मिला और जीवन के उतार चढ़ावों में इसमें कभी कोई कमी नहीं आई।

उस समय भी वे जनमानस में अपने संस्कृत तथा हिन्दी प्रेम के कारण एक प्रेम भरा स्थान पा चुके थे। उन्हें जहां कहीं हस्तलिखित और प्राचीन संस्कृत ग्रन्थों का पता चलता वे कठिनाइयों की परवाह न करके वहां पहुंचते थे और उनको प्राप्त करने की चेष्टा करते थे। उनके सम्पादन हेतु वे प्रायः अपने व्यक्तिगत व्यय से किसी लिपिक को लगाये रहते थे और उन ग्रन्थों को सुरक्षित रखने की व्यवस्था करते थे। उनके व्यक्तित्व की छाप ऐसी थी कि इस प्रकार के ग्रन्थों के स्वामी उन्हें निस्संकोच और पूर्ण निष्ठा के साथ उनको सौंप देते थे और उनको यह आश्वासन रहता था कि उनका सदुपयोग ही होगा। उन दिनों यातायात के साधन बहुत कम थे और बहुत से गाँव तो सड़कों की सुविधा से वञ्चित ही होते थे। इस प्रकार के दुर्गम स्थानों में जाने पर समय भी बहुत लगता था और जाना भी कठिन होता था। इन कठिनाइयों का ध्यान न रखते हुए और अपने न्यायिक कर्तव्यों का पूरी तरह पालन करते हुए श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह इस प्रकार के ग्रन्थों के संरक्षण की पूरी व्यवस्था किया करते थे। स्थानान्तरण के समय उनके व्यक्तिगत सामान का अधिकांश भाग इन ग्रन्थों से भरे ट्रंकों का ही होता था।

१९४७ के प्रारम्भ में उन्होंने हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन का अधिवेशन सुल्तानपुर में ही आयोजित किया था। उक्त अधिवेशन ३, ४ दिन चला था और हिन्दी-जगत् के कई देदीप्यमान नक्षत्र सुल्तानपुर जैसे छोटे नगर को आलोकित करने आये थे। यह आयोजन सुल्तानपुर के लिए अभूतपूर्व था। दुर्भाग्यवश व्यवस्था से सम्बन्धित कई हिन्दी प्रेमियों के बीच में तीव्र मतभेद उत्पन्न हो गये और उसके कारण कटुता इतनी बढ़ी कि लगता था कि आयोजन की सफलता

सन्दिग्ध हो जायगी, परन्तु श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह उस पारस्परिक कटु आलोचना के वातावरण में अद्‌भुत धैर्य से कार्यरत रहे और शीघ्र ही परस्पर विरोधी शक्तियों के विश्वास के केन्द्र-बिन्दु बन गये। अत्यन्त शान्त मुद्रा से उन्होंने उक्त अधिवेशन का संचालन किया था और सुल्तानपुर और हिन्दी के इतिहास में एक नया अध्याय जोड़ दिया था। उक्त अधिवेशन की स्मृतियां कई वर्षों तक वहां के लोगों को प्रभावित करती रही थीं।

लगभग ६ वर्ष बाद श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह मेरठ जिला जज नियुक्त हुए थे। फौजदारी के मामलों की दृष्टि से मेरठ अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण जिला सदैव रहा है, परन्तु उनकी कार्य कुशलता, न्यायप्रियता, पक्षपात रहित तथा सहानुभूतिपूर्ण दृष्टि, और मानवीय गुणों ने न्याय से सम्बन्धित समाज के सभी वर्गों में और ज़िला प्रशासन में एक ऐसा स्थान बना लिया था जो सभी के लिए अनुकरणीय था। अपने से बीसों वर्ष छोटे अधिकारियों से भी उनके सामाजिक सम्बन्ध अत्यन्त स्नेहपूर्ण जौर सदाशयता पूर्ण होते थे और वे इस प्रकार सब में घुल मिल जाते थे कि संकोच की सभी दीवारें टूट जाती थीं। सामाजिक मिलन के अवसरों पर वे अपने जीवन की मनोरञ्जक अनुभूतियों तथा हिन्दी के चुटीले दोहों से सबके ध्यान को अपनी ओर आकर्षित कर लेते थे पर उनका साहचर्य इतना सुसंस्कृत होता कि उनके सम्पर्क में आने वाले व्यक्ति के अन्दर भी मानवीय सद्‌गुणों का उदय होने लगता था।

जीवन की विषमताओं और कठिनाइयों को इन्होंने बहुत समीप से देखा और झेला भी था, पर उनसे वे इस प्रकार से जूझते रहे कि उन कठिनाइयों ने उनके व्यक्तित्व को और भी संवार दिया था। वे इस विषय पर एक अंग्रेजी पद कहा करते थे :—

It is all very easy to be happy
When life goes along like a song;
But the man worthwhile, is the man who'd smile,
When everything goes dead wrong.

"जब जीवन में संगीत की सुरम्यता हो तब उसमें प्रसन्न रहना सरल है, परन्तु मनुष्य कहलाने योग्य तो वही है जिसके अधरों पर उस समय भी मुस्कान हो जब उसके चारों ओर विफलता का अट्टहास हो।"

उन्होंने इस सिद्धान्त को अपने नैसर्गिक स्वभाव से अपने जीवन में उतारा था और जीवन के कटु से कटु क्षणों को इसी आस्था से सुखकर बनाया था। सन् १९५७ में उनके साथ उत्तरा खण्ड के कुछ स्थानों की यात्रा करने का अवसर मिला था। मार्ग में कई स्थान मिलते थे जिनके विषय में वे अपनी आंखों में अतीत की स्मृतियों की चमक के साथ बाल्योचित उत्साह से कह उठते थे—"यहां मैं तब आया था जब मेरी श्रीमती जी भुवाली में रुग्णावस्था में रहती थीं।" सुनने वाले स्तम्भित रह जाते थे यह सोचकर कि अपनी पत्नी की अस्वस्थता से जुड़ी अपनी स्मृति और अपने अनुभवों को कितनी निरासक्त रीति से कहा जा रहा है। सुनने वाले शोक में डूब जाते थे पर वे बिल्कुल असंग ही रहते थे।

न्यायिक सेवा से अवकाश लेने के पश्चात् उन्होंने अपना सारा जीवन अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद् तथा तत्सम्बद्ध पुस्तकालय और शोध के लिए लगा दिया था। आयकर विभाग के एक मेरे मित्र जो वर्षों से संस्कृत से सम्बन्ध छोड़ बैठे थे उनसे सम्पर्क होने पर पुनः संस्कृत अध्ययन की ओर अग्रसर हुए थे और उनसे भेंट होने को अपने जीवन की एक उपलब्धि मानते थे। इस प्रकार के कई लोग थे जिनके मन में उन्होंने संस्कृत-प्रेम जागृत किया था। उनका पार्थिव शरीर अब नहीं है, परन्तु संस्कृत के लिए उन्होंने जो कुछ किया वह एक प्रकाश-स्तम्भ की तरह बहुतों के जीवन को आलोकित करता रहेगा।

स्नेहोद्गार

वावूराम सक्सेना

श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह की स्मृति में परिषद् 'ऋतम्' का विशेषांक प्रकाशित कर रही है। इसके लिये हमारी हार्दिक शुभकामनायें। श्री सिंह ने हिन्दी तथा संस्कृत की अद्वितीय सेवा की है। इसके लिए हम लोग कृतज्ञ हैं। जब उत्तर प्रदेश के लिए हिन्दी सरकारी भाषा स्वीकार हुई तब सचिवालय में प्रयोग के लिए अंग्रेज़ी शब्दावली का हिन्दी में अनुवाद तैयार करना उनके सुपुर्द हुआ। वह शब्दावली आज भी चल रही है। विधि की पारिभाषिक शब्दावली तैयार करने का काम भी मुख्य रूप से उन्हीं को सौंपा गया था। अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद् के वह संस्थापक-मन्त्री थे और यह उनका अथक परिश्रम था जिसने परिषद् को महत्त्वपूर्ण शैक्षिक संस्था का ऊँचा पद प्राप्त कराया है। 'ऋतम्' ने अपने प्रकाशनों के द्वारा अन्ताराष्ट्रिय गौरव प्राप्त कर लिया है और बड़े उच्च स्तर पर कार्य कर रही है।

भाषा विज्ञानी होने के नाते मुझको शब्दावली निर्माण का कार्य सौंपा गया था। वह कार्य १९७० में पूरा हो गया था। हिन्दी हिन्दुस्तानी के विषय में मेरे अग्रज डा० सुनीति कुमार चटर्जी ने कुछ सुझाव दिये थे। उनको हम लोग बाज़ार-हिन्दुस्तानी और Indo Roman alphabet के पक्षपाती समझते थे। उनकी बात हिन्दी संसार ने स्वीकार नहीं की। करीब ७० वर्ष के अध्ययन से मैंने भी कुछ परिणाम निकाले हैं और चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी संसार उनको स्वीकार करे। संख्यावाची शब्द और सर्वनाम हिन्दी, उर्दू, हिन्दुस्तानी, ब्रज, अवधी आदि सभी बोलियों में संस्कृत से लिये गये हैं। मेरा सुझाव है कि इनके ऐसे रूप स्वीकार किये जायें जो मानक हिन्दी में प्रचलित किये जायें। उदाहरण के रूप में मैं 'एकादश' शब्द से विकसित रूपों की ओर हिन्दी संसार का ध्यान आकृष्ट करता हूं। 'एकादश' एक + दश से बना है। 'क' के ह्रस्व अकार का दीर्घ हो जाना द्वाद्वश शब्द के कारण हुआ है इसका मानक रूप 'ग्यारह' नागरी और उर्दू लिपि दोनों में लिखा जाता है। किन्तु बोलने में ये भिन्न-भिन्न रूपों में प्रयुक्त होता है। मेरी बोली लखीमपुरी में यह 'गेरा' मिलता है। भोजपुरी आदि बिहारी बोलियों में यह शब्द 'ऐगारा' प्राप्त होता है, जो एकादश शब्द के अप्रभ्रंश का रूप है। मूलभूत संख्या

शब्द दस हैं—एक, दो, तीन, चार, पाँच, छः, सात, आठ, नौ और शून्य । और इन्हीं को समास में रख कर हम अपने संख्यावाची शब्द बनाते हैं । यदि आज भी इनको समास में रखें तो इनको दस, बीस, तीस, चालीस, पचास, साठ, सत्तर, अस्सी, नब्बे के साथ मिलाकर हम १९ शब्दों को मिलाकर पूरी संख्यावाची शब्दावली प्राप्त कर सकते हैं । एकदश, दोदश, एक बीस आदि शब्द बनेंगे ।

TĪRTHAM PARAMAM

Impressions of Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha

J. Ensink

My acquaintance with Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha dates, roughly speaking, from two decades ago. I clearly remember our first meeting in Lucknow at the end of 1964. After the *namaskāra*, a cordial shaking hands and a short, but courteous and soft-spoken welcome. First impressions of a person are often said to be fairly accurate. In this case the idea I formed of Gopal Chandraji's character those first days has borne out by all subsequent experiences. His natural modesty is based on the implicit conviction that his own person is less important than the values he stands for and the tasks he has devoted himself to. He is a Janaka-type of man as referred to in the *Gītā*.

कर्मणैव हि संसिसिद्धमास्थिता जनकादयः ।

At the time we first met he was an active member of the Official Language (Legislative) Commission in New Delhi, a task well fitting a man who from his college days has combined the studies of law and Sanskrit. He regularly went from Delhi to Lucknow to look after the affairs of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad. Afterwards, when he had finished his work in the Commission, he settled down in Lucknow to devote most of his time to the Parishad.

Our common interest in Sanskrit and the culture, of which Sanskrit is the linguistic vehicle, has created a bond between Gopal Chandraji and me from which I am sure to have profited far more than the other party. I have never come to India without having Gopal Chandraji as my helper and guide for at least several days. He has made me equally at home in his own house and in the Parishad and I have spent many hours in the Parishad's library reading and photographing manuscripts. I am well aware

that we owe the preservation of many of these manuscripts to his personal exertions. To this important task of the Parishad he is especially dedicated. He once told me of his satisfaction when he had been able to acquire a large number of manuscripts for the Parishad, thus securing it from imminent destruction, and of his disappointment when he found that equal or even more number had already lost.

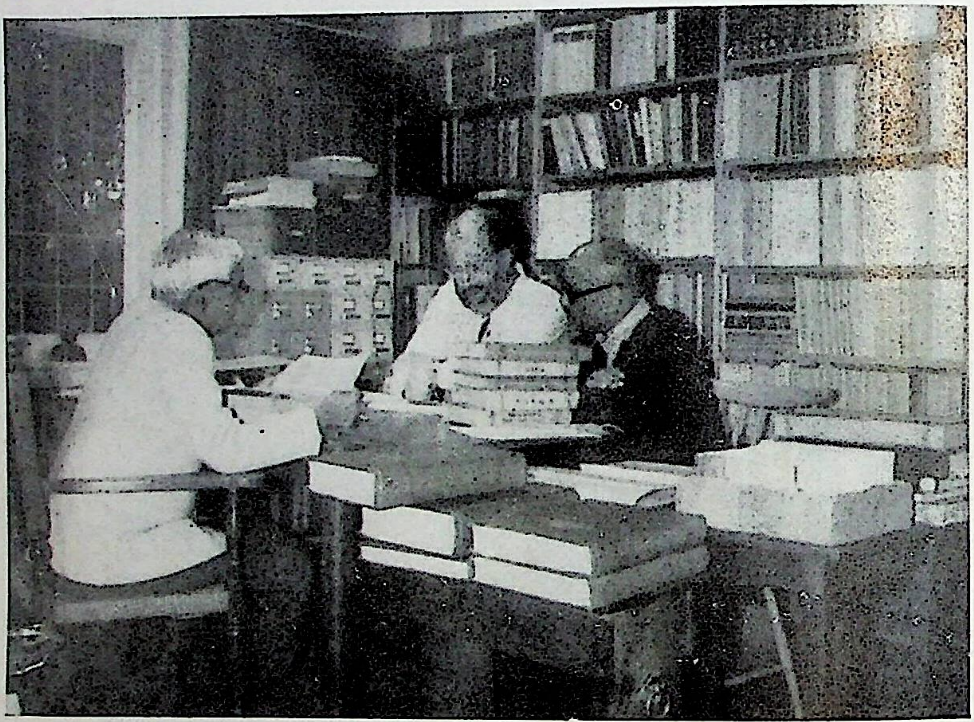
Gopal Chandraji is well acquainted with, and interested in all classes of Sanskrit literature. His quoting readily from Kālidāsa and other poets testifies to his wide reading in *kāvya*. But the double study of law and Sanskrit has especially qualified him for research on Dharmaśāstra and he has remained active also in this filed. What I have seen of the smṛti lexicon he has prepared makes me wish to see it in print. I have much benefited by his erudition. As I was especially interested in saṃskāras, he arranged for me to see the practice of several of these rites and was always ready to explain the things I had seen, tracing back the essential elements to smṛti authority, signalizing innovations and stating the regional, social or other limitations to certain varieties in usage. Though in such discussions he evidently was a *tattvavid*, there was no desire to impress by his knowledge, but only to help a younger, foreign student with exact information.

Also in the study of my favourite subject, *tīrthayātrā*, I have received effective help from Gopal Chandraji. He and the Parishad's Secretary, Dr. Jagadamba Prasad Sinha, spent whole days of their stay in the Netherlands reading with me the manuscripts on pilgrimage which I had earlier photographed at the Parishad. Together we have made pilgrimages to such holy places as Ayodhyā, Naimiṣāraṇya, Hardwar and the *tīrtha*-s on the Alaknanda upto Badrinath, peregrinations that have widened my spiritual as well as my geographical horizon.

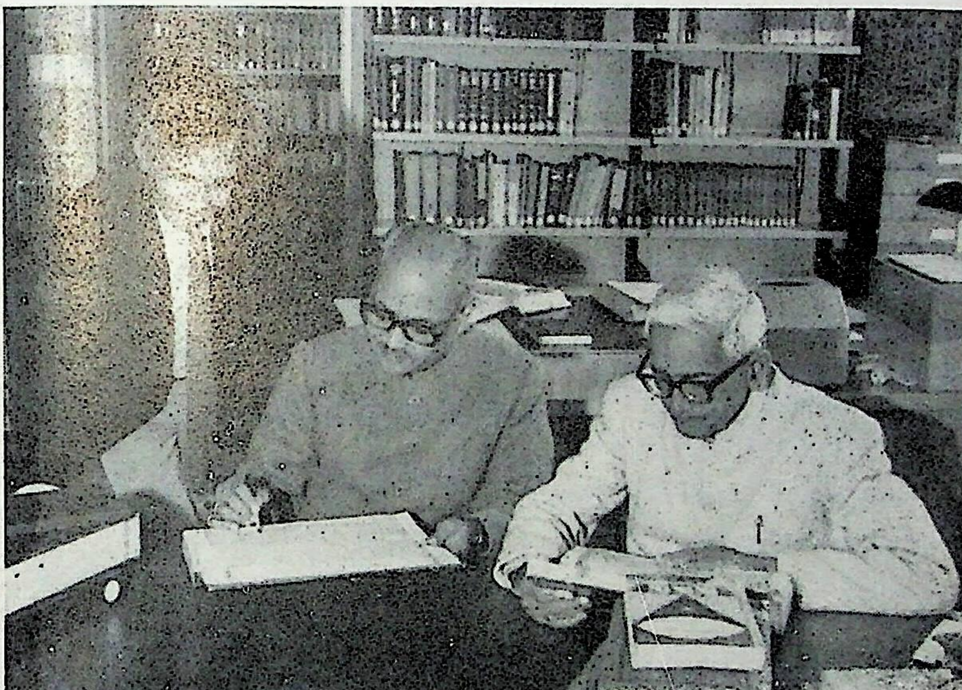
In the Netherlands I could show my guests only one centre of pilgrimage, viz. Dokkum, where Boniface, the apostle of the Netherlands, died by murderous hands. Of the observations Gopal Chandraji made on our tours I want to put one on record. In the Dutch town of Franeker we had visited the house which at the end of the eighteenth century has been inhabited by the woolcomber Eise Eisinga. This man had, in order to enlighten his fellow-citizens on the nature of the universe, devoted all his spare time over many years to the building of a planetarium, which occupies much of the space, the small house affords and is still working with admirable precision. Gopal Chandraji was most explict in his appreciation of Eisinga's dedication to an intellectual ideal. I wonder whether he was aware that in fact he



In formal dress. Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha at a wedding
(Photo by J. Ensink)



Discussing a knotty point. Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha reading manuscripts with Dr. J. P. Sinha and the author, Groningen, Netherlands. (Photo by J. Ensink)



At the Institute of Indian Studies, Groningen, Netherlands. Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha with Dr. J. P. Sinha and Dr. Ranajit Sarkar.

(Photo by J. Ensink)



Children's friend: Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha and Dr. J. P. Sinha in Srinagar, Garhwal (U. P.), India (Photo by J. Ensink)

was praising a moral quality which he himself has realized to such a high degree.

Repeated contacts with Gopal Chandraji have given me ample scope to become acquainted with all aspects of his personality, not only those of the scholar. In all respects I came to know him as a truly human being. Characteristic is his loving care for familial bonds. A European may be amazed how far these bonds extend. It is not only that a register written in Urdu by his great-grandfather Munshi Lalita Prasad enables him to trace distant relations, but they are also a living reality to him. On one of our tours he took me with him when visiting a young kinsman with whom he has an ancestor in common only six generations back. The younger generation has his special interest and sympathy. His house is always open to grandchildren, nephews and nieces, who have to spend some time in Lucknow for their education. His friends' families also have a share in that genuine sympathy.

With Gopal Chandraji I have made a *tirthayātrā* to many holy places. But the *Mahābhārata* says that men, too, are *tirtha*-s:

तत्त्वविस्त्वनहंबुद्धिस्तीर्थं परममुच्यते ।

Such an excellent *tirtha* had been with me on these pilgrimages from beginning to end These lines are dedicated to it as a short *māhātmya*.*

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* These reminiscences were written during the life time of Shri G. C. Sinha

SHRI GOPAL CHANDRA SINHA—A LIFE DEDICATED TO SANSKRIT AND HINDI*

Radha Krishna

I have intimately known Sri Gopal Chandra Sinha for about four decades now and had the privilege of practising in his court when he was a Judge. He was known for his judicious temperament—always fair, impartial, courteous and equally accommodating to everyone. His judgments were models of brevity, lucidity, precision and clear enunciation of law and facts and, so far as I can recall, were always upheld in appeal. He commanded the esteem and affection of the Bar and the public in equal measure. It was sheer pleasure to appear before him.

A scion of a family, known for its erudition and himself a scholar of Persian and Urdu, Sri Sinha interested himself in the study of Sanskrit and Hindi from the beginning of his judicial career and would spare no pains and expense in search of old manuscripts of which he made a very good collection and which he presented to the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow. Those manuscripts are now a valuable acquisition of that institution.

Sri Gopal Chandra is a man of parts. He is not only a scholar but a very good organiser and administrator. As the Founder-Secretary of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, he was able to persuade Prof. K.A.S. Iyer, an eminent linguist of international repute, to become its President, and was also able to gather round him a very sincere team of Sanskrit scholars to assist him in his mission. The achievements of this institution of learning are varied and numerous and it has earned for itself a place of respect and recognition all over the world of Sanskrit learning, both in India and abroad. This is due to the single-minded devotion of Sri Sinha and his colleagues.

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* **These reminiscences were written during the life time of Sri Sinha. Now, the author, too, is no more.**

Sri Sinha has served on many a committee appointed by the State and the central Governments for the promotion of Hindi and Sanskrit and being gentle and suave by nature, free from any prejudice and mental reservation, he made a mark wherever he had occasion to work.

There is no gainsaying the fact that Sanskrit is equally popular all over the country and with some effort can serve as a bridge for all the languages and dialects of this vast land to come closer. In fact, it can enrich all of them equally as they will all have to draw from its immense lexicon when in need of new terms and phrases for use in science, technology, law and commerce.

Besides, a little research in linguistics will show that many words and phrases, with some variations, used in several European, Middle-east and South-eastern countries, are drawn from Sanskrit.

Sanskrit is exceptionally rich in matters of linguistic thoughts and literary theories. The hymns to *vāk* in the *Ṛgveda* give us an idea of the great importance that the ancient Āryans attached to language. Throuhout the Vedic and Upaniṣadic tradition, grammar, etymology and pronunciation continued to be an integral part of the educational system, so much so that in one of the Upaniṣads grammar was described as the Veda of all the Vedas. The number of grammarians to whom Pāṇini expresses his gratitude shows that even before Pāṇini there was a rich tradition of grammatical studies in Sanskrit. Burnell has mentioned by name as many as sixty-eight of these pre-Pāṇinian grammarians. But there must have been hundreds of them whose names are now forgotten and whose writings on grammar are now completely lost. Pāṇini's grammar was the culmination of that long and rich tradition. It is a book which in spite of all the intensive research in linguistics in the West remains unparalleled so far. Commenting on the great importance of the book, Bloomfield says :

> "Indo-European comparative grammar had (and has) at its service only one complete description of a language, the grammar of Pāṇini. For all other Indo-European languages it had only the traditional grammars of Greek and Latin, woefully incomplete and unsystematic... For no language of the past have we a record comparable to Pāṇini's record of his mother tongue, nor is it likely that any language spoken today will be so perfectly recorded".

Allen has pointed out that there are over a thousand different Sanskrit works on Sanskrit grammar, all inspired, directly or indirectly by Pāṇini's book. About this rich Indian tradition of grammatical studies, Allen says :

"....besides such a concourse the thousand manuscripts of Priscian's Latin Grammar, the pride of our Western tradition, are but a drop in the grammatical ocean".

The achievements of Sanskrit phoneticians in India are also something to be proud of. As Allen has rightly said :

"Generally speaking the expressions of ancient phonetic thought in the west have little to repay our attention or deserve our respect, whereas Indian sources as ancient and even more ancient are infinitely more rewarding".

He further adds : 'Our phonetic categories and terminology owe more than is perhaps generally realized to the influence of the Sanskrit phoneticians'.

William Jones discovered Sanskrit and his writings became a source of inspiration leading to a lot of research in phonetics in the West. Commenting on the contribution that William Jones made by way of introducing Sanskrit studies to the West, Firth, an eminent British linguist says :

"Without the Indian grammarians and phoneticians whom he introduced and recommended to us, it is difficult to imagine our ninteenth century school of phonetics".

Sanskrit phonetics, like grammatical studies in Sanskrit, have been a source of inspiration for further research for years to come.

During the last few decades there has been an increasing concern about achieving international unity, peace and understanding and the U.N.O. has been actively engaged in achieving peace. It is not always realized, however, that unity of a lasting and enduring nature must arise from within and not a matter of mere political settlements. Similarly, it is not always realised that peace is a positive experimential quality and not just the absence of quarrels between individuals or nations. Every individual, like every tribe or nation, has his unique personality but in spite of apparent differences all human beings are essentially the same. There is a deeper unity underlying the apparent diversity. As Vivekanand used to say, all human beings are potentially divine. This underlying unity has in the past been largely as a matter of theoretical abstraction to be understood and admired at the level of reason and intellect; it has yet to become a part of our faith and conviction, a matter to be felt and experienced in the day-to-day affairs of life. The Sanskrit concept of a *dārśanika*, someone who can see, feel and

experience the ultimate reality is very different from the European concept of a philosopher whose job has been to explain things in terms of arguments and reasons. But how is this underlying unity to be realized and how can a matter of reasoning become a matter of a deep and inner faith? The ancient Indian reply to this question, the reply that was emphasised time and again in the Vedic and Upaniṣadic tradition, has been that right vision and right conduct can arise only from a unity realized by man in his inner self. Man must achieve a unity of intellect and emotion, of word and action. There must be a unity between his imagination and his capabilities, between his desire to receive and his desire to give. His desire to live must go hand in hand with his desire to sacrifice himself for the good of others. He must acquit himself well in relation to the temporal and the topical but he must also have the ability to transcend here and now and identify himself with the eternal and the universal. Such noble and elevating ideas are not the exclusive characteristics of the Indian heritage. All religions all over the world have said essentially the same thing and there have been great men and women in all language communities all over the world. But Indian has the unique advantage of having a heritage starting with the *Ṛgveda* and continuing more or less as an unbroken stream for thousands of years. It is a tradition deeply rooted in the philosophical conviction that it is truth alone which triumphs (*satyameva jayate*) and that a righteous man can never come to grief. It is a tradition which is based on the conviction that we should not be cowed down by death because the soul never dies. It is a tradition which has always upheld the view that the ideal of human life consists not in killing, nor in dying but in conquering death and attaining immortality.

Just as English is a window on the world of science and technology, Sanskrit is a window on an ancient world af Āryan culture, rich in linguistic thoughts, and particularly rich in elevating ideas of being and becoming, of enduring peace and harmony and ideas of *vasudhaiva kuṭumbakam*.

The teaching and study of Sanskrit is necessary not from the point of view of sectarian interests but because of the fact that digging deep into the treasure house of this language is likely to have an ennobling and rejuvenating impact on the moral standards which are going down fast every day.

The propagation of Sanskrit is, therefore, not only the need of the hour but a national duty for emotional integration and international understanding. Viewed from this point of view, the yeoman service and pioneering contribution of Sri Gopal Chandra Sinha in this field will always be remembered with respect and gratitude.

JUDGE SAHEB—MY NEIGHBOUR

B. N. Puri

A slim but godly figure, shining like a chiselled statue could be seen walking at a brisk speed with the head bent down, as if in contemplation, every fine morning on the road from his house in Mahanagar to the Kukrail bund, a little over a kilometre away. Such was the life style of Judge Saheb, as he was called by his friends and admirers. Retiring as a Judge from the Higher Judicial Service, Gopal Chandra Sinha, did not take it as a period of relaxation, but a change from one situation to another. His first love was Sanskrit, to which he was wedded as a life long devotee. The Centre took him for some time in the Official Language (Legislative) Commission, but Delhi, it seems with its busy life, had little attraction for him. He returned to Lucknow to nurse his child, 'The Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad', of which he was the Secretary, presided over by his Guru the late Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer, and a band of devoted friends and colleagues. The Parishad remained his first and the last love for more than 30 years.

My contact with Judge Saheb started only a few years back as I shifted to my house which adjoined his, with only a wall separating us. I could see this slim figure every morning, and I was finally introduced to him. This acquaintance finally ripened into intimacy, and I was inducted into his Parishad as a life member and also as a member of the Executive Committee which provided an opportunity to see more of him. Besides putting his heart and soul in the Parishad, Judge Saheb, I learn, could go to any extent even at the cost of privation and personal humiliation in getting money for the Parishad, which sometimes had a lean purse. This was the greatness in this person, and the more one learns about his personal discomforts, the more is the veneration for him. He did not encourage *darbāri*-s and false admirers to his place, but he preferred to go the place of those who could be of some help and assistance for the cause of the Parishad.

It is a pity that weak and failing eyesight put a brake on his creative literary activities. He was, no doubt, interested in editing some manuscripts in collaboration with Western scholars which took him to Holland and France. His contacts with such scholars enlivened the activities of the Parishad which was recognised as a centre of advanced research in Sanskrit. Scholars and researchers from the West equally enjoyed his hospitality.

The aesthetic side was not wanting in him and he was instrumental in getting Sanskrit dramas staged every year at the time of the *Sanskrit divasa*. There were many other activities, including the lecture programme, endowment lectures, and Sanskrit *Kavigoṣṭhi*-s which were periodically held, a sufficient vindication of his organising capacity and zeal despite failing health.

Judge Saheb was an octogenarian, but age was no problem for him. He visited many places including some hill stations at the age of 82, arranging exhibitions of Sanskrit manuscripts. He occasionally missed the felicity of domestic company, in the absence of wife who predeceased him, and even his children and grandones were away from him. He was unnerved even in such situations. For him, Parishad alone provided health and happiness.

Judge Saheb was felicitated by friends and admirers and former Rajyapala Shri C. P N. Singh personally admired his services. The Government was good enough to give a sumptuous grant of over 5 lacs for land to construct the Parishad building. It is a pity that while the land has been purchased and fenced the setting up of the structure is only a pious dream. Gopal Chanraji is no more but his spirit is there, and nothing would be a more fitting tribute to the memory of Judge Saheb, than to see that the structure of the Parishad could be set up beginning even with a modicum of help and assistance both from the Centre and the State of Uttar Pradesh, as well as from other ones, as also from numerous friends and admirers.

In paying my personal tribute to him, I can only pray for peace to his soul, and prosperity for his child—the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow now in adolecense,

SHRI GOPAL CHANDRA SINHA : A TRIBUTE

Mukunda Madhava Sharma

Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha belonged to the U. P. Higher Judicial Service. Yet he found time to render invaluable services to the cause of Hindi and Sanskrit. The Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, of which he was the Founder–Secretary, itself stands as the most spectacular testimony to his contributions.

Sanskrit and Indian Studies have ever been much benefited by the academic or pro-academic services of many a stalwart possessing a legal back-ground. Some such big figures, who are no more, may be named as follows : Sir William Jones, who came to Calcutta as a Judge of the Supreme Court and founded the Asiatic Society in 1784, Anundoram Borooah, who studied law in The Middle Temple and was called to The Bar in 1871 but joined the Indian Civil Service as the third Indian Civilian, Professor A. B. Keith, M. M. P. V. Kane and Professor Ludwik Sternbach. Regarding Prof. Sternbach, it may be gathered from the *Sternbach Felicitation Volume*, published by Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha himself, that he was educated in the University of Cracow and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Law in 1933 and that he was also a member of the Bar in Cracow. The Late Gopal Chandra Sinha also now deserves to be remembered along with the said luminaries.

Sri Sinha had an ideal which inspired him to Indian Studies. In the Publisher's Note to the *Sternbach Felicitation Volume*, he observes : "One of the aims and objects of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad .... is to honour and felicitate eminent scholars of Sanskrit and Indology. It is just to provide inspiration to the new generation, which may remain devoted to the high ideals of Indian culture". This observation is very significant. From this very observation we may gather that the propagation of the high ideals of Indian Culture has been a mission of life for him. Moreover, it

indicates how it has become imperative to provide inspiration to the new generation in respect of the study of Sanskrit and Indology.

It has of late become a fad and fashion with many Sanskrit lovers and Sanskritists to speak only about an imaginary dark future of Sanskrit. But that is not desirable, for, such a pessimism should have a very adverse effect on the attitude of the lovers and students of Sanskrit belonging to the younger generation. For generating a sense of hope and confidence in the mind of the new generation the elders should rather cherish a bolder optimism and should try to focus the brighter prospect of Sanskrit by, say, pointing out that Sanskrit has no geographical limits. Sanskrit is definitely going to make progress with rapid strides only if the lovers and students of Sanskrit do not do away with the type of dynamism that has been possessed by the Late Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha.

We pay our humble tributes to the memory of the Late Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha with the hope and confidence that his example will ever remain a source of inspiration for all who are wedded to the cause of Sanskrit and Indology:

श्रीमतां मुनिकल्पानां कर्मधर्मावलम्बिनाम् ।
गोपालचन्द्रसिंहानां कीर्त्तिकायो महीयताम् ।।

A TRIBUTE TO JUDGE SAHEB

Bhawani Shanker Shukla

My personal contact with late Sri Gopal Chandra Sinha was hardly two decades old but I knew him for nearly three decades as a promoter of the national language—Hindi, and a great protagonist of Sanskrit Language. I clearly remember a lean and thin person driving his own car seen on the roads of Lucknow in mid-fiftees. He was Sri Gopal Chandra Sinha, popularly known as 'Judge Saheb'. Later when I joined the U. P. Govt. service, I came across his *Paribhāṣika Śabdāvali* which he had prepared for the State Government with great labour to facilitate noting and drafting in Hindi. When I became Director of the Cultural Affairs Department of U. P. Government many years afterwards, I could see and know him from closer quarters. We met some time in the Parishad office, some time in my own office and some time in the State Archives, besides on social occasions. I would often contact him in connection with evaluating some old manuscripts and he was always willing to help us.

Sri Sinha was one of those rare persons who dedicated his entire life for the cause of Sanskrit. He belonged to a family of scholars who mastered this language and worked hard for its propagation. He inherited the love of Sanskrit from his family. Even, while in the Government service as a member of the Judiciary, he strived to promote Hindi and Sanskrit. He wrote judgments in Hindi when no one dared do so.

Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow is a living monument of his deep interest in Sanskrit learning. Collection of manuscripts and their preservation interested Sri Sinha enormously. He had wide contacts with scholars of Indology and Sanskrit all over the world and he invited many of them from time to time in the Parishad for lectures. In spite of his age and failing health he sustained interest in the activities of the Parishad. He

would not hesitate in going to and meeting even most ordinary persons if his meeting them could be of some utility to the Parishad.

Of late he was very keen to have Parishad's own building somewhere in Lucknow and for this he ran from pillar to post—particularly in Government Offices. He succeeded in getting a suitable piece of land for the Parishad building. Unfortunately, for want of adequate funds, his dream for the building, housing the library, manuscripts room, research rooms, conference hall etc. could not materialise.

He was closely connected with various important institutions of learning during his life time—prominent amongst them being Kāshi Nāgari Prachāriṇi Sabhā, Hindi Sāhitya Sammelana, Hindustāni Akademi, Rāshṭra Bhāshā Prachāra Samiti, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Kendrīya Hindi Sansthāna, Agra etc. As a member of numerous high level Committees and Commissions appointed by the Govt. of India and State Government, he made valuable contribution to the cause of Hindi and Oriental learning.

It was my good luck to have been in his close touch—particularly in connection with various developmental schemes of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow. It is indeed a matter of great sorrow that when the Parishad was increasing its activities in many directions, contemplating to launch ambitious schemes and needed him most, his co-workers in the Parishad were deprived of his guidance and leadership.

सुरभारती-समुपासक--श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह

मातृदत्त त्रिवेदी

सुगृहीतनामधेय श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह की संस्कृतसेवा-परायणता का स्मरण करते हुए पण्डितराज जगन्नाथ का यह श्लोक स्मृति-पथ पर आ जाता है--

अयि दलदरविन्द स्यन्दमानं मरन्दं
तव किमपि लिहन्तो मञ्जु गुञ्जन्तु भृङ्गाः ।
दिशि दिशि निरपेक्षस्तावकीनं विवृण्वन्
परिमलमयमन्यो बान्धवो गन्धवाहः ।।

इसमें अन्योक्ति के द्वारा यह भाव व्यक्त किया गया है कि कुछ भ्रमरवृत्तिक होते हैं और कुछ लोगों का आचरण वायु के सदृश होता है । भ्रमर अरविन्द के मकरन्द का पान कर अपने में ही सन्तुष्ट होकर गुञ्जन किया करता है; उसे बाह्य जगत् से कोई प्रयोजन नहीं रहता है; परन्तु वायु उसके परिमल को अपनाकर सर्वत्र बिखेर देती है और सम्पूर्ण वातावरण को सुरभित कर देती है । श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह, जिन्हें हम लोग आदरपूर्वक 'जज साहब' कहते थे, इसी वायु-स्वभाव के व्यक्ति थे । उन्होंने निःस्पृह होकर संस्कृत की सेवा की थी और अपने कार्य-कलाप से दूसरों को भी वैसा करने के लिए प्रेरित किया था । इस प्रकार उन्होंने इस सद्गुण-गन्ध को अपने कार्य-क्षेत्र में विकीर्ण किया था और उसे सुरभिमय बनाया था । उनका जो कुछ था, वह अपने लिए नहीं, अपितु संस्कृत के लिए था और संस्कृत-भक्तों के लिए था । वे सबके थे; सबके आत्मीय थे; अजातशत्रु थे और महान् संस्कृत-सेवाव्रती थे । ऐसे उदात्तचरित व्यक्ति का स्मरण करने अथवा उनके सुचरित की चर्चा करने से स्वयं अपने में गौरव का अभिमान होता है । महिमभट्ट ने ठीक ही कहा है--

महतां संस्तव एव गौरवाय

वर्तमानकालिक संस्कृत-जगत् में ऐसे तीन व्यक्ति हुए हैं, जिनकी संस्कृत-निष्ठा से मैं अत्यधिक प्रभावित हुआ हूँ । इनमें प्रथम हैं हमारे गुरुवर प्रातःस्मरणीय प्रो०को०अ० सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर; द्वितीय हैं अनन्य संस्कृतानुरागी बाबू सम्पूर्णानन्द जी और तृतीय हैं हमारे जज साहब, जिन्होंने यावज्जीवन मन, वचन, कर्म से संस्कृत की सपर्या की और ऐसा करते हुए इहलोक-

लीला समाप्त कर दी। अब वह इस संसार में नहीं हैं, केवल उनकी पावन स्मृति शेष है और उनकी संस्कृत-निष्ठा की प्रतीक 'अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्' है, जिसके कारण उनका यशः-शरीर आज भी हम लोगों के बीच में विद्यमान है।

बाबू सम्पूर्णानन्द जी विविध शासन-कार्यों में व्यस्त रहते हुए भी संस्कृत के अभ्युदय के लिए सतत प्रयत्नशील रहते थे। संस्कृतज्ञों के लिए उनका द्वार सदैव खुला रहता था और वैदिकों के वह आश्रयदाता थे; क्योंकि वेदों के प्रति उनका अनुराग अप्रतिम था। इसी प्रकार गुरुवर अय्यर जी भी नित्य स्वाध्याय रूपी ब्रह्मकर्म में लीन रहते हुए इस बात के लिए सदैव सचेष्ट रहते थे, कि यह संस्कृत-सुरतरु कैसे विकसित, पुष्पित और पल्लवित हो। इन लोगों को मिल गये जज साहब और फिर संस्कृतज्ञों की इस त्रिवेणी ने लखनऊ में संस्कृत परिषद् की स्थापना कर संस्कृत भक्तों के मानस को आप्लावित करना शुरू कर दिया।

जज साहब से हमारा परिचय इसी परिषद् के स्थापनकाल से है। मार्गशीर्ष कृष्ण तृतीया, विक्रमीय सं० २००८ शुक्रवार (१६ नवम्बर १९५१) को परिषद् की स्थापना हुई थी और इसकी पहली बैठक जज साहब के घर पर हुई थी। उस समय परिषद् का कोई स्थायी भवन नहीं था; अतः संस्कृत-प्रेमियों के घर पर ही इसकी बैठकें हुआ करती थीं। बाबू सम्पूर्णानन्द जी भी यदा कदा समय मिलने पर उन बैठकों में उपस्थित होते थे और परिषद् की उन्नति के लिए प्रेरणा देते रहते थे। परिषद् की दूसरी बैठक श्री हेमचन्द्र जोशी जी के घर पर १४ जनवरी, १९५२ को हुई थी जिसमें बहुत से लोग उपस्थित थे। परिषद् अभी शैशवावस्था में ही थी कि जज साहब का स्थानान्तरण बरेली हो गया। उनका प्रास्थानिक समारोह जोशी जी के घर पर २७ मार्च १९५२ ई० को आयोजित हुआ था। उस समय जज साहब का अभिनन्दन करते हुए गुरुवर अय्यर जी ने यह कहा था—

यद्यपि राजकीयकर्मचारिणां कदाचित्कार्यवशात् स्थानपरिवर्तनमावश्यकमनिवार्यं च, तथापि स्वोत्साहेन स्वोद्यमेन च प्रत्यग्रसंस्थापितामिमां लक्ष्मणपुरसंस्कृतपरिषदं परित्यज्य श्रीमतां बरेलीनगरगमनं भृशं दुनोति नो हृदयानि।

उस समय परिषद् की बैठकों में संस्कृत के विशिष्ट विद्वान् समाहूत होते थे, जो अपने वैदुष्यपूर्ण भाषणों से उपस्थित श्रोताओं की ज्ञानवृद्धि और उत्साहवर्धन करते रहते थे। परिषद् का यह सौभाग्य था कि ज्योतिष्पीठाधीश्वर शङ्कराचार्य श्री ब्रह्मानन्द सरस्वती तथा ब्रह्मविद्याविद्योतितान्तःकरण स्वामी करपात्री जी महाराज ने इसे अपनी उपस्थिति से पवित्र किया था और अपने आशीर्वचनों से इसे गौरव प्रदान किया था।

कुछ कालानन्तर जज साहब पुनः लखनऊ आ गये और संस्कृत परिषद् द्रुतगति से अपने कार्य-कलाप का सम्पादन करने लगी। जज साहब ने परिषद् के माध्यम से सर्वात्मना संस्कृत की सेवा की थी। वह परिषद् के लिए पूर्णरूप से समर्पित थे। जब कभी परिषद् के ऊपर आर्थिक संकट आता, वह अपने पास से धन देकर उसे दूर करते थे। उन्होंने अपनी चिरसञ्चित पाण्डुलिपियाँ और पुस्तकें परिषद् को दे दिया था। वह लोकैषणा से दूर रहकर

संस्कृत की सेवा करते थे। क्या विद्वज्जन, क्या शासकजन, क्या साधारण-विशिष्ट जन सभी पर उनके व्यक्तित्व का प्रभाव था। उनके ही प्रयत्न से परिषद् को स्थायी भवन प्राप्त हुआ; पुस्तकालय स्थापित हुआ; पाण्डुलिपियों का संग्रह हुआ तथा पुस्तकों और अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थों का प्रकाशन हुआ। इसकी ख्याति देश-विदेश में हुई। संस्कृतजन उनके प्रति सदैव ऋणी रहेंगे।

जज साहब के चरित की एक विशेषता यह भी थी कि कहीं कोई संस्कृतगोष्ठी आयोजित हो, वह उसमें अवश्य जाते थे। संस्कृत का कोई विद्वान् लखनऊ आता तो वह उसे परिषद् ले जाते थे और परिषद् के कार्यों से अवगत कराते थे। समय का उन्हें बड़ा ध्यान रहता था। परिषद् की प्रत्येक बैठक निश्चित समय पर होती थी। कोई भी कार्यक्रम परिषद् के द्वारा आयोजित हो, वह पूर्वनिर्धारित समय पर ही होता था। यदि कभी समाहूत विशिष्ट व्यक्ति ठीक समय पर न आता तो भी कार्यक्रम निश्चित समय पर ही प्रारम्भ होता था। उनके द्वारा चलायी गयी यह परम्परा आज भी अक्षुण्ण रूप में प्रचलित है। ऐसे संस्कृत-समाराधक व्यक्ति के निधन से परिषद्-परिवार की अपूरणीय क्षति हुई है और उन लोगों की व्यक्तिगत क्षति हुई है, जिनके वह अपने थे। परन्तु परिषद् के माध्यम से उन्होंने जो ज्ञान का प्रकाश फैलाया है, वह हम सब संस्कृतानुरागियों के अन्तःकरण को सदैव आलोकित करता रहेगा। अन्त में हम एक श्लोक द्वारा उनके प्रति अपनी श्रद्धासुमनाञ्जलि समर्पित करते हैं—

येनाकारि क्रियाभिः प्रमुदितमनसा स्निग्धशान्तैर्वचोभिः
सेवा गीर्वाणवाण्याः स्मरति खलु मुदा तामिहाद्याऽपि लोकः।
धीरो धीमान् वदान्यो ननु नियमपरो यः स्वकार्येषु नित्यं
सिंहोपाह्वः सुधीन्द्रो जयतु गुणनिधिः श्रीलगोपालचन्द्रः॥

संस्मृति-सुमनोहार

अशोक कुमार कालिया

श्रद्धेय श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी से मैं विगत कई वर्षों से विभिन्न रूपों में घनिष्ठतया सम्बद्ध रहा हूँ। आज जब अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद् द्वारा उनकी संस्मृति में 'ऋतम्' नामक अनुसन्धान-पत्रिका के एक विशेषाङ्क के प्रकाशन की योजना प्रगति पर है, मैं भी श्रद्धाञ्जलि के रूप में संस्मृतियों का एक पुष्पहार उन्हें समर्पित करना चाहता हूँ। यद्यपि संस्मृतियाँ शेफालिका के फूलों की भाँति इस तरह बिखरी पड़ी हैं कि उन सबको एकत्रित कर सकना कठिन कार्य है तथापि कुछ विशिष्ट स्मृतियों को चुनकर उन्हें एक मालाकार के रूप में पिरोने का प्रयास मैं कर रहा हूँ।

आज से पच्चीस वर्ष पूर्व सन् १९६१-६२ में मैंने इनके सर्वप्रथम दर्शन करने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त किया था। उस समय मैं लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत विभाग में बी०ए० (आनर्स) तृतीय वर्ष का विद्यार्थी था। याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति का व्यवहाराध्याय हमारे पाठ्यक्रम में धर्मशास्त्र के एक प्रश्न-पत्र के रूप में निर्धारित था। इस समय श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी, जिन्हें हम सब जज साहब कहते थे, राजकीय न्यायिक सेवा से निवृत्त हो चुके थे। तत्कालीन संस्कृत-विभागाध्यक्ष डॉ० सत्यव्रतसिंह ने भारतीय धर्मशास्त्र में इनकी विशेषज्ञता तथा रुचि को देखते हुए इस प्रश्न-पत्र को पढ़ाने के लिए इनसे ही निवेदन किया, जिसे इन्होंने सहर्ष स्वीकार किया। इस प्रकार इनका सर्वप्रथम सान्निध्य मुझे शिष्य-रूप में प्राप्त हुआ। यह सान्निध्य बिना किसी विघ्न के उत्तरोत्तर घनिष्ठ से घनिष्ठतर होता चला गया। अस्तु, उनके अध्यापन के विषय में भी दो शब्द कहना उचित होगा, क्योंकि उससे उनके कुछ स्वाभाविक गुण प्रतिबिम्बित होते हैं। कक्षा में जब वह पढ़ाने के लिए आते थे तो पाठ्य पुस्तक के साथ ही कार्डों पर विशेष कुछ लिखकर लाते थे जिनकी सहायता से प्रस्तुत विषय के साथ ही अन्य स्मृतियों से भी सम्बद्धविषय पर प्रकाश डालते थे। अध्यापन से पूर्व अध्ययन को उन्होंने कभी भी छात्रों से गोपनीय नहीं समझा। प्रायः सामान्य शिक्षक अपने पाण्डित्य का आटोप बनाये रखने के उद्देश्य से या तो अध्यापन के पूर्व स्वयं अध्ययन नहीं करते अथवा यदि करते हैं तो प्रच्छन्नतया करते हैं। जज साहब में ऐसा पाण्डित्य-पाषण्ड नहीं था। इससे मुझे उनके स्वभाव में सारल्य, सौलभ्य तथा

बौद्धिक शुचिता जैसे गुणों के दर्शन होते थे। विद्यार्थी के रूप में मैने उनमें गुरुत्व इसी रूप में देखा था।

इसके पश्चात् मैं उनके साथ अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद् के माध्यम से विभिन्न रूपों में सम्बद्ध रहा, किन्तु मैं सम्बन्धों के उन अनेक आयामों की बिखरी हुई संस्मृतियों को समेटना कठिन समझ कर केवल वहीं ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ जहाँ उनकी भूमिका मेरे व्यक्तित्व के साथ सम्बद्ध रही है। आज एक छोटे से क्षेत्र में मैं संस्कृत के कादाचित्क कवि के रूप में जाना जाता हूँ। मेरी दृष्टि में इसका अधिकांश श्रेय श्रद्धेय जज साहब को ही है। कभी-कभी मैं स्वेच्छा से अथवा जैसी आवश्यकता हुई पारम्परिक तथा आधुनिक गीत आदि शैली में संस्कृत भाषा में कविताएं लिखा करता था। जज साहब मेरी इस प्रवृत्ति से बहुत अच्छी प्रकार से परिचित ही नहीं थे, उसमें उनका अपना योगदान भी था। इस सन्दर्भ में मैं अपनी एक मात्र नाट्य-कृति 'सुधाभोजनम्' का उल्लेख करना आवश्यक समझता हूँ। जज साहब प्रायः पालि जातक 'सुधाभोजनम्' की प्रशंसा करते थे और मुझे प्रेरित करते रहते थे कि मैं इसे आधार बनाकर एक ऐसी कृति तैयार करूँ जिसका अभिनय भी किया जा सके। मैंने उनकी इस प्रवर्तना पर बहुत समय तक ध्यान नहीं दिया जैसा कि सम्बन्धों की अनौपचारिकता के कारण मैं प्रायः किया करता था, किन्तु उनकी प्रेरणा अनवरत चलती रही तब तक—जब तक कि मैंने वस्तुतः लिखने का मानस सङ्कल्प नहीं कर लिया। इस प्रकार की रचना का प्रथम प्रयास होने पर भी तथा आत्मविश्वास का अभाव होने पर भी रचना जिस रूप में तैयार होकर आयी उससे उन्हें अनन्य सन्तोष तथा मुझे कवि के रूप में पहचान प्राप्त हुई। इस रचना का मञ्चन भी उनके प्रयास से हुआ। आकाशवाणी भोपाल तथा लखनऊ से इसका प्रसारण भी हुआ। जज साहब यदि कुछ दिन और जीवित रहते तो सम्भवतः मुझे कवि के रूप में कुछ प्रतिष्ठा अवश्य प्राप्त हो गयी होती। मेरा प्रयास है कि मैं उनकी अन्तिम इच्छा (सुराभोजनम् की रचना) की पूर्ति किसी प्रकार कर सकूं।

मेरे परिवार वालों से भी अधिक जज साहब को अच्छे कुल में मेरे विवाह की चिन्ता रहती थी। इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे एक बात याद आती है। एक बार जज साहब ने कहीं एक कन्या को देखा, मन ही मन पसन्द किया और मुझसे पूछा कि यह लड़की कैसी है। मैने कहा ठीक है। मेरा इतना कहना था कि वह उस लड़की का पता लगाकर उसके घर जाकर उसकी पारिवारिक स्थिति का पता भी लगा आये। जज साहब समाज में प्रचलित इस प्रथा को सर्वथा दोषपूर्ण मानते थे कि विवाह-सम्बन्धों के लिए कन्या के घर से वर-पक्ष के यहाँ प्रस्ताव जाये। उनका कहना था कि यदि कन्या-पक्ष को कोई लड़का पसन्द आ जाये तो कन्या-पक्ष को प्रस्ताव भेजना चाहिए और यदि वर पक्ष को कोई कन्या पसन्द आये तो वर-पक्ष को। अपने सुपुत्र के विवाह में वे स्वयं ही कन्या-पक्ष के यहाँ विवाह का प्रस्ताव लेकर गये थे। इसी भावना से प्रेरित होकर वह यत्र तत्र मेरे विवाह की भी चर्चा किया करते थे। अन्ततः जहाँ मेरा विवाह हुआ उसमें जज साहब की ही मुख्य भूमिका थी।

मेरी स्मृतियाँ अनन्त तथा बहुविध हैं तथापि मैं अब यहीं पर विराम करता हूँ, क्योंकि कहीं न कहीं तो विराम देना ही होगा। एक बार पुनः जज साहब का स्मरण करते हुए मैं उन्हें अपना संस्मृति-सुमनोहार समर्पित करता हूं—

मृदुतरवचनं द्रुततरगमनं
कृशसन्नहनं दृढमनोबलम्।
सुस्थिरहिमवच्चिकुराभरणं
श्रद्धया नौमि गोपालमहम्।

संस्कृत-सेवाव्रती मेरे चाचा जी

(श्रीमती) सत्या सिन्हा

अपनों के विषय में कुछ भी कह सकना अत्यन्त दुष्कर हुआ करता है। यह कार्य तब और भी कठिन हो जाता है जब वह 'अपना' समग्र श्रद्धा और सम्मान का पात्र हो। ऐसे में उसके गुणों का बखान करना आत्मश्लाघा जैसा होता है और उसके सम्बन्ध में मौन रहना अनौचित्य की सीमा तक पहुँचा देता है। जब मुझे अपने पूज्य चाचा जी का स्मरण आता है तब विगत ढाई दशकों का अतीत मानसाकाश पर कौंध जाता है। आज जब मैं उनकी पुण्यस्मृति में श्रद्धा-सुमनावली अर्पित करने बैठी हूँ तब मैं अपने आपको हतप्रभ सा अनुभव कर रही हूँ। किन-किन स्मृति-प्रसूनों का चयन करके इस माला को पिरोउँ? मेरा विवेक छूट-सा रहा है। न जाने कितनी स्मृतियाँ मेरे मानस में हिलोरें लेकर उठ-उठकर तिरोहित हो रही हैं। मुझे स्मरण आ रहा है उनका समस्त मनुहार, जब वह मेरे किसी कार्य से गद्गद होकर मेरे मस्तक पर अपना हाथ फेरते हुए आशीर्वचनों की झड़ी लगा देते थे; मुझे स्मरण आ रही है उनकी मीठी-मीठी झिड़कियाँ जिन्हें मैंने तब खाया है जब कभी मैंने संस्कृत के श्लोक-पाठ में उच्चारण की कोई अशुद्धि की है, जब मैंने कोई ऐसा आचरण किया है जो उनके उच्च आदर्शों के मानदण्ड के अनुसार नहीं हुआ है, अथवा जब उन्हें मेरी संस्कृत-निष्ठा और स्वाध्याय में किसी प्रकार के प्रमाद का अनुभव हुआ है।

चाचा जी की सरलता तथा उदारता का परिचय सर्वप्रथम मुझे तब हुआ था जब उन्होंने अपनें भ्रातृज की जीवनसङ्गिनी के रूप में मेरा चयन किया था और उसके लिए स्वयं ही मेरे पिता जी से निवेदन भी किया था। वस्तुत: भारतीय परम्परा के अनुसार हिन्दू-परिवारों में वरपक्ष की ओर से स्वीकृति दी जाती है, न कि स्वीकृति मांगी जाती है। उनके इस चयन का आधार न मेरा रंग-रूप था, न मेरा आभिजात्य और न ही मेरे परिवार का आर्थिक स्तर। इस चयन का एक ही आधार था—मेरा संस्कृत का अध्ययन।

इस विज्ञान के युग में उनकी प्रबल महती आकाङ्क्षा रहती थी कि संस्कृत और हिन्दी के प्रति जिस आस्था और श्रद्धा का संस्कार उनमें निहित है वही संस्कार आगे आने वाली सन्तति

में भी बना रहे। पारिवारिक वातावरण संस्कृत-हिन्दीमय रहे—यही उनकी हार्दिक कामना रही। इसी सम्मोहन में उन्होंने अपनी पुत्रवधू का भी चयन किया था।

मैंने कुमारीजन-सुलभ उत्सुकतावश जब अपने पिता जी को भेजा गया चाचा जी का प्रथम पत्र पढ़ा था तभी से उनके व्यक्तित्व के प्रति मेरा आदरमिश्रित आकर्षण उत्पन्न हो गया था। धन तथा सामाजिक स्तर के मापदण्ड से वधुओं का चयन करना जिस समाज में सामान्य सी बात हो उस समाज में केवल देववाणी के प्रति सम्मान के कारण अपने भ्रातृज तथा पुत्र की जीवनसङ्गिनियों का चयन करने वाला कोई देवता ही हो सकता था। अनदेखे ही जो मेरे कल्पना-जगत् के देवता बन गये थे वह जीवन पर्यन्त मेरे लिए देवता ही बने रहे। वह मेरे लिए सदैव पिता के समान थे जिनसे मुझे सदैव पुत्रीवत् प्यार मिलता रहा। परिवार में वधू की गरिमामयी सुखद अनुभूति भी उनके स्नेहिल सान्निध्य में मुझे निरन्तर होती रही है, प्रायः उन अवसरों पर विशेषरूप से, जब किसी से मेरा परिचय कराते हुए वह कहते—'यह हमारी बड़ी बहू है।'

संस्कृत और हिन्दी के प्रति उनकी यह आस्था सीमा का अतिक्रमण तब कर गयी थी जब हिन्दी भाषा को महत्त्व देने वाले न्यायाधीश श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी को उसका मूल्य अपनी प्रोन्नति से चुकाना पड़ा था। अंग्रेजी सत्ता के अधीन कार्यरत हिन्दी के सेवाव्रती ने अंग्रेज़ी भाषा में 'निर्णय' लिखने का विरोध जो किया था!

परस्पर वार्तालाप में बीच-बीच में किया गया कतिपय अंग्रेज़ी शब्दों का प्रयोग चाचा जी को तनिक भी सह्य नहीं होता था। इस तरह अंग्रेज़ी-मिश्रित हिन्दी भाषा के प्रयोग से उन्हें हिन्दी के प्रति उपेक्षा की अनुभूति होने लगती थी।

श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी, जिन्हें हम लोग बड़े चाचा कहते थे, वास्तव में हर दृष्टि से 'बड़े' ही थे। उनके जीवन के अनेक पक्षों ने मुझे प्रभावित किया था। संस्कृत-प्रेम उन्हें अपने पिता-पितामह से रिक्थ रूप में प्राप्त हुआ था। चाचा जी अत्यन्त गर्व के साथ बताया करते थे कि उनके पितामह स्वनामधन्य रायबहादुर श्री राम सरन दास जी कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय से संस्कृत में एम० ए० तथा प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के संस्थापकों में से थे।

अपने पितामह तथा अपने निजी ग्रन्थागार को दान देकर चाचा जी ने लखनऊ नगर में एक संस्कृत-पुस्तकालय की स्थापना की थी। इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे चाचा जी की शालीनता का सहज स्मरण आ रहा है। यद्यपि उनके पितामह का ग्रन्थागार उन्हीं के अधीन था तथापि उक्त पुस्तकालय की स्थापना के लिए उसे दान देने के पूर्व उन्होंने अत्यन्त विनम्रता से अपने अग्रज, मेरे श्वसुर जी, से अनुमति प्राप्त कर ली थी। इस प्रसङ्ग में मुझे चाचा जी के भ्रातृ-प्रेम तथा अपने अग्रज के प्रति सम्मान और अपने अनुज के प्रति स्नेह का भी स्मरण आ रहा है। चाचा जी अपने अग्रज के संस्कृत-स्वाध्याय और वैदुष्य के प्रशंसक थे। कई बार मैंने यह भी देखा है कि मेरे श्वसुर जी तथा चाचा जी में किसी शास्त्रीय विषय पर जब चर्चा चलने लगती थी तब अपने अग्रज का पक्ष निर्बल होते हुए भी वह कभी उसका खण्डन नहीं करते थे, अपितु विनम्रता-पूर्वक उन्हें समझाने का प्रयास किया करते थे। दोनों भाइयों का इस प्रकार का वाद-विवाद

देखकर मेरे दोनों बच्चे बहुत आनन्दित होते थे और परस्पर विचार करने लगते थे कि छोटे बाबा कितना आदर करते हैं अपने बड़े भाई का। फलस्वरूप परोक्ष रूप से मेरे बालकों पर अमिट छाप पड़ी सुसंस्कृत होने के लिए।

ऊपर जिस संस्कृत-पुस्तकालय की चर्चा की गयी है वह 'अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ' नामक एक संस्था के अन्तर्गत है। इस संस्था की स्थापना चाचा जी ने स्व० आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव, स्व० डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द तथा अपने गुरु प्रो० अय्यर प्रभृति विद्वानों के सहयोग से की थी। अपने पारिवारिक उत्तरदायित्वों से मुक्त होने के पश्चात् उन्होंने अपना सम्पूर्ण जीवन इसी संस्था को समर्पित कर दिया था। अब इस संस्था में उनके सहयोगियों का सीमित वर्ग ही उनका परिवार बन गया था। परिषद् ही उनका सर्वस्व थी। इस परिषद् को पल्लवित, पुष्पित और फलित होते देखना ही उनकी महत्त्वाकांक्षा थी। आज के इस युग में जब कोई भी संस्था बिना राजनैतिक समर्थन के पनप ही नहीं सकती है, परिषद् की आर्थिक स्थिति कभी चाचा जी के मनोनुरूप सुदृढ़ न हो पायी। उनके जीवन का एक मात्र उद्देश्य संस्कृत की सेवा थी जिसके माध्यम के रूप में उन्होंने परिषद् की स्थापना की थी। मैंने उन्हें कई बार परिषद् की आर्थिक विपन्नता से दुःखी होकर यह कहते सुना था कि 'जिस परिषद् ने मुझे जीवन दिया है उसी परिषद् की चिन्ता मेरा जीवन ले भी लेगी।' वास्तव में परिषद् की जर्जर आर्थिक स्थिति ने उन्हें सदैव इतना चिन्तित रखा था कि उन्हें उच्च रक्तचाप रहने लगा था, किन्तु अपने धुन के पक्के और संस्कृत- सेवाव्रती चाचा जी अपने स्वास्थ्य की चिन्ता न करके निरन्तर परिषद् के उन्नयन में ही लगे रहते थे। अपने अथक परिश्रम से उन्होंने अपनी परिषद् को अन्ताराष्ट्रिय ख्याति तो दिला दी किन्तु अपने प्राणों को न्यौछावर करके ! उनका उच्च-रक्तचाप कभी कम ही न हुआ। परिषद् की चिन्ताओं के कारण यही रक्तचाप घातक सिद्ध हुआ और मेरे चाचा जी की उपर्युक्त भविष्यवाणी सत्य होकर रही। ११ नवम्बर, १९८४ की मध्यरात्रि में मस्तिष्क की धमनी फट जाने से वह दूसरे दिन चिरनिद्रा में लीन हो गये। अब तो शेष रह गया है उनका यशः-शरीर तथा शेष रह गयी हैं उनकी अनेक स्मृतियाँ। इन स्मृतियों को मेरा शत-शत वन्दन !

श्रद्धाञ्जलि

श्याम प्रकाश

श्रद्धेय जज साहब से मेरा परिचय १९६२ में हुआ था, जब वह लखनऊ में फ़ैजाबाद रोड पर स्थित एक बंगले में रहते थे। संस्कृत और हिन्दी के वह अनन्य उपासक थे। उनकी इसी प्रतिष्ठा से आकृष्ट होकर मैं उनके दर्शनार्थ गया था, क्योंकि संस्कारवश बाल्यावस्था से ही मेरी रुझान ऐसे व्यक्तियों के प्रति रही है, जो संस्कृत और हिन्दी के प्रेमी रहे हैं। प्रथम सम्पर्क में ही उनके सहज सौम्य रूप की अमिट छाप मेरे हृदय में अनायास ही प्रविष्ट हो गयी। वे प्रकृत्या मृदु और मिष्टभाषी थे और हृदय से निश्छल। संस्कृत का अध्ययन-अध्यापन करने वालों के प्रति उनकी नैसर्गिक आत्मीयता थी और उन्हें वे अपने ही परिवार का समझते थे। इसी कारण उन्होंने मेरे विवाह का प्रस्ताव एक ऐसी सजातीय कन्या से रखा था, जो संस्कृत में एम० ए० थी और इसके पीछे मात्र उनका उद्देश्य संस्कृत की अभिवृद्धि का संकल्प था।

जज साहब परिषद् के प्रमुख स्तम्भ थे। वे अपने जीवन का अधिकाधिक समय परिषद् की सेवाओं के लिए ही देते थे। वृद्धावस्था में स्वास्थ्य ठीक न रहने पर भी लखनऊ से बाहर आयोजित होने वाले संस्कृत के विभिन्न आयोजनों में वे परिषद् के अन्य अधिकारियों के साथ सोत्साह सम्मिलित होते थे। १९८२ में जयपुर में आयोजित अखिल भारतीय प्राच्य विद्या सम्मेलन के इकतीसवें अधिवेशन में तीन चार दिन उनके साथ एक ही बड़े कमरे में रहने का सुअवसर प्राप्त हुआ था। तदनन्तर, १९८३ में परिषद् के प्रकाशनों तथा हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों की एक प्रदर्शनी के सिलसिले में वह पौड़ी (गढ़वाल) भी गये थे, जहां मुझे उनके साथ लगभग एक सप्ताह निरन्तर सम्पर्क का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ था।

आज जज साहब नहीं हैं, परन्तु उनकी स्मृतियाँ सदैव बनी रहेंगी। उनकी उदारता, कर्मठता और परिषद् के लिए पूर्ण समर्पित एकनिष्ठ सेवाएं सदैव परिषद् के समस्त परिवार को प्रेरणा देती रहेंगी। हम उनके बताए हुए मार्ग पर निरन्तर चलते रहें और परिषद् की सेवा उसी मनोयोग से करें, यही उनके लिए सच्ची श्रद्धाञ्जलि होगी।

अजातशत्रु बाबू जी

द्वारकाप्रसाद शास्त्री

'गोपाल ! आज तुमने दबाव डालकर मुझसे अनुचित कार्य करा लिया। जाओ, जिस एक वर्ष को बचाने के लिए तुमने ऐसा कराया है, भविष्य में तुम्हारा एक वर्ष नष्ट हो जाये।' अपनी ओर से वय का लिखित प्रमाण-पत्र देने के बाद घर लौटकर आये, पलंग पर उदास लेटे हुए, पश्चात्ताप की मुद्रा में विचारमग्न जिस व्यक्ति ने ऐसा अभिशप्त वचन कहा, वे थे अपने समय के प्रसिद्ध सत्यव्रती हमारे चरितनायक बाबू गोपालचन्द्र सिंह के पिता जी।

यह घटना उस समय की है जबकि बालक गोपाल चन्द्र जी निर्धारित वय से पूर्व ही हाईस्कूल (दसवीं कक्षा) में पहुँच गये थे। नियमानुसार परीक्षा का उनका आवेदन-पत्र अग्रसारित नहीं हो रहा था। शर्त थी कि डाक्टर के प्रमाण-पत्र के साथ ही बालक के पिता भी वय का प्रमाण-पत्र दें। बालक के पिताजी बालक के निवेदन पर नहीं सहमत हुए। तब बालक गोपाल चन्द्र जी ने बाल हठ ठाना। फिर उनकी माता जी ने पिताजी को बहुत समझाया तो दबाववश उन्होंने लिखित प्रमाण-पत्र तो दे दिया, साथ ही भावी कोई एक वर्ष नष्ट होने का अभिशाप भी दे दिया। बाबू गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह ऐसे सत्यव्रती पिता के सुयोग्य पुत्र थे। उनके पितामह प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय से संस्कृत विषय में एम० ए० उत्तीर्ण होने वाले प्रथम छात्र थे। ऐसे अभिजात कुल में जन्मे बाबू गोपाल चन्द्र जी परम आभिजात्य थे। उनके प्रत्येक कार्य से कुलीनता प्रकट होती थी, किन्तु पिता का वह अभिशाप पूरा होकर ही रहा। तब प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय से सम्बद्ध कैनिंग कालेज (अब लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय) में उनके देश-प्रेम की लहर में आकर छात्रों की सभा करने और ब्रिटिश सरकार विरोधी भाषण देने से रुष्ट होकर अंग्रेज प्रिंसिपल ने उनको परीक्षा में अपने विषय में अनुत्तीर्ण कर दिया। इस प्रकार उनके ऋषितुल्य पिता जी का अभिशाप पूर्ण हुआ।

आदरणीय गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह को मैं श्रद्धावश बाबू जी कहता था। मुझे वे सदैव शास्त्री जी कहकर सम्बोधित करते थे। उनका मेरा प्रथम परिचय लखनऊ में आयोजित उत्तर प्रदेश हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के अधिवेशन में हुआ था। उस समय माननीय टंडन जी यहाँ विधान

सभा के अध्यक्ष थे ! मैं प्रयागस्थ अखिल भारतीय हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के संग्रहालय से कुछ महत्त्वपूर्ण हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों को लेकर अधिवेशन के अवसर पर आयोजित पुस्तक-प्रदर्शनी में भाग लेने आया था। बाबू जी उस प्रदर्शनी के संयोजक थे। उसके पश्चात् उन्होंने बाबू सम्पूर्णानन्द जी, प्रोफ़ेसर अय्यर जी और आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव जी के सहयोग से लखनऊ में एक अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद् की स्थापना की थी। उसके पुस्तकालय को उन्होंने अपने पितामह, पिता तथा स्वयं अपने द्वारा संगृहीत पुस्तकें दान में दे दी थीं। उस पुस्तकालय को सुव्यवस्थित करने के लिए उन्होंने मुझे बुलाया था और बाबू सम्पूर्णानन्द जी ने अप्रैल, १९५८ ई० में उसका उद्घाटन किया था। बाबू जी अखिल भारतीय हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के सचिव नियुक्त किये गये थे जबकि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने एक अधिनियम बनाकर उसका अधिग्रहण किया था। तब मुझे उनके निकट आने का अधिक अवसर मिला। हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन, प्रयाग से सेवानिवृत्त होने का समाचार मिलने पर वे परिषद् की सेवा करने के लिए मेरे घर प्रयाग जाकर मुझको लिवा लाये। ऐसी सरल और साधु प्रकृति थी बाबू जी की। वे परिषद् के अभ्युदय के लिए आमरण प्रयत्नशील रहे।

बाबू जी में अनेक दुर्लभ गुण थे। छोटे बड़े सबके साथ उनका व्यवहार अत्यधिक स्नेह-सिक्त और आत्मीय था। उनकी किसी बात से कभी किसी को कष्ट पहुँचने की तो कल्पना भी नहीं की जा सकती थी। उनमें समय-पालन का गुण ऐसा था कि समस्त कार्य यन्त्रवत् निर्धारित समय पर होते थे। वर्षा, गर्मी और सर्दी उनके कार्यक्रमों में कोई बाधा नहीं डाल सकती थी। किसी का कोई भी कार्य हो जिससे उसका अभ्युदय और श्रेय होने वाला हो तो सब कार्य छोड़कर वह उसको करने का प्रयास करते थे। उनके पास आने वाले किसी व्यक्ति को निराश होते मैंने कभी नहीं देखा था। वे 'विद्या ददाति विनयम्' की साक्षात् मूर्ति थे। वे जाति-पाँति की भावना तथा पक्षपात से रहित निश्छल व्यक्ति थे। जिस व्यक्ति से उनका परिचय एक बार हो जाये उस पर वे अपनी अमिट छाप छोड़ देते थे। वह व्यक्ति उनसे इतना प्रभावित हो जाता था कि वह इस अवसर की ताक में रहता था कि जज साहब कुछ करने को कहें। अकर्मण्यता और निष्क्रियता बाबू जी से बहुत दुःखी और निराश रहती थी, क्योंकि बाबू जी सदैव किसी न किसी रचनात्मक कार्य में लगे रहते थे। नेत्रज्योति के क्षीण हो जाने पर भी उन्होंने हार नहीं मानी थी। कुछ न कुछ लिखते रहते थे। संस्कृत-परिषद् तो उनके प्राणों में समायी हुई थी। परिषद् के लिए वे छोटा बड़ा कोई भी कार्य करने में नहीं झिझकते थे। वे लखनऊ नगर में संस्कृत का सुन्दर वातावरण बनाना चाहते थे। लखनऊ के राजभवन में जब उनकी सेवाओं के लिए उनका अभिनन्दन किया गया तो तत्कालीन राज्यपाल जी तथा डा० जनार्दनदत्त शुक्ल जैसे विद्वानों और प्रशासकों ने उनकी सेवाओं की मुक्त-कण्ठ से प्रशंसा की थी। जब उच्च पद पर आसीन अपने एक मात्र पुत्र का विवाह उन्होंने किया तो उन्होंने अपने समधी से कहा कि 'मैं ग्रहीता हूँ। आप दाता हैं। मुझे आपसे कुछ भी मांगने का अधिकार नहीं है।' यह कह कर दहेज की माँग नहीं की और उनकी संस्कृत में एम०ए० कन्या को सहर्ष अपनी पुत्रवधू के रूप में स्वीकार कर लिया।

वे परिषद् के पुस्तकालय में लखनऊ में स्थित और प्राप्य हस्तलिखित तथा मुद्रित ग्रन्थों की सूची रखना चाहते थे। स्थानीय एक जैन मन्दिर में स्थित ग्रन्थों की सूची बनाने के लिए बात भी की थी। जिस रात उन पर मरणान्तक रोग का आक्रमण हुआ, उस दिन उन्होंने अपनी पौत्री से सूची बनाने के लिए रजिस्टर पर निश्चित कालम खिचवाया था। वह जैन मन्दिर के अधिष्ठाता के नाम एक पत्र दिन में दो बजे लिख रहे थे। मैं उनसे मिलने के लिए उनकी कोठी पर पहुँचा। उनके अध्ययन-कक्ष में बैठने के बाद मैंने उनसे पत्र के शेष अंश को लिख देने का निवेदन किया, क्योंकि उन्हें लिखने में कष्ट होता था। वे बोलते रहे और मैंने उस पत्र को पूरा किया था। तब उन्होंने कहा कि 'यह पत्र आज टाइप हो जाये। कल इसको वहाँ भेज दिया जाना चाहिए।' मना करने पर भी वे शिष्टाचारवश मुझे कोठी के फाटक तक छोड़ने आये और मैंने उनसे विदा ली। यह मेरी उनसे अन्तिम भेंट थी।

एक दिन मैंने उनसे कहा कि 'बाबू जी आप शतायु होंगे' तो उन्होंने कहा कि 'नेत्र-ज्योति क्षीण हो गयी है। काम कर नहीं पाता हूँ। ऐसी दशा में दीर्घ जीवन से क्या लाभ'? हिन्दी संस्कृत की संस्थाओं के झगड़े-झमेले से वे दुःखी हो जाते थे। कहते थे, विदेशों में संस्थाएं सैकड़ों वर्ष चलती रहती हैं और क्रियाशील रहती हैं, किन्तु हमारे यहाँ की संस्थाओं की यह दुर्दशा है।

यह बात बहुत कम लोग जानते हैं कि हिन्दी और संस्कृत की ओर सक्रिय योगदान के कारण उनको न्याय के अपने सेवाक्षेत्र में ब्रिटिश सरकार की ओर से उचित प्रोत्साहन और प्रोन्नति नहीं मिल सकी, किन्तु उन्होंने कभी भी इसके लिए न तो परवाह की और न तो पश्चात्ताप ही प्रकट किया।

ऐसे सहृदय, विद्वान्, विनयी, अजातशत्रु व्यक्ति के प्रति मैं अपनी विनम्र श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित करता हूं।

मेरे जज साहब

जगदम्बा प्रसाद सिनहा

मैं उन दिनों एक स्थानीय महाविद्यालय में अंशकालिक रूप से सामान्य संस्कृत का अध्यापन कर रहा था और प्रायः अपराह्ण में ही कक्षाओं के लिए जाया करता था। १९५५ के हेमन्त का वह दिन मेरे लिए ऐतिहासिक दिन था। जैसे ही मैं विद्यालय पहुँचा मुझे सूचना दी गयी कि मेरे गुरुवर प्रो० अय्यर ने मुझे अपने निवास स्थान पर बुलाया है। मन में एक उत्सुकता थी कि न जाने गुरुवर्य ने क्यों स्मरण किया है। निर्धारित समय पर उनके निवास-स्थान पर पहुँचा। गुरुदेव ने मेरे अभिवादन का उत्तर देने के साथ ही कहना प्रारम्भ किया– 'जगदम्बा, आज मैं तुम्हें एक ऐसे व्यक्ति के पास भेज रहा हूँ, जो बहुत ही सरल तथा सीधे-सादे हैं। अनेक प्रभावशाली महापुरुषों से उनके सम्बन्ध हैं। वह तुम्हारी जीविका का भी प्रबन्ध कर देंगे।' यह कहते हुए उन्होंने मुझे श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी का लम्बा परिचय दे डाला और यह भी आदेश दिया कि मैं तुरन्त ही जाकर सचिवालय-स्थित उनके कक्ष में उनसे मिल लूं, क्योंकि शायद उन्हें मुझसे कुछ काम कराना था। श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी की चर्चा तो विभाग में अपने गुरुजनों से सुन चुका था, किन्तु उनसे भेंट करने का यह पहला ही सुयोग था। मेरे जैसे साधारण और अकिञ्चन व्यक्ति के लिए सत्र न्यायाधीश के प्रति भयमिश्रित आदर का भाव होना स्वाभाविक था। संकोच, उत्सुकता, भय और हर्ष के मिश्रित भावों से हृदय की धड़कनें कुछ और भी तीव्र हो रही थीं। पैर तो उनके कार्यालय की ओर बढ़ते जा रहे थे, किन्तु संकोच के कारण कुछ अन्यमनस्कता अवश्य थी। अस्तु, जैसे-तैसे करके उनके कमरे में घुसा। उन दिनों वह सचिवालय के एक खण्ड में भूतल पर ही बैठते थे। उन दिनों सचिवालय में जाने के लिए कोई रोक-टोक भी न थी। सम्भवतः गुरुवर प्रो० अय्यर ने उन्हें मेरे उनके पास पहुँचने की सूचना पहले से ही दे रखी थी, क्योंकि मेरे प्रवेश करते ही उन्होंने आसन से उठकर, दोनों हाथ जोड़कर मेरे अभिवादन का उत्तर दिया और बड़ी आत्मीयता के साथ मुझसे बैठने का अनुरोध किया। मेरे व्यक्तिगत जीवन के सम्बन्ध में कुछ प्रश्न करने के पश्चात् उन्होंने मुझे बुलाने का प्रयोजन बतलाया।

तत्कालीन मुख्य मन्त्री, स्व० डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्द जी, की प्रेरणा से उन्होंने एक प्रज्ञाचक्षु,

स्व० पं० धनराज शास्त्री को परिषद् की ओर से आमन्त्रित किया था। शास्त्री जी का दावा था कि उन्हें अनेक ऐसे ग्रन्थ कण्ठस्थ हैं जो अब लुप्त हो चुके हैं। शास्त्री जी का यह भी दावा था कि स्व० डा० भगवानदास ने भी उनसे श्रुतलेख लेकर ही प्रणववाद नामक ग्रन्थ की रचना की थी। श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी स्व० आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव, स्व० डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द, स्व० प्रो० को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर प्रभृति विद्वानों के सहयोग से अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद् लखनऊ की स्थापना १९५१ में ही कर चुके थे। उनकी महत्त्वाकांक्षा यह थी कि परिषद् के पुस्तकालय में दुर्लभ ग्रन्थों का संग्रह हो और वह अप्राप्य किन्तु महत्त्वपूर्ण संस्कृत ग्रन्थों का प्रकाशन करे। उनकी यह महत्त्वाकाङ्क्षा सम्भवत: बहुत पहले से ही थी, जिसकी पूर्ति के लिए वह अपने सेवाकाल में जहाँ भी गये वहीं हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों की खोज प्रारम्भ कर दी। इस प्रकार से उन्होंने अपने उद्यम और अध्यवसाय से ही इन हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों का अद्भुत भाण्डार एकत्र कर लिया था। स्व० पं० धनराज शास्त्री जी अत्यन्त वृद्ध थे और श्री सिंह जी को भय था कि शास्त्री जी का ज्ञान कहीं उन्हीं के साथ भस्म न हो जाये। हुआ भी यही। शास्त्री जी परिषद् के निमन्त्रण पर लखनऊ में रहकर तथा-कथित अप्राप्य ग्रन्थों को लिखा ही रहे थे कि उनकी मृत्यु हो गयी। मुझे पहले शास्त्री जी द्वारा टेप कराये गये श्लोकों को लिखने का काम दिया गया था। इसी सम्बन्ध में मैं श्री सिंह जी के फैज़ाबाद रोड स्थित निवास पर जाकर घण्टों बैठा करता था। इस विधि से लिखने-लिखाने में व्यावहारिक कठिनाइयों को देख कर मैं शास्त्री जी के पास ही श्रुतलेख लिखने जाने लगा। अब श्री सिंह जी के साथ बैठकर कार्य करने का अवसर न था। दूसरे-तीसरे ही दिन मैं श्री सिंह जी के निवासस्थान पर जा पाता था, किन्तु यह मेरा नियमित कार्यक्रम बन गया था कि मैं प्राय: नित्य ही उनके कार्यालय में जाकर घण्टों बैठा करता था। वह पारिभाषिक शब्दावलियों की रचना के कार्य में लगे रहते हुए भी मुझसे बातें करते रहते थे। बीच-बीच में चाय भी चल जाती थी, और यदि भोजन का समय हुआ तो उसमें भी मैं भागीदार बन जाता था। यह क्रम वर्षों तक चलता रहा और उनके विक्रीकर विभाग में अपील न्यायाधीश के रूप में नियुक्त हो जाने तक भी चलता रहा। भेंट का स्थान सचिवालय से बदलकर बटलर पैलेस हो गया था। हाँ, अब कार्यालय में बैठकर बात-चीत करने के लिए उतना समय अवश्य न था। मैं उन्हीं के साथ कार्यालय से उनके घर चला जाया करता था और प्राय: नित्य ही अपने साथ भोजन कराकर वह मुझे मेरे निवासस्थान पर छोड़ जाते थे। इस बीच परिषद् के भावी रूप पर विचार-विमर्श होता था, पं० धनराज शास्त्री जी के द्वारा लिखाये गये श्रुतलेख के विषय में चर्चा होती थी, इस बात का निश्चय होता था कि कब, कहाँ और किसके पास हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों को प्राप्त करने के लिए जाना है। बीच-बीच में वह मेरी व्यक्तिगत तथा पारिवारिक समस्याओं के सम्बन्ध में भी पूछते रहते थे और उनके समाधान भी सुझाते थे।

धीरे-धीरे मैं उनके परिवार का ही एक सदस्य बन गया था। अब वह मेरे लिये पितृकल्प थे, जिन्हें मैं बड़े आदर से जज साहब कहता था। उनके पास कार थी, अत: मेरे बच्चों के लिए

श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह का जन्म-स्थान



Birthplace of Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha, Faizabad, India
(Photo by J. Ensink)

बाल गोपाल



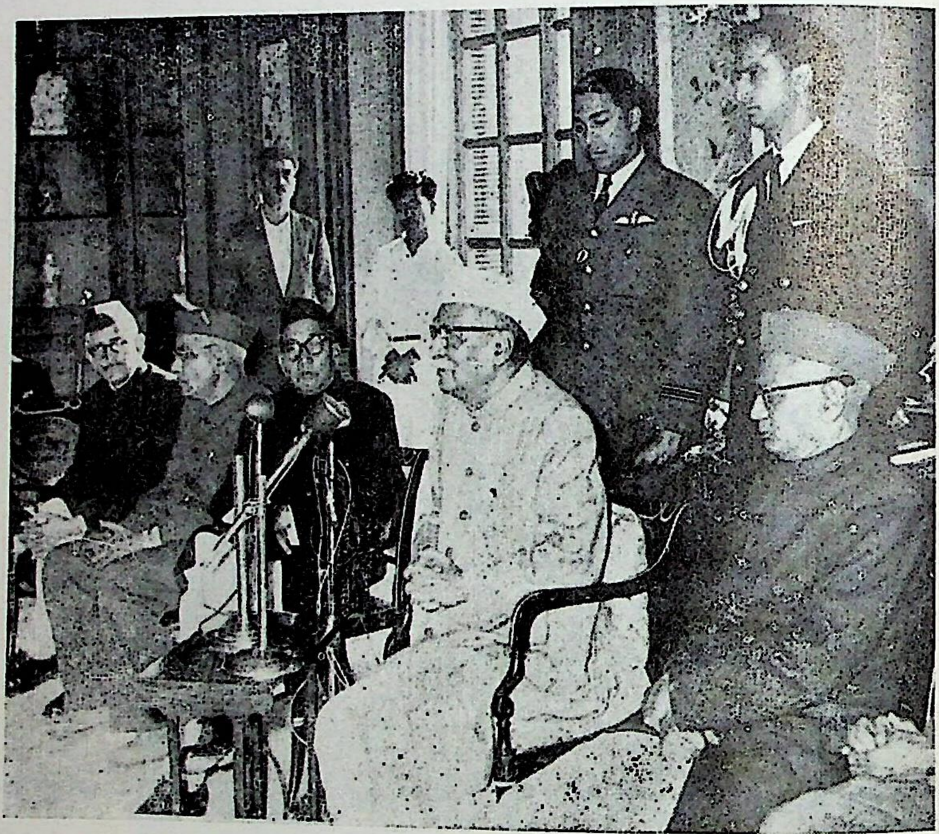
Childhood

जज साहब



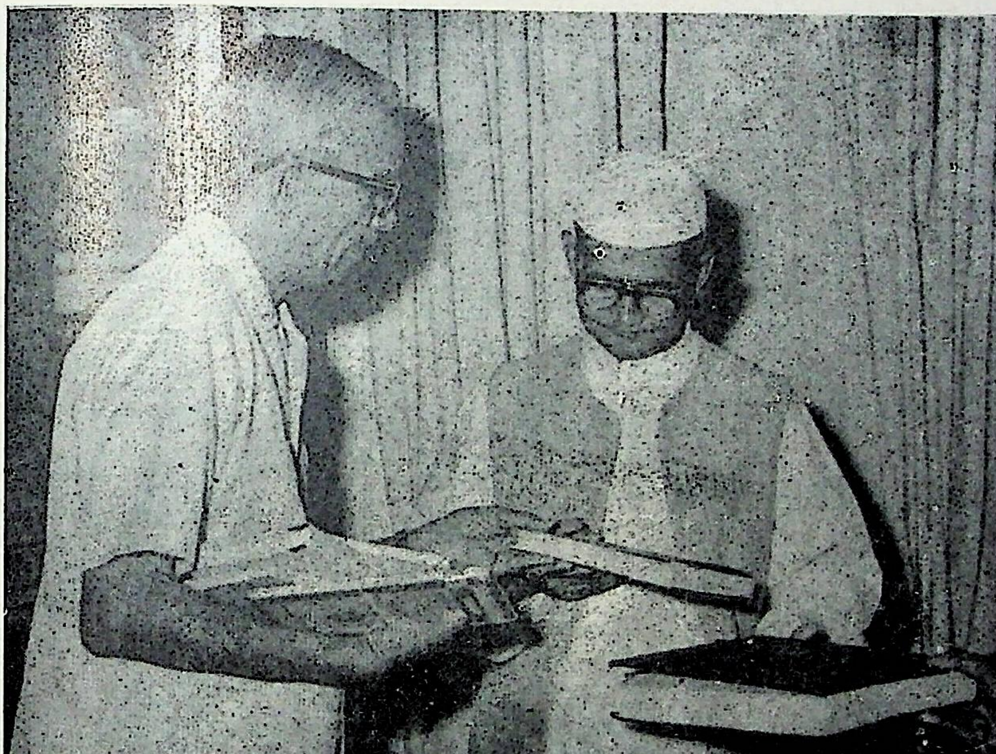
As Judge

तत्कालीन राष्ट्रपति, डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी, के साथ



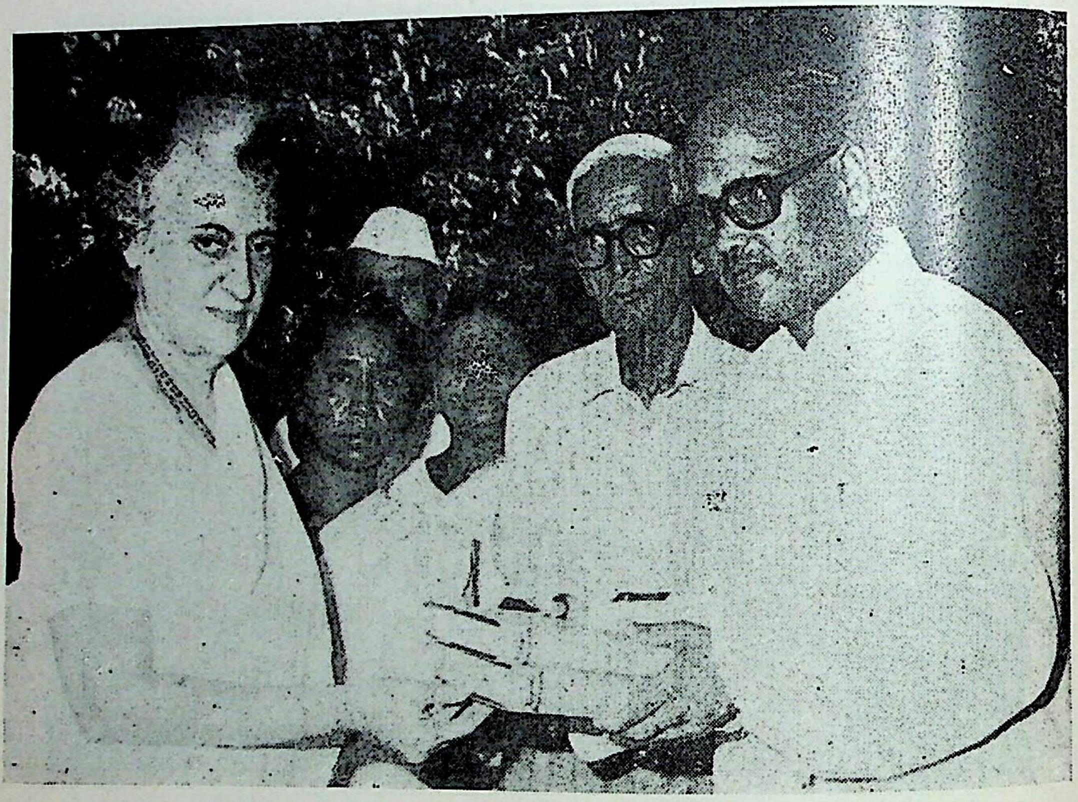
With the then President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad

तत्कालीन प्रधानमन्त्री स्व० श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री के साथ



With the then Prime Minister, the Late Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri

तत्कालीन प्रधानमन्त्री स्व० श्रीमती इन्दिरा गाँधी तथा सम्पादक के साथ



With the then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi and the Editor

वह मोटर वाले बाबा थे। इस समय मुझे रघुवंश के एक पद्य का स्मरण हो रहा है। महाकवि कालिदास के दिलीप प्रजा को शिष्टाचार की शिक्षा-दीक्षा देने तथा उसका भरण-पोषण करने के लिए यथार्थ में उसके पिता थे, सांसारिक सम्बन्धों से पिता कहलाने वाले तो केवल उनके जनक थे—

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद् रक्षणाद् भरणादपि।
स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥

(रघुवंश, १.२४)

महाकवि कालिदास के इस मापदण्ड से जज साहब मेरे पिता थे। १९५५ से १९८४ तक के इस सुदीर्घ काल में मैंने उनसे बहुत कुछ सीखा-पाया है। मेरे प्रति उनका जितना स्नेह था उसे देखते हुए मैं सुयोग्य पात्र न था। आज जब तीस वर्ष के उस अतीत का सिंहावलोकन करता हूँ तब लगता है कि मैं अपनी क्षुद्रपात्रता के कारण जज साहब के उतने स्नेह का सञ्चय न कर सका जितना स्नेह वह मुझे देना चाहते थे। चाहे जितना भी समय मैं उनके साथ क्यों न व्यतीत कर दूँ उनका यह उपालम्भ सदैव सुनने को मिलता था कि 'जगदम्बा प्रसाद, आप मुझे बिल्कुल समय नहीं देते हैं।' जज साहब के साथ अपने इस दीर्घकालीन सामीप्य में मैंने उनके जीवन के सभी पक्षों को भली-भाँति देखा था। वह मेरे लिये आदर्श थे। अपने उनके सम्बन्धों और इन सम्बन्धों को जोड़ने वाली कड़ी, अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ के विषय में लिखने में एक ग्रन्थ तैयार हो सकता है। प्रस्तुत प्रसंग में तो उसका कोई अवकाश नहीं है, किन्तु उसका संकल्प अवश्य है।

जज साहब के चरित्र को उजागर करने वाली स्मृतियों का अम्बार है मानस में, किन्तु दो घटनाओं के उल्लेख का लोभ संवरण कर पाना मेरे लिए कठिन हो रहा है। घटना १९५७ की है। लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत विभाग में प्रवक्ता के कई पद रिक्त थे। मैं भी एक प्रत्याशी था। दुर्भाग्य से मेरी प्रतिद्वन्द्विता मेरे पुराने अध्यापक, डा० हेमचन्द्र जोशी जी, के साथ हो गयी थी। जज साहब लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय की तत्कालीन कार्यकारिणी समिति के कई प्रभावशाली सदस्यों से निकट रूप से परिचित थे। उस समय कार्यकारिणी समिति के दो सदस्य भी चयन समिति के सदस्य रहते थे। मैंने जज साहब से अपनी संस्तुति करने के लिए निवेदन किया। वह तुरन्त तैयार हो गये, किन्तु दूसरी ही श्वास में उन्होंने मुझसे यह भी पूछ लिया कि मेरी प्रतिद्वन्द्विता किससे है। मेरे यह बताने पर कि मेरी प्रतिद्वन्द्विता जोशी जी से है, वह एक दम भड़क उठे। बोले—'जोशी जी से मेरा सम्बन्ध बहुत पुराना है। मैं उनके विरोध में तुम्हारा समर्थन हरगिज़ न करूँगा। मैं उन्हीं का समर्थन करूंगा।' उस समय मुझे उनकी यह स्पष्टोक्ति बहुत अखरी थी, किन्तु जैसे-जैसे मैं उनके निकट आता गया मुझे स्पष्ट होता गया कि अपने सिद्धान्तों से समझौता करने के लिए कोई भी सम्बन्ध उन्हें बाध्य नहीं कर सकता था।

दूसरी घटना भी कम महत्त्वपूर्ण नहीं है, कम से कम मेरे लिए। जज साहब राजभाषा (विधायी) आयोग के पूर्णकालिक सदस्य के रूप में दिल्ली में निवास कर रहे थे। वह अपने पत्रों में मुझे सदैव 'परम प्रिय जगदम्बा प्रसाद' से सम्बोधित किया करते थे। न जाने क्या हुआ कि उन्होंने सम्बोधन से 'परम' निकाल कर 'प्रिय जगदम्बा प्रसाद' लिखना प्रारम्भ कर दिया। मेरी भावनाओं को ठेस लगना स्वाभाविक था, विशेष रूप से इसलिए भी क्योंकि मुझे अनुमान था कि इस परिवर्तन की प्रेरणा उन्हें कहां से मिली होगी। मैंने पत्र लिखकर अपना विरोध प्रकट किया। तुरन्त ही उत्तर में स्पष्टीकरण प्राप्त हुआ। मेरे सम्बोधन में परिवर्तन के लिए मेरी भावनाओं को जो ठेस लगी थी उसके लिए खेद व्यक्त करते हुए उन्होंने मुझे आश्वासन दिया कि न तो वह मुझे 'परम प्रिय', लिखेंगे न 'प्रिय', अपितु वह मेरे लिए जिस सम्बोधन का प्रयोग करेंगे वह होगा 'मेरे जगदम्बा'। अन्तिम समय तक वह अपने पत्रों में मुझे इसी प्रकार सम्बोधित करते रहे। ऐसा था मेरे प्रति उनका स्नेह।

श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी का जन्म २८ जुलाई १९०१ को फ़ैजाबाद में हुआ था। उनके पितामह रायबहादुर श्री रामसरन दास जी तत्कालीन संयुक्त प्रान्त आगरा और अवध भर में संस्कृत के प्रथम एम०ए० थे। उन्होंने यह परीक्षा कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय से उत्तीर्ण की थी। वह प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के संस्थापकों में थे। उनके पिता श्री रुद्रदत्त सिंह जी ने एम०ए० परीक्षा तो अंग्रेज़ी में उत्तीर्ण की थी, किन्तु वह विद्वान् संस्कृत के भी थे। उनके मातामह श्री राय देवी प्रसाद 'पूर्ण' हिन्दी के प्रसिद्ध कवि थे, जिन्होंने अनेक संस्कृत ग्रन्थों का हिन्दी में अनुवाद किया था। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि संस्कृत तथा हिन्दी का ज्ञान और इनके प्रति उनकी निष्ठा उन्हें क्रमशः अपने पितामह तथा मातामह से प्राप्त हुई थी।

श्री सिंह जी ने अपनी प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा-दीक्षा अपने पितामह, मातामह तथा अपने पिताश्री के चरणों में बैठकर प्राप्त की थी। उन दिनों मनोरञ्जन के अधिक साधन न थे। अतः श्री सिंह का एक मात्र मनोरञ्जन था सन्ध्या समय अपने पितामह के साथ बैठकर संस्कृत के ग्रन्थों का पाठ। उनकी विधिवत् शिक्षा-दीक्षा भी सभी दृष्टियों से पूर्ण थी। उन्होंने १९१७ में चर्च मिशन स्कूल, लखनऊ से स्कूल लीविंग सर्टिफिकेट की परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण की थी। १९१९ में उन्होंने कैनिंग कालेज, लखनऊ से इण्टरमीडिएट की परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण की थी। उन दिनों इस परीक्षा का सञ्चालन भी प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय से होता था। १९२२ में उन्होंने लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय से अंग्रेज़ी, संस्कृत, दर्शन तथा इतिहास विषयों के साथ स्नातक परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण की थी। उनके अध्ययन का विशेष विषय था वैदिक वाङ्मय। सभी उत्तीर्ण छात्रों में प्रथम स्थान प्राप्त करने के लिए उन्हें राजा सर हरनामसिंह हार्टकोर्ट बटलर स्वर्णपदक प्राप्त हुआ था। १९२४ में ही उन्होंने विधि की स्नातक परीक्षा भी उत्तीर्ण कर ली थी।

उन्होंने अपने पिताश्री तथा तत्कालीन लब्धप्रतिष्ठ बैरिस्टर श्री ए०पी० सेन के साथ अधिवक्ता के रूप में कार्य करना प्रारम्भ किया था। बाद में वर्ष १९२७ में उनकी नियुक्ति राज्य न्यायिक सेवा में हो गयी थी। इस सेवा में कार्य करते हुए उन्होंने १९५६ में सत्रन्याया-

धीश के पद से अवकाश ग्रहण किया था। १९५६ से १९५९ तक उन्होंने बिक्रीकर विभाग में अपील न्यायाधीश के रूप में भी कार्य किया था। राज्य न्यायिक सेवा में कार्य करते हुए भी उनका प्रतिनिधायन काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा में अंग्रेज़ी शब्दों के हिन्दी पर्यायों के निर्माण के लिए हुआ था। हिन्दी कोश-विज्ञान के प्रवर्तक श्री रामचन्द्र वर्मा के साथ उन्होंने वर्ष १९४८ में एक कोश का सम्पादन किया था। १९५५ से १९५९ तक उन्होंने राज्य शासन में शब्दकोश समिति के सचिव के रूप में भी कार्य किया था। उस समिति के अध्यक्ष थे प्रदेश के तत्कालीन मुख्य मन्त्री डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द जी। शब्दकोश समिति के सचिव के रूप में उन्होंने प्रशासनिक शब्दावली का निर्माण किया था। यह शब्दावली आज भी राज्य शासन के प्रयोग में आ रही है। १९६०-६१ में लोकसभा से हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन का विधान पारित हो जाने पर श्री सिंह की नियुक्ति प्रथम शासकीय निकाय के सचिव के रूप में हुई थी। १९६४ से १९६८ तक उन्होंने राजभाषा (विधायी) आयोग के पूर्णकालिक सदस्य के रूप में कार्य किया था।

प्रशासनिक तथा सामाजिक क्षेत्रों में श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह ने अविस्मरणीय सेवायें की थीं। १९५३ में प्रसिद्ध समाजवादी और महान् विचारक स्व० आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव तथा प्रसिद्ध विधिवेत्ता और तत्कालीन प्रधान अधिवक्ता स्व० पं० कन्हैया लाल मिश्र जी के साथ मिलकर उन्होंने काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा के पदाधिकारियों का चयन किया था। भारत की संविधान-परिषद् के तत्कालीन अध्यक्ष के द्वारा उन्हें उच्चाधिकारप्राप्त विशेषज्ञ समिति के सदस्य के रूप में भी नियुक्त किया गया था। इस समिति का कार्य था भारत के संविधान में प्रयुक्त होने वाले पारिभाषिक शब्दों के हिन्दी पर्यायों का चयन करना। उन्हें उत्तर प्रदेश शासन द्वारा संस्कृत-शिक्षा में सुधार लाने वाली समिति के सदस्य के रूप में नियुक्त किया गया था। इस समिति के अध्यक्ष थे स्व० श्री आदित्य नाथ झा जी। भारत शासन द्वारा संघटित वैज्ञानिक तथा पारिभाषिक शब्दावली आयोग में विधि विशेषज्ञ के रूप में भी उन्होंने पर्याप्त समय तक कार्य किया था। उन्होंने लगभग दस वर्षों तक क्षेत्रीय अभिलेख खोज समिति तथा राज्य अभिलेखागार की हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ क्रय समिति के सदस्य के रूप में भी कार्य किया था। वर्षों तक वह काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा तथा हिन्दुस्तानी अकादमी, इलाहाबाद की कार्यकारिणी समितियों के सदस्य रहे थे। वह भारत शासन द्वारा नियुक्त हिन्दी सलाहकार समिति के भी सदस्य थे। वह सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय की कार्यकारिणी समिति के कुलाधिपति द्वारा नामित सदस्य और भारती विद्या संस्थान, दिल्ली के प्रधान मन्त्रियों में से भी थे। चतुर्थ ज्ञानपीठ पुरस्कार के निर्णय के लिए उक्त पुरस्कार समिति के अध्यक्ष डा० गोपाल रेड्डी द्वारा उन्हें तुलनात्मक मूल्याङ्कन करने के लिए विशेषज्ञ भी नियुक्त किया गया था।

श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी की साहित्यिक सेवायें भी उल्लेखनीय है। अपनी किशोरावस्था में ही उन्होंने लखनऊ में एक हिन्दी सभा की स्थापना की थी। इस सभा के सभापति थे प्रतिष्ठित बैरिस्टर स्व० श्री ए० पी० सेन। उन्होंने स्व० आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव जी, स्व० डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द जी तथा स्व० प्रो० को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर की प्रेरणा तथा उनके प्रोत्साहन और

सहयोग से अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ की स्थापना की थी । इसके पुस्तकालय में उन्होंने अपने पिता-पितामह का तथा निजी ग्रन्थागार दान रूप में दे दिया था । श्री सिंह की निष्ठा तथा उनके अध्यवसाय के कारण ही उक्त परिषद् अन्ताराष्ट्रिय क्षेत्र में प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त कर चुकी है। परिषद् ने अब तक ३५ से ऊपर ग्रन्थों का प्रकाशन किया है। देश-विदेश के विद्वानों ने इन सभी प्रकाशनों की प्रशंसा की है। परिषद् 'ऋतम्' नामक शोध-पत्रिका तथा 'अजस्रा' नाम्नी संस्कृत मञ्जूषा का प्रकाशन भी कर रही है । परिषद् को कानपुर तथा अवध विश्वविद्यालयों से संस्कृत में पी-एच० डी० तथा डी० लिट्० उपाधियों के लिए शोध-संस्थान के रूप में भी मान्यता प्राप्त है । परिषद् में बीस हजार के लगभग संस्कृत, पालि तथा प्राकृत के हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ संगृहीत हैं । इनमें से प्रायः २५०० हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ प्राचीन शारदा लिपि में हैं । प्रायः ५००० हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों की विवरणात्मक सूचियां भी चार खण्डों में प्रकाशित हो चुकी हैं । सेवा से निवृत्त होने के बाद से श्री सिंह जी ने अपने आपको पूर्ण रूप से परिषद् की सेवा के लिए ही समर्पित कर रखा था । उनकी प्रत्येक श्वास में संस्कृत तथा परिषद् रसी बसी थी । परिषद् की विपन्नता से वह प्रायः दुःखी रहा करते थे । उनकी चिन्ता उस समय पराकाष्ठा पर पहुंच जाती थी जब वह प्रायः कहा करते थे कि 'जिस परिषद् ने मुझे जीवन दिया है वही परिषद् मेरा जीवन लेकर रहेगी'। और हुआ भी यही । अपने अन्तिम दिनों में वह परिषद् के भविष्य की चिन्ता से ग्रस्त रहा करते थे । परिषद् की आर्थिक स्थिति को लेकर तो वह चिन्तित रहते ही थे, उन्हें चिन्ता इस बात की भी थी कि उन्हें मनोनुकूल सहयोगी नहीं मिल रहे थे, जिनके ऊपर वह परिषद् का उत्तरदायित्व छोड़ सकते थे । जिस रात उन्हें मरणान्तक आघात लगा था उसी दिन शाम को लगभग ५ बजे उन्होंने फ़ोन द्वारा अपनी इस चिन्ता को बड़े ही भावविह्वल होकर मुझसे व्यक्त किया था । निश्चय हुआ था कि दूसरे दिन हम दोनों एक सज्जन के पास जाकर उन्हें परिषद् से सम्बद्ध करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे, किन्तु दूसरे दिन जिस समय मुझे उनके साथ परिषद् के कार्य से जाना था उस दिन उस समय वह चिरनिद्रा में लीन हो चुके थे ! फ़ोन पर उनके अन्तिम शब्द मेरे कानों में प्रतिध्वनित हो रहे थे, और आज भी उसी प्रकार से उनकी प्रतिध्वनि मुझे सुनाई पड़ती रहती है। १२ नवम्बर, १९८४ का वह दिन जज साहब की परिषद्, जज साहब के मित्रों, प्रशंसकों और आश्रितों के लिए वास्तव में कितना अशुभ था !

अन्तिम क्षणों तक वह संस्कृत की सेवा करते रहे। मरणान्तक आघात लगने वाले दिन तक वह धर्मशास्त्र कोश तथा चिकित्सा से सम्बद्ध विधि शब्दावली के परिमार्जन का कार्य करते रहे थे। उन्होंने स्वतन्त्र तथा संयुक्त रूप से अनेक ग्रन्थों का प्रणयन-सम्पादन किया था । काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा द्वारा प्रकाशित तथा श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी द्वारा सम्पादित आरक्षिक शब्दावली (Police Terminology), स्थानिक परिषद् शब्दावली (Local Bodies' Terminology) तथा 'शब्दार्थविवेचन' चिरकाल तक राष्ट्रभाषा में कार्य करने वालों की सहायता करते रहेंगे । परिषद् के प्रायः सभी प्रकाशनों में श्री सिंह जी का सक्रिय सहयोग था । प्राचीन हिन्दू विधि और हिन्दी सूफी तथा मुसलमान कवियों के सम्बन्ध में उन्होने देश की

विविध प्रमुख शोधपत्रिकाओं में शोध प्रबन्ध प्रकाशित किये थे। वह देश-विदेश की प्रमुख साहित्यिक और सांस्कृतिक संस्थाओं से भी सक्रिय रूप से सम्बद्ध थे। इनमें से कुछ उल्लेखनीय संस्थायें हैं—एशियाटिक सोसायटी ऑफ बंगाल; राष्ट्रभाषा प्रचार समिति, बर्धा; अमेरिकन ओरियण्टल सोसायटी; अखिल भारतीय प्राच्य भाषा सम्मेलन; हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन, प्रयाग; रॉयल एशियाटिक सोसायटी ऑफ़ ग्रेट ब्रिटेन एण्ड आयरलैण्ड, इत्यादि।

आज जब श्रद्धेय स्व० जज साहब की स्मृति में श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित कर रहा हूं तब उनके साथ बीते दिनों की अनेक स्मृतियाँ मेरे मस्तिष्क में परस्पर स्पर्धा करती हुई सी उठ रही हैं। यदि आत्मश्लाघा का दोषी न माना जाऊँ तो एक मर्मस्पर्शी घटना के उल्लेख से अपना कथ्य समाप्त करना चाहूंगा। लुड्विक स्टर्नबाख़ अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ के मुद्रण में मैंने रात-दिन एक कर दिया था। यह तथ्य जज साहब से छिपा न था। अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ के मुद्रण का अन्तिम दिन था। जब मैंने लगातार प्रायः चौबीस घण्टे मुद्रणालय में बैठकर मुद्रण समाप्त कराया था। जज साहब मुद्रणालय के ऊपर ही अपने अग्रज के घर रात भर विश्राम करते रहे। प्रातः नीचे उतरकर मुद्रणालय में आकर देखा—अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ का मुद्रण समाप्त हो चुका था। मेरी पीठ थपथपाकर भावाभिभूत होकर बोले—"जगदम्बा प्रसाद, अब मुझे विश्वास हो गया है कि आप परिषद् चला लेंगे। अब मैं शान्ति से मर सकूंगा।" पता नहीं इस घटना के लगभग पाँच-छः वर्ष बाद वह वास्तव में मेरी ओर से आश्वस्त होकर शान्तिपूर्वक मृत्यु का वरण कर सके या नहीं, किन्तु परिषद् की मेरी सेवा से यदि उनकी आत्मा को शान्ति प्राप्त हो सकी तो मैं अपनी ओर से इसमें कोई भी कमी न होने दूंगा और अपने आपको धन्य मानूँगा।

संस्कृत-सेवाव्रती, सरल, सहृदय उस महापुरुष की स्मृति में मेरे शत-शत प्रणाम।

'अजस्रा' के अय्यर-स्मृत्यङ्क में स्व० श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह जी ने भाव विभोर होकर अपने आचार्यचरण स्व० प्रो० अय्यर को लक्ष्य करके वेङ्कटाध्वरिविरचित 'विश्वगुणादर्श' का निम्नलिखित पद्य उद्धृत किया था—

> नानाऽम्नायपरिश्रमं कलयतां नाऽस्त्येव शास्त्रेषु धीः
> सत्योरप्युभयोस्तयोर्न सुलभा सा हि क्षितौ साहिती ।
> अप्येतासु सतीषु नाऽस्ति विनयो नाचार-भक्ति-क्षमा-
> चातुर्यः स च सा च सा च स च ताश्चालम्ब्य खेलन्त्यमुम् ।।

जिन लोगों ने स्व० श्री सिंह जी को निकट से निरखा-परखा है, वे उनके ही चरित्र में इसकी चरितार्थता स्वीकार करेंगे ।

—सम्पादक

पत्रों के झरोखों से

A Glimpse through Letters

U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PROVINCIAL MUSEUM
LUCKNOW

October 10,1945.

My dear Gopal Chandra Ji,

The late Khan Bahadur Syed Abu Muhammad of Allahabad secured two pages of Manuscript which is said to contain unpublished poems in Hindustani composed by Qutub Shah of Golconda. A block of this was prepared but he did not live to write his notes on them to announce in the Journal of the U.P. Historical Society as he desired. You have made a special study of such literature and to my mind you are the fittest person to do justice to this material. I therefore send to you prints of the blocks and a copy of the letter from Khan Bahadur Syed Abu Muhammad. I hope you will be able to make out the contents and give us a short note on these for publication in the U.P. Journal. I do not wish that the blocks should be wasted.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble

Yours sincerely,

V. S. Agrawala

B. Gopal Chandra Ji
M.A. LL.B.
Session's Judge,
Sultanpore

सत्यमेव जयते

प्रधान मंत्री भवन,
नयी दिल्ली।
२२ जून, १९६४

प्रिय महोदय,

प्रधान मंत्री पद के लिए चुने जाने पर आपने जो शुभ कामनाएं भेजी हैं, उनके लिए धन्यवाद ।

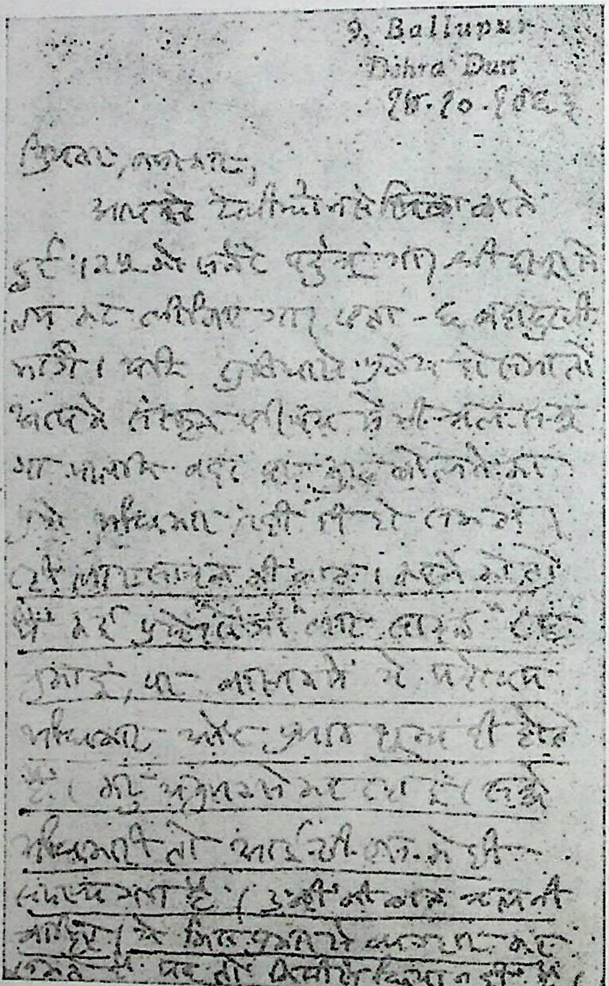
पण्डितजी के अभाव से हम सबके हृदय शोकाकुल हैं। उनके रिक्त स्थान की पूर्ति हो ही नहीं सकती । फिर भी, अपनी सीमित शक्ति के अनुसार, मैं भरसक प्रयत्न करूंगा कि हम उनके सौंपे हुए कार्यों को पूरा कर सकें। इस बड़ी जिम्मेदारी को संभालने में मुझे साहस इसी बात से मिलता है कि मेरे देशवासियों द्वारा मुझको इतना आदर और सम्मान दिया गया है और मुझपर इतना भरोसा रखा गया है। विश्वास है आप सबके सहयोग से ही यह कार्य पूर्ण होगा ।

आपका

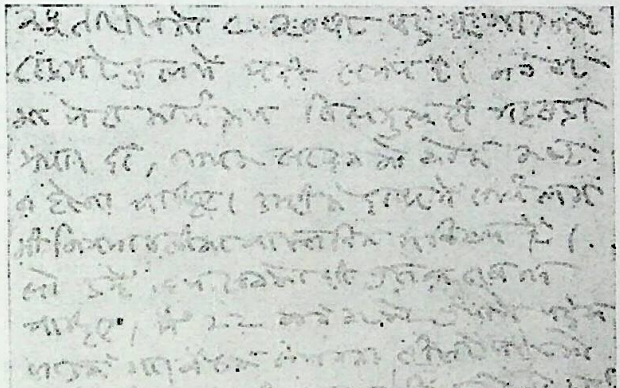
लाल बहादुर

(लाल बहादुर)

श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह,
महानगर, लखनऊ ।



9, Ballupur
Dihra Dun


पोस्ट कार्ड
POST CARD

वृन्दावनलाल वर्मा   झाँसी

१६।२। १९६५

परम प्रिय श्री सिंह जी, सप्रेम नमस्कार।

आपका १३/२ का कृपापत्र पाकर मैं हर्षमग्न हो गया। जब कभी दिल्ली आऊँगा अवश्य आपसे भेंट करने के लिये घर पर पहुँचूँगा। आप स्टेशन पर आने का कष्ट नहीं करेंगे — मैं नहीं करने दूँगा। पता लिख लिया है, टेलिफोन का नम्बर भी मिल ही जायगा। अभी नहीं कह सकता कब आऊँगा। भारत सरकार का पत्र आया है कि 'पद्मभूषण' की उपाधि के 'पदक-प्रदान' के लिये अप्रैल में कोई तारीख नियुक्त की जायगी। अप्रैल में तो पहुँचूँगा ही, यदि कोई काम लग गया तो इसके पहले दिल्ली जा पहुँचूँगा। चाहता ही हूँ।

मुझे इस उपाधि के बारे में पहले से जानकारी नहीं थी। २६/१ के प्रातः सात बजे के लगभग गृहमंत्री श्री-गुलजारीलाल नन्दा और गृहसचिव श्री एल०पी० सिंह के तार आये कि 'पद्मभूषण' की उपाधि प्रदान की गई है। फिर प्रा० श्री लालबहादुर-शास्त्री जी का बधाई तार आया।"

मैं आपकी शुभकामनाओं का बहुत ही कृतज्ञ हूं। अब भविष्य में मुझे दिल्ली में क्या करना चाहिये आपसे मिलकर सब बातें करूंगा। आशा है आप पूर्ण स्वस्थ हैं।

स्नेही
वृन्दावनलाल वर्मा

राजयपाल
राजस्थान

राज्य भवन
जयपुर

कैम्प, माउन्ट आबू
दिनांक जून ११, १९६३

प्रिय जज साहब,

कल काशी से लौटा । यहां आपका निमंत्रण मिला । विवाह सुखेन सम्पन्न हो गया होगा ऐसी आशा करता हूं । भगवान वर वधू का मंगल करे । मुझे सचमुच निर्मल के विवाह में सम्मिलित होने का शौक था, न हो सका इसका दुख है । शंकरजी को भेजना चाहता था परन्तु उनको Blood pressure की शिकायत हो गई । अब अच्छे हैं परन्तु डाक्टर ने चलना फिरना, आना जाना मना कर रखा था । आशा करता हूं आप क्षमा करेंगे ।

सस्नेह,

[signature]

। सम्पूर्णानन्द ।

श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह,
बी०६८६, सैक्टर ए,
महानगर, लखनऊ ।

PART II

CONTRIBUTION OF MAGADHA TO VEDIC CULTURE

Md. Aquique

The Magadha region corresponded to the erstwhile modern districts of Patna and Gaya. A close examination of ancient literature amply demonstrates that Eastern India, especially Magadha, made considerable and very important contributions to the evolution of Vedic culture in India, even in its earliest phases.

The *Atharvaveda*[1] and *Yajus-Saṃhitā*-s divide India into four quarters, viz. North, South, East and West, and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, one of the oldest of the Brāhmaṇa-s, avers that the rulers in the East were designated '*Samrāṭ*', 'Suzerain lord', holding sway over '*Sāmrājya*-s' or empires, evidently more powerful and more extensive than the simple *rājya*-s of the Midland. That this was historically true is proved by the fact that the *Mahābhārata*, the great store-house of Indo-Aryan traditions, tells us of a great monarch in Magadha, Jarāsandha of Rājagṛha, exercising sovereign sway over a great part of northern India, 'the great sovereign and master', as the great Epic says, 'in whose single hands was the whole of the earth, and who had imprisoned in his cells among the hills of Rājagṛha, a large number of the rulers'[4] of the various countries of northern India. What we know of the administrative system of the Mauryas under Chandragupta and his grandson, Aśoka, tells us plainly that it was imperialistic, and provinces after conquest were incorporated in the empire, and governed by Viceroys sent from the imperial capital, and not by the scions of those killed in war or removed from the throne. Imperialism was thus the gift of Magadha to Indo-Aryan culture in the Vedic Age. It is possible that 'Emperorship'

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1. *AV.*, III.27, XII.3.
2. *TS.*, IV.4, 12.2; *KS.*, XXII.14.
3. *Ait. Br.*, VIII.14.
4. *Mbh.*, III,14.9,10.

(*Sāmrājya*) had been in India even earlier, in the Ṛgveda Age itself, because the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of empires in the east in amplification and explanation of a Ṛgvedic passage which reads '*Niṣasāda dhṛtavrato varuṇaḥ pastyāsvā/Sāmrājyāya sukratuḥ*'[5] and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* amplifies it thus—'*Niṣasāda dhṛtavrato varuṇaḥ pastyāsvā/sāmrājyāya, bhajyāya, vairājyāya, pārameṣṭhyāya, rājyāya, māhārājyādhipatyāya, svavaśyāyatiṣṭhāya sukraturiti.*'[6] Here we observe that in place of the single '*Sāmrājya*' of the *Ṛgveda* the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* introduces the names of all the forms of government that were in existence in the various parts of India, and it adds in explanation that the '*Sāmrājya*' form of government was a characteristic institution of eastern India.

The *Mahābhārata* tells us of one very important thing contributed by Magadha to Vedic culture, viz., the revelation of the *Gāyatri*, the very backbone of Vedic worship as it had come down to our times from the hoary past. The *Udyogaparva* records that Suparṇa was narrating to the sage Gālava the special merits of each of the four quarters of India, divided as in the Vedic Saṃhitas and Brāhmaṇas,[7] taking his stand, it seems, about Prayāga which was on the partition line—Srāvastī-Ayodhyā-Prayāga—between western and eastern India. Among many of the special contributions of eastern India to Vedic culture, Suparṇa asserts that in the east 'was recited to the chanters of the Vedas the *Sāvitrī* by Savitā, the sun-god, and here also were given the *yajus* by the Sun'.

With regard to the revelation of *Gāyatrī*, the *Vanaparva* speaks of the Udyanta-Parvata in the neighbourhood of Gaya as the *Sāvitrīsthāna*, 'the place of revelation of the Sāvitrī', and it is further added that if a Brāhmaṇa recites here but once the *Sandhyā*-prayer of which the recitation of the *Gāyatrī* forms the most essential element, then by that action he wins for himself the benefit of reciting the same prayers for twelve whole years.[8] The same chapter of the *Vanaparva* points to a pool (*hrada*) where Viśvāmitra, the *ṛṣi*-author of the Ṛgvedic hymn, of which the *Gāyatrī* forms a verse, obtained the fulfilment of his highest desire, and where, on account of the special sanctity attached to the place, the pilgrim is required to stay for a month.[9] Viśvāmitra was a prince of Kānyakubja, but his intimate association with Magadha (Bihar) is established by the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the

5. 1.25.10.
6. VIII.39.4
7. *Mbh.*, IV.108.
8. *Ibid.*, III.84.93-94,
9. *Ibid.*, III.142-3,

accounts given elsewhere of his austerities. From the *Rāmāyaṇa*[10] we learn that travelling a good distance to the east after leaving Ayodhya with the two Ikṣvāku princes, Viśvāmitra reached his own hermitage, called the Siddhāśrama from where a few hours' journey to the north brought them to the Śoṇa, so that it was apparently situated in Magadha.

That Viśvāmitra, the author of the *Gāyatri*, was well acquainted with Magadha, appears from the jealousy which he gives expression to in a verse of the *Ṛgveda* itself where he exhorts Indra to transfer his favours from the Kīkaṭas to himself and his family. About the authorship of Viśvāmitra of this hymn there is a room for doubt, as in the two verses that immediately precede the one, Viśvāmitra is expressly mentioned as having addressed his prayer to Indra. He says in this verse, 'what the cows do for thee, amongst the Kīkaṭas, (O Indra) ? They yield no milk for mixing with Soma, they make no Gharma-hot drink. Do bring us the property of Pramaganda, subject to us Naicāsākha, O thou rich in gifts'.[11] Sāyaṇa, in his *upodghāta* i. e., the general introduction to his commentary, affirms that Kīkaṭa is the name of a country, Pramaganda is the name of king and Naicāsākha, the name of city. Kīkaṭa is certainly Bihar with which Indian tradition persistently identifies it. The *Vāyu*[12] and *Garuḍa Puraṇa*-s[13] place the sacred city of Gaya in the Kīkaṭas (*Kīkaṭeṣu Gayā puṇyā*), and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* says that the Buddha would be born in Kīkaṭas,[14] so that the Kīkaṭas appear to include the whole of the country from south Bihar to the Śākya kingdom up in the Himālayas. The later lexicographers like Hemachandra[15], and the author of the *Trikāṇḍaśaṣa*[16] identify Kīkaṭa with Magadha. The names of their king and capital city tend to show that the Kīkaṭas were an Aryan people, but from what Viśvāmitra says of them it appears that they did not perform their worship or religious observances quite in accordance with the prescriptions of the school to which Viśvāmitra belonged ; we know from the *Ṛgveda* itself that many of the Aryan tribes did not offer sacrifices ; the ten kings of the Druhyus, Anus, Śivas, Viṣāṇins and others who fought against Sudās at the great war of the ten kings related in the *Ṛgveda*, are said to have been non-sacrificing, *ayajyavaḥ*.[17] The Kīkaṭas

10. *Rām.*, I.21-34.
11. *ṚV.*, III.53.14.
12. *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, 105.23.
13. *Garuḍa-Purāṇa*, 83.
14. *Bhāgavatā*. III.
15. IV.26.
16. II.11.
17. *ṚV*, VII.83.7.

also seem to have been non-sacrificing like those kings, and we have every reason to think with Weber,[18] that the Kīkaṭas were Aryan people living in Magadha, speaking an Aryan language and belonging to an Aryan stock, but performing their religious observances with rites differing from those of the orthodox schools. There is no reason to think that they were non-Aryans, as Yāska would appear to suggest.

Indian tradition as recorded in Śaunaka's *Bṛhaddevatā*[19] and Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇī*,[20] establishes a connection of this hymn with the great rival of Viśvāmitra, Vaśiṣṭha and also his family against whom it forms the most severe imprecation, so that no Vaśiṣṭha would ever listen to it. This would suggest that the Kīkaṭas belonged to the rival school of the Vaśiṣṭhas.

The prevalence of a non-orthodox cult, but nonetheless respected by the Vedic seers, in Eastern India, and specially connected with Magadha, is proved by the mysterious Vrātya-hymn of the *Atharva Veda*. Weber and many other Indologists see in them Aryan people, not following exactly the Brāhmaṇical cult, yet marked by high spiritual eminence that extracted the admiration of the orthodox seers, so much so as to identify the Vrātya with the Brahman. Charpentier sees in them the worshippers of Rudra-Śiva, while Hauer considers them to be the fore-runners of the wandering *yogin*-s. The Atharvan hymn read together with the description of the *Vrātyastoma*, the purifying sacrifice that gave to the Vrātya a status as a member of orthodox Vedic society as described in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* and the Kalpa Sūtras, tend to show that the Vrātya was a respected personage, withal differing from the followers of the orthodox Vedic church in his creed and worship.

One other important group of Ṛgvedic seers, intimately connected with Bihar—with Aṅga and Magadha—consists of the ancient Ṛṣi Dīrghatamas, his son Kakṣivān, and the latter's daughter, Ghoṣā; these three together contributed a fairly large number of hymns to the *Ṛgveda* With reference to an obscure hymn contributed by Dīrghatamas to the *Ṛgveda*[21]. Śaunaka in his *Bṛhaddevatā*[22] shows how the hymn refers to events in the seer's own life, and without a knowledge of these facts the hymn would be unintelligible. Kātyāyana in his *Sarvānukramaṇī*[23], refers to it in his own cryptic way.

18. *Indische Studien*, I. p. 186.
19. *Br.*, IV.115-120.
20. Ed. Macdonell, p. 16.
21. I.158.
22. IV.21-24.
23. *Anec. oxoniensia*, I, Ch. IV. p. 9.

Dīrghatamas, in the story told by Śaunaka and amplified by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya in his *Kedārthadīpikā*,[24] was rescued from a watery grave in the waters of the Ganges by the king of Aṅga who honoured him and gave him a habitation and a home. The *ṛṣi* took to wife a Śūdra woman, Usija by name, and on her he begot Kakṣīvān Ausija, a seer well-known in the *Ṛgveda*[25] as the author of a number of hymns. The *Vanaparva*[26] of the *Mahābhārata* places the residence of this great seer at Rājagṛha, the Magadha capital, where he had evidently settled. Ghoṣā, the daughter of Kakṣīvān, appears, from her own statements made in hymns contributed by herself to the *Ṛgveda*[27], to have remained unmarried till a pretty advanced age owing to some physical defect, and then by the favour of the gods found, rather late in life, a husband and a home.

Other sons are said to have been begotten by Dīrghatamas according to the *Mahābhārata*[28] and the Purāṇas, for the childless king of Aṅga, and these partitioned their father's extensive empire among themselves, giving their names to the provinces they ruled—Aṅga, Baṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra, and Suhma.[29] Evidently in this legend is preserved a tradition of historical value, showing that in Vedic times the Aṅga empire included Bengal and Orissa in its domain, and such '*Sāmrājya*-s' were common in Eastern India, as we are told by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

In a passage in the *Kauṣātaki Āraṇyaka*[30] Madhyana, the son of Prātibodhi, is given the epithet of *Magadhavāsin*, and the same seer is also referred to in the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* with only a slight difference in the name of his father.[31] From these references Magadha appears to have been inhabited, in the Brāhmaṇa period by great teachers of the Vedic cult. The fact that the views of Madhyana are quoted with respect and discussed in these works, as well as in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*[32], shows that he held an important position among the Vedic teachers.

This, together with the fact that according to Śaunaka's *Ṛgveda-Prātisākhya*[33] there was a school of *Prācya*-s or Eastern school of the *Padapāṭha*

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24. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
25. *ṚV.*, I.18.1.
26. *Mbh.* III. 21 and 84.
27. X.39-40.
28. *Mbh.* I.104.
29. *Ibid.*
30. VII.13.
31. See, Keith, A.B., *Ait. Ār.*, pp. 244 and 310.
32. III.1.5.
33. II.44.

of the *Ṛgveda* side by side with the rival school of Pāñcāla, and besides, with the fact noted in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[34] while dealing with the history of the propagation of the Vedas that the *Sāmaveda* had an East Indian school, that of the *Prācya-Sāmaga*-s with 500 variations, distinguished from the *Udīcya* or northern *Sāmaga*-s,[35] go to show that the Vedas were very closely studied in Eastern India.

In the light of the above perusal, it is clear that Magadha had made no mean contribution to the growth and development of Vedic culture in India.

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34. *Vāyu P.* 99.
35. *Mat. P.*, 49; *Bhāg. P.*, IX.21.

THE IRANIAN WORD VANA—'BLUE'

H. W. Bailey

Among the many words which Iranian has kept in common with the more westerly Indo-European languages is the word *vana*—'blue'. It is found in the plant name Zoroastrian Pahlavi *vanafšak* 'violet', New Persian *banafšah*, and Parthian loan-word in Armenian *manoušak*. The simple word is in Armenian *vani* 'crystal', adjective *vaneay*, and in compounds *vana-goyn* from Iranian **vana-gauna*—'of crystal colour', and *vana-k'ar* 'stone of blue colour, tourmaline'. The colour of words for 'crystal, glass' range over 'blue, green and grey'. From the word *ap*—'water' there are formed in Iranian Ossetic (modern Alanian) *ävgä*, plural *ävgulä*, and *ävgilä* 'glass', Iron *ävg*, adjective *avgin*; whence Caucasian Kabard *abǯ* and Adige *apč* 'glass'. The Ossetic has the epithet *c'äx* 'blue' in *c'äx ävgä* 'blue crystal'. Armenian from Parthian has *apaki* 'crystal, glass' with adjective *apakeay*, and *apiki* 'glass, pearl'. The Zoroastrian Pahlavi has *āpakēn*, *āpakenak* 'crystal colour', New Persian *ābgīnah*.

The word *vana*—is probably in Khotanese Saka the tree name *banāte* for a kind of plum. An unpublished Sogdian text will show a connected word when it is made known. From Old English *wann* is glossed by Latin *caeruleus* 'of sky-blue colour'; it is now *wan* 'pale'.

I have not yet seen it quoted from an Indo-Aryan source. It would be interesting to find it.

साहित्यिक भाषा के रूप में अवधी का विकास[1]

किरण बाला

अवधी का उद्भव सामान्यतः अर्धमागधी से माना जाता है, यद्यपि डॉ० बाबू राम सक्सेना ने इस मत से अपनी असहमति व्यक्त करते हुए पालि से इसकी समानताओं की ओर संकेत किया है। अवधी का उद्भव यों तो १००० ई० के आसपास हुआ, किंतु इसके पहले के कुछ अभिलेखों तथा ग्रंथों में भी इसके वीज मिलते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए २०० ई० पू० से २०० के वीच के पिपरहवा, सोहगौरा, सारनाथ आदि के अभिलेखों में अवधी के कुछ तत्व हैं। मुख्यतः सोहगौरा में ये तत्व बहुत स्पष्ट हैं। आगे चलकर 'प्राकृतपैंगलम्' (९वीं सदी से १४वीं सदी), 'राउलवेल' (११वीं सदी), 'उक्तिव्यक्तिप्रकरण' (१२वीं सदी) तथा 'कीर्तिलता' (१४वीं सदी) आदि अवहट्ठ रचनाओं में भी अवधी के रूप काफ़ी स्पष्ट हैं। यह ध्यान देने की बात है कि उपर्युक्त रचनाओं का काल यद्यपि काफ़ी परवर्ती हैं, तथापि इनकी भाषा पुरानी है।

साहित्यिक अवधी का पहला प्राप्त ग्रंथ मुल्ला दाऊद का 'चांदायन' (१३७० ई०) है। इसकी भाषा में काफ़ी साहित्यिक प्रौढ़ता है, जिसके आधार पर यह निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि अवधी में काव्य-रचना की परम्परा कुछ पहले से शुरू हो गई थी। यदि यही पहले-पहल लिखा गया होता तो उसकी भाषा में इतनी साहित्यिक प्रौढ़ता न होती। साहित्यिक भाषा अलंकारों से युक्त लाक्षणिक तथा बिम्बात्मक होती है। मुल्ला दाऊद के प्रिय अलंकार उपमा, रूपक, संदेह, भ्रान्तिमान, उत्प्रेक्षा, अतिशयोक्ति, व्यतिरेक आदि हैं। कुछ उदाहरण हैं—

उपमा—

दीया ज्योति रइनि जसि बारी।
कारें सीस दीस रतनारी।

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१. प्रस्तुत लेख के लेखन में डॉ० भोला नाथ तिवारी की पुस्तकों और उनके लेखों से मुझे बहुत सहायता मिली है।

(जैसे रात में दीपक की ज्योति प्रज्वलित हो, वैसे ही काले बालों में यह ललछौंही मांग दीखती है ।)

लंक बार जस दीढ न आवइ
(बाल-जैसी कटि दिखाई नहीं पड़ती)

रूपक—

नैन समुद हइँ अति अवगाहा
(नैन-समुद्र अत्यन्त गहरे हैं)

उत्प्रेक्षा—

बदन पसेज बूँद जो आवहि
चाँद माँझ जनु नखत दिखावहि

(मुख पर जो पसीने की बूंदें आती हैं, मानों चन्द्रमा के बीच नक्षत्र दिखाई पड़ते हैं ।)

दृश्य बिम्बात्मकता का एक उदाहरण है—

भँवर बरन भई देखे बारा । जनु बिसहर लुरि परे भँडारा ।
लाँब केस सिर पा धुरि आए । जानु संदुरे नाग सोहाए ।

(उसके भ्रमरों के रंगवाले बालों को मैंने देखा, जैसे अमृत के भंडार पर विषधर लोट रहे हों । लम्बे केश सिर से धुर पैरों तक आए हैं, और सिंदूर युक्त होने के कारण ऐसा लगता है जानों नागों को सिंदूर लगाया गया हो ।)

'चांदायन' की भाषा लक्षणाप्रधान मुहावरों से भी ओत-प्रोत है ।
एक उदाहरण है—

बिनु पानी सातू कस सानसि
(बिना पानी सत्तू कैसे सान रहे हो)

ऐसे ही सूत्रात्मक वाक्य तथा लोकोक्तियों के कारण इसकी भाषा कसी हुई तथा प्रभावशाली बन गई है—

भल जो करइ सो भलाई पावा ।
(जो भला करता है, उसे भलाई ही मिलती हैं)

तजि मारगु जो कुमारगि जाई । सो कस मुख दरसावइ आई ।
(जो अपना रास्ता छोड़कर कुमार्ग पर जाता है, वह भला अपना मुँह कैसे दिखला सकता है ।)

यों साहित्यिकता के बावजूद चाँदायन की अवधी बहुत व्याकरणसम्मत नहीं है तथा उसमें लिंग-दोष और अन्वय-दोष हैं। ऐसे ही अर्थ और संरचना की दृष्टि से कहीं-कहीं अस्पष्टता भी है।

आगे चलकर लाल दास के 'हरिचरित' (१४०० के बाद का), सूरजदास के 'रामजन्म' (१५वीं सदी अंतिम चरण), तथा ईश्वरदास की 'सत्यवती कथा' (१५०१ ई०) आदि में अवधी का प्रयोग हुआ है। किन्तु इनमें किसी की भी भाषा साहित्यिक दृष्टि से मुल्ला दाऊद की भाषा से अच्छी नहीं है। यदि कुछ अच्छी भाषा है तो ईश्वर दास की है। यों १५०३ में लिखित कुतुबन की 'मृगावती' इस दृष्टि से काफ़ी अच्छी है—

जिय कै बात न आपन कही। जनि गूंगा खाइ मिठाई रही।

कुतुबन की रचनाओं के लगभग तीस वर्ष बाद जायसी ने अवधी में अपनी रचनाएं कीं। यद्यपि यह अन्तर तो तीस वर्ष का ही है तथापि दोनों की भाषा में काफ़ी अन्तर है। मुल्ला दाऊद से कुतुबन तक की कृतियों की भाषा एक प्रकार से पुरानी अवधी है किन्तु जायसी की भाषा अपेक्षाकृत बाद की है। जायसी अवधी के पहले कवि हैं जिसमें अवधी अपने काफ़ी ठेठ रूप में साहित्य में प्रयुक्त होने के बावजूद अपनी अभिव्यंजना में काफ़ी समर्थ और सशक्त है।

जायसी ने अवधी में तो 'पदमावत', 'अखरावट', 'आखिरी कलाम', 'कहारनामा' (इसे ही महरीबाईसी भी कहा गया है), 'चित्ररेखा', तथा 'मसलानामा' आदि कई ग्रंथ लिखे हैं, किन्तु 'पदमावत' ही उनका सर्वश्रेष्ठ ग्रंथ है तथा साहित्यिक अवधी की दृष्टि से यही विशेष उल्लेख्य है।

'पदमावत' की अवधी अपनी व्याकरणिक संरचना में गाँव-गंवई की है, किन्तु अपनी अभिव्यंजना में वह किसी भी साहित्यिक भाषा से टक्कर लेने में समर्थ है। गुण, शब्द-शक्ति, अलंकार-योजना, प्रतीकात्मकता तथा बिम्बात्मकता सभी दृष्टियों से वह अपने पहले की अवधी कृतियों से उत्कृष्ट है।

साहित्यिक भाषा, विशेषत: काव्य भाषा, में प्रत्येक वर्ण की अपनी ध्वनि बहुत सार्थक होती है; इसीलिये अच्छा कवि शब्दों के प्रयोग में ध्वनियों की अनदेखी नहीं कर सकता है। जायसी ने भी इसका पूरा ध्यान रखा है। मधुर वर्ण-योजना का एक उदाहरण है—

रँगराती पिय संग निसि जागै। गरजै चमकि चौंकि कंठ लागै।
सीतल बूंद ऊँच चौबारा। हरियर सब देखिअ संसारा।
मलै समीर बास सुखबासी। बेइलि फूल सेज सुख डासी।

आनुप्रासिक सौंदर्य से उनकी भाषा ओत-प्रोत है—

सीस सबन्ह के सेंदुर पूरा। सीस पूरि सब अंग सेंदूरा।

'पदमावत' एक कथाकाव्य है, अतः उसमें वर्णनात्मकता भी काफ़ी है, जहाँ अभिधा का प्रयोग करना पड़ता है, किन्तु यथावसर लक्षणा-व्यंजना का भी प्रयोग कवि ने किया है—

लक्षणा—

लहकहिं नैन बाँह हिय खिला।
प्रेम की आगि जरै जौं कोई।
अस कर नैन ओछ हत्यारे।

व्यंजना—

पिय सों कहेउ सँदेसरा ऐ भँवरा ऐ काग।
सों धनि बिरहैं जरि मुइ तेहिक धुआं हम लाग।

नायिका कहती है "हे भौंरे, हे काग, प्रिय से कह देना कि वह स्त्री विरह में जल मरी और उसी के धुयें से हम काले हो गए हैं।" व्यंजना यह है कि 'पशु-पक्षी भी मुझसे प्रभावित हो जाते हैं, किन्तु तुम इतने पाषाण-हृदय हो कि..............'

जायसी की भाषा में यों तो अनेक अलंकारों का प्रयोग है, किन्तु सादृश्यमूलक अलंकार अपेक्षाकृत अधिक हैं। इनमें भी प्राधान्य उपमा, रूपक, उत्प्रेक्षा का है। जायसी ने अपने अप्रस्तुत प्रायः दैनिक जीवन से लिए हैं। कुछ उदाहरण हैं—

हिय हिंडोल अस डोलै मोरा। बिरह झुलाइ देह झकझोरा।
बरसै मघा झकोरि झकोरी। मोरि दुइ नैन चुवैं जस ओरी।
तन जस पियर पात भा मोरा।

सटीक अप्रस्तुतों के चयन के कारण जायसी की भाषा बहुत बिम्बात्मक है—

कंचन-रेख कसौटी कसी। जनु घन महँ दामिनी परगसी।
सुरुज-किरन जनु गगन बिसेखी। जमुना माहँ सुरसती देखी।

यह बिम्बात्मकता प्रायः चाक्षुष है।

जायसी के बाद कई सूफ़ी तथा प्रेमाख्यान के कवियों ने—जैसे, मंझन ने 'मधुमालती' (१५४५ ई०), उसमान ने 'चित्रावली' (१६१३ ई०), पुहकर ने 'रसरतन' (१६१८ ई०) तथा शेखनबी ने 'ज्ञानदीप' (१६१९ ई०)—अवधी में रचनाएँ की थीं, किन्तु किसी की भी भाषा 'पदमावत'—की भाषा जैसी नहीं हो पायी, अतः भाषिक दृष्टि से उनका विशेष महत्व नहीं है।

सूफ़ियों ने अपनी रचना अवधी में की थी, क्योंकि पहले सूफ़ी कवि मुल्ला दाऊद अवध प्रदेश के थे, और उन्होंने क्षपनी मातृ वोली में रचना की, और उसके बाद सूफ़ी कवि कहीं के भी हों (जैसे उसमान भोजपुरी क्षेत्र के थे) उन्होंने उसी परम्परा में अवधी को ही अपनाया। इसके अतिरिक्त जैसा कि भोला नाथ तिवारी ने माना है राम अयोध्या के थे, अतः उनके चरित गायकों ने भी वहाँ की भाषा को ही अपनाना .उचित समझा था। इस दृष्टि से पहला नाम रामानन्द का लिया जा सकता है, यद्यपि आज उनका जो कुछ उपलब्ध है उसके पाठ और भाषा के बारे में निश्चय के साथ कुछ कहना कठिन है। इस परम्परा में इसके बाद अग्रदास का नाम आता है किन्तु उनकी भाषा व्रज है। वस्तुतः अवधी में लिखने वाले रामधारा के प्रथम और मूर्धन्य कवि तुलसी दास (१५३२–१६१२) हैं। ये ही वे अकेले हिन्दी कवि हैं, जिन्होंने व्रज भाषा और अवधी दोनों में ही समान अधिकार से काव्य-रचना की है। इनकी अवधी रचनाओं में 'बरवै रामायण' तथा 'रामलला नहछू' को पूर्वी अवधी, 'जानकी मंगल' तथा 'पार्वती मंगल' को पश्चिमी अवधी तथा 'रामचरित मानस' को बैसवाड़ी अवधी का माना गया है। यों साहित्यिक भाषा की दृष्टि से इनकी सर्वश्रेष्ठ अवधी रचना रामचरित मानस ही है। इसके पहले की अवधी कृतियों में धीरे-धीरे उनकी साहित्यिक अवधी विकसित होती दिखाई पड़ती है, जिसका सर्वोत्कृष्ट रूप मानस में प्राप्त होता है।

मानस काव्यभाषा की दृष्टि से हिन्दी के श्रेष्ठतम तीन-चार काव्यग्रंथों में आता है। सूफ़ियों ने प्रायः ठेठ अवधी को प्रश्रय दिया था, जिसके विपरीत मानस की अवधी संस्कृत मिश्रित है। तुलसी ने यद्यपि विनम्रतावश अपनी अवधी रचनाओं में अपने को 'अकवि' कहा है ('कवित रीति नहिं जानउँ', 'कवि न कहावउँ'—पार्वती मंगल, 'कवित विवेक एक नहिं मोरे'—मानस) किन्तु क्या भाव और क्या भाषा, वे अत्यन्त उच्चकोटि के कवि थे।

ऊपर जायसी की साहित्यिक अवधी की ओर संकेत किया गया है। तुलसी की मानस की अवधी में भी ये विशेषतायें मिलती हैं—

लक्षणा

मंगल मोद उछाह नित, जाहिं दिवस एहि भाँति।
उमँगि अवध आनंद भरि, अधिक अधिक अधिकाति॥ (मानस)

व्यंजना

कंपहिं भूप विलोकत जाके। जिमि गज हरि किसोर के ताके। (मानस)

माधुर्य

सरद चंद निंदक मुख नीके। नीरज नयन भावते जी के।
चितवन चारु मार मद हरनी। भावति हृदय जाति नहिं वरनी।
कल कपोल श्रुति कुंडल लोला। चिबुक अधर सुन्दर मृदु बोला। (मानस)

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बोल्लहिं जो जय जय मुंड रुंड प्रचंड सिर बिनु धावहीं ।
खप्परिन्ह खग्ग अलुज्झि सुभट भटन्ह ढहावहीं । (मानस)

अलंकार

हिन्दी के किसी भी अन्य ग्रंथ में इतने अलंकारों का प्रयोग नहीं हुआ है जितना मानस में हुआ है । इस तरह अभिव्यक्ति के आलंकारिक सौन्दर्य में मानस की अवधी अद्वितीय है ।

मानस के कुछ मुख्य अलंकार हैं—

अनुप्रास के विगिन्न प्रकार, उपमा, रूपक, उत्प्रेक्षा, व्यतिरेक, अपह्नुति, प्रतीप, परिणाम, आदि सादृश्य मूलक अलंकार तथा अन्य प्रकार के बहुत से अलंकार जैसे : निदर्शना, उल्लेख, भ्रम, अतिशयोक्ति, तुल्ययोगिता, विभावना, व्याजस्तुति तथा पर्यायोक्ति । जहाँ-जहाँ सादृश्य-मूलक अलंकार हैं, तुलसी की भाषा बिम्बात्मक बन गई है । सच पूछा जाय तो विम्वात्मकता में इतनी अच्छी अवधी किसी भी अन्य कवि की नहीं है ।

इनके अतिरिक्त तुलसी की अवधी में कुछ बातें और भी हैं, जो अन्यत्र दुर्लभ हैं । उदाहरण के लिए प्रेमाश्रयी कवियों ने प्राय: ठेठ ग्रामीण शब्दों का प्रयोग किया है, किन्तु मानस की अवधी में संस्कृत के तत्सम शब्द अधिक हैं, जिसके कारण इसकी अवधी कुछ अतिरिक्त गरिमापूर्ण हो गई है । इन तत्सम शब्दों का एक परिणाम यह हुआ है कि विभिन्न पर्यायों से उपयुक्त शब्द के चयन की सम्भावना बढ़ गई है । अंग्रेज़ी में कविता की एक परिभाषा है— 'Poetry in the best words in the best order' अर्थात् कविता सर्वोत्तम शब्दों के सर्वोत्तम क्रम को कहते हैं । तुलसी ने इस बात का बहुत ध्यान रखा है, इसीलिए उन्होंने पर्याय शब्दों में हमेशा चयन किया है । हनुमान सुन्दरकाण्ड में राम को सीता के विषय में बतलाते हुए कहते हैं—

विरह अगिनि तनु तूल समीरा ।
स्वास जरइ छन माँहि सरीरा ।।
नयन स्रवहिं जलु निज हित लागी ।
जरैं न पाव देह बिरहागी ।।

अर्थात् हे राम, आपसे सीता का विरह अग्नि है, सीता का तन रुई है, उनका श्वास समीर है; इस प्रकार आग और हवा के संयोग से सीता का रुई जैसा तन क्षण मात्र में जल सकता है, परन्तु उनके नेत्र अपने हित के लिए अर्थात् आपके दर्शन के लिए रोते रहते हैं । अतः रुदन के आँसू (जल) के कारण उनका शरीर विरहाग्नि में जल नहीं पाता है। यह ध्यान देने की बात है कि चौपाई में 'शरीर' के तीन पर्यायों का प्रयोग किया गया है : तनु, शरीर, देह; और तीनों ही

अपने-अपने स्थान पर बड़े सार्थक और सुचिंतित प्रयोग हैं। 'तनु' का धात्वर्थ (तन् + उन्) हैं— पतला-दुबला, महीन, इसीलिए पतली-दुवली स्त्री को 'तन्वंगी' कहते हैं। रुई भी अत्यन्त कोमल और महीन होती है, अतः जहाँ शरीर को रुई के समान कहना अपेक्षित है, कवि 'तनु' कह रहा है; 'शरीर' का धात्वर्थ (श्रृ + ईण्) है अर्थात् **"प्रतिक्षण क्षय या नष्ट होने वाला"** इसीलिए जहाँ क्षण में जल जाने का प्रसंग है तुलसी उसे 'शरीर' कह रहे हैं; और 'देह' का धात्वर्थ (दिह् + धञ्) है 'जो स्थूल और पुष्ट हो', इसीलिए जहाँ जलने न पाने का संदर्भ है शरीर को तुलसी 'देह' कह रहे हैं, क्योंकि जो स्थूल और पुष्ट है वह बहुत जल्दी नहीं जल सकता है।

ऐसे ही राम, सीता, पार्वती' अंगद, रावण आदि के पर्यायों में भी उन्होंने चयन किया है।[1] शैली विज्ञान में काव्य-भाषा का एक सौन्दर्य समानान्तरता माना जाता है, जिसमें समान अथवा विरोधी अभिव्यक्तियाँ साथ-साथ रखी जाती हैं। तुलसी की अवधी इस क्षेत्र में भी अन्य सभी कवियों से आगे है।

तुलसी के बाद अन्य कवि जिन्होंने राम काव्य के लिए अवधी का प्रयोग किया है, वे तथा उनकी रचनाएँ ये हैं—लाल दास (अवधविलास), राम प्रिया शरण (सीतायन), जानकी रसिक शरण (अवधी सागर), राम चरण दास (कवितावली रामायण, राम-चरित्र), मधुसूदन दास (रामाश्वमेध), कृपा राम (भावना पचीसी, समय प्रवन्ध, माधुरी प्रकाश), जानकीचरण (प्रेम प्रधान, सियाराम रस मंजरी)।

प्रेमाश्रयी और रामकाव्य धारा के अतिरिक्त कुछ अन्य कवियों ने भी अवधी में काव्य रचनायें कीं थीं, जिनमें रहीम प्रमुख हैं। इनके ग्रंथ का नाम बरवै नायिका भेद है।

इस तरह से मध्यकालीन साहित्यिक अवधी का चरमोत्कर्ष दो ही कवियों में मिलता है— इसका ठेठ ग्रामीण रूप जायसी में तथा दूसरा संस्कृत के तत्सम शब्द युक्त रूप तुलसी के मानस में। अवधी के इन दोनों ही रूपों का अपना आकर्षण है, अपना सौन्दर्य है।

इसके बाद अवधी का साहित्यिक भाषा के रूप में प्रयोग नहीं हुआ है।

१, देखिये, तुलसी की भाषा का शैलीवैज्ञानिक अध्ययन—डा० किरण बाला, पृ० ३८-४३

THE *ṚGVEDA* : A GEO-CULTURAL STUDY

Santosh K. Banerji

The Memphite Drama originally written in papyrus about 3200 B. C. in Egypt[1] is perhaps the only religious or literary composition that is older in age than the *Ṛgveda*. It is considered a sacred book to this day and by fifty crores of people.

There are such striking similarities in idioms, metre and syntax in the verses contained in the *Gāthā* portion of the *Avesta* and the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* that scholars are impelled to attribute a common source for these two collections of verses.[2] The similarity also runs through the rituals prescribed in the two scriptures. A few surviving Yashts of the *Avesta* and other Yashts[3] of a non-Avestan origin definitely reflect a more archaic idiom and ritual. These are nearer to the *Ṛgveda*.

Various concept words in the *Avesta* and the *Ṛgveda* sound alike. Several examples may be given. The Ṛgvedic words are given in brackets just after the *Avesta* : *ahura* (*asura*), *daiva* (*deva*), *yasna* (*yajña*), *mantra* (*mantra*), *yazeta* (*yajata*), *āzuiti* (*ahuti*), *ashoi* (pronounced *arra*) (*ṛta*), *manu* (*mana*), *ahuna* (*aum*), *vṛithraghna* (*vṛtraghna*).

The lighting of fire in *homa* (sacrifice) is common to the *Avesta* and the Ṛgvedic faiths. The use of a drink in sacrifice is also common. It is Avestan 'haoma' and Ṛgvedic 'soma'.

The unity that pervades the idiom, metre and syntax is substantial, although it may not be complete. Idioms for many nouns were not common in the two early languages. Examples are *atis* (*agni*), *vahva* (*nadī*).

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1. Smith, W. H. '*Man and his gods*', Jonathan Cape, London.
2. Ghosh, B. K. : *Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit*, Calcutta, pp. 26-47.
3. Christensen, Arthur : *Die Iranier in Kulturgeschichte des Orients*, p. 214.

The *Ṛgveda* is divided into ten *maṇḍala*-s (books). From the point of view of the syntax, case-endings and on a conceptual plane the tenth *maṇḍala* does not fall in tune with the earlier nine *maṇḍala*-s. The tenth *maṇḍala* seems to have been composed some centuries later, and to have been added to the *Ṛgveda*.[4]

There is repeated mention in the *Avesta* of the bitter struggles that raged between the worshippers of the Ahura Mazda (the All-Knowing Lord) along with the Ameshaspentas (six bountiful immortals) on the one hand and the worshippers of *deva*-s (so-called demons) on the other. The worshippers of Daevas inhabited Turan, whereas the worshippers of Ahura Mazda mainly inhabited Iran.

Even prior to Zoroaster, the Ariannas (Indo-Iranians) were divided into two groups, namely, the worshippers of ahuras and the worshippers of daevas. Christensen suggested that the *asura*-religion was practised by the more cultured and steadier elements of the primitive Indo-Iranian society whose chief occupation was agriculture and cattle-breeding.[5]

The Aryans were a host of tribes who eked out a modest existence through cattle-breeding. They came to occupy the Steppes areas of Asia, Russia and areas lying in their vicinity. However, they did not belong to one ethnic type, Nordic or other. Some, at least, among them were blond, blue-eyed, flaxen-haired. In the second millennium B. C. and earlier wide areas in central Asia, notably the Tarim basin, were not inhabited by Mongoloid groups, but by stocks who spoke Indo-Aryan languages, and who tentatively may be described as belonging to Aryan stocks or as largely Aryan in stock. Hundreds of common vocables run through languages of Europe and these re-echo through Avestan and Sanskrit and a score of languages derived from the latter two. Sir William Jones was the first scholar to have discovered this phenomenon. He did so in 1786.

Asia Minor was one of the earliest focii of the tribes speaking Indo-European languages probably in the third millennium B. C.[6] As of a later epoch viz., second millenium B. C. there is conclusive evidence that Aryan tribes there worshipped Indra, Varuṇa and Mitra among other gods. The Ahura religion came to cherish an intense hatred for evil and falsehood; and a ceaseless struggle between evil and good became a principal pedestal of the Ahuric perception.

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4. Oldenberg : *Prolegomena.*, pp. 252-3; 268-70.
5. See Christensen, op. cit., pp. 211-12.
6. Forrer, E. : *Diehethitsche Bilderscgruft*, Chicago, 1932.

The early religious perception of the Indo-Iranian people when the bulk of them dwelt in the Oxus valley and its vicinity centred on the deification of natural phenomena. Both the cosmic horizon and man's moral duties were outflows of the consecration of the natural phenomenon. But as the early tribes spilled over to Iran and developed a more orderly agrarian life their perception began to lay prime value to the moral principles. The moral duties and moral aspect became central and the phenomenon was conceived as being regulated by the moral principles. The religious perception associated with the worship of the *asura*-s marks this change. By the time of Zorathustra the moral principles came to represent the Ahura Mazda and the six bountiful immortals. Their differing perceptions thus came to divide the *Avesta* from the *Ṛgveda*.

Battles between chiefs of tribes and conflicts are related both in the *Avesta* and the *Ṛgveda*. Whereas in the former the conflicts are the outcome of religious discord, in the latter those spring from ethnic or cultural discords. The earlier religions of the *Dāsa*-s also had perception of nature phenomenon in common with the perception of the *Ṛgveda*. As such the *Ṛgveda* won easy votaries among the *Dāsa*-s or the indigenous folk.

In the hymns Indra and other *deva*-s were not attributed any demon-like qualities. It is, therefore, not clear as to what had impelled the followers of the *asura* religion to have treated the *deva*-s, as if they were demons. Rather the evil genius was *Vri*. He was also learned in the Vedas.

In all the lands in which the Indo-European speaking tribes settled—stretching from Scotland in the west to the Vindhyas in the east—gods were known by the word "*deiwos*" or words sounding almost like "*deiwos*".[8] Asura was the sun-god of the Assyrian tribe.[9] The Iranians attributed to Asura the cosmic power symbolised in water.

The *deva*-worhippers were largely influenced by the concept of the *asura*-s and the existence of moral law. Last line of a hymn reads :

"*Mahad devānām asuratvam ekam*"[10]

Rendered into English :

"All the gods and the *asura*-s order are one."

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7. See Chritensen, op. cit. pp. 214 ff.
8. Ghosh, B. K. : 'Indo-Iranian Relations' in *The Vedic Age* i.e. Vol. I of *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1951. p.2 19.
9. Ghosh, B. K. : op. cit. p. 219.
10. *Ṛgveda*, III.55.1.

Probably in order to seek refuge from religious persecution the *daiva*-worshippers first moved into some of the river valleys of Afghanistan[11] where possibly the hold of the Asura religion was tenuous. After two to four centuries when the numbers of the *daiva*-worshippers in those valleys increased, they began to enter the Indus valley in small to medium-sized bands.

There is mention of names of several rivers in the *Ṛgveda* like Kubha (Kabul), Gomatī (Gomal), Krumu (Khurram), Suvastu (Swat). These rivers lie between the Hindu Kush and the Indus. There is also mention of "Rasa" which has been interpreted as Oxus by several scholars[12], while it has been interpreted as one of the Indus system by some other scholars. Puru, Yadi, Druhyas, Turvasas and Anus are the earliest tribes of "believers" mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. Several scholars opined that most of these tribes had their habitats in parts of Afghanistan.

Although the word "*Arianna*" occurring in the *Avesta* stands for a people, yet the word "*Ārya*" occurring in *Ṛgveda* conveys no such connotation. The word *ārya* is derived from the root *ard* meaning 'to move' and, therefore, it may signify a wanderer. There was a tendency among the elders in many ancient communities to seek a great degree of release from family obligations, to enrich and sanctify their experience by going to places or shrines considered sacred and to offer their sane advice to all those who may seek them. 'Ārya', therefore, signified the quintessenee of unblemished conduct and sagely advice. The eldest in the family was also addressed as 'the *ārya*'. '*Ārya*', therefore, does not specify a people, either linguistic or ethnic. However, in a qualified and a rather loose sense it may refer to a people or a group of kindred tribes or peoples who described their elders and sages by this word. In the post-Vedic period a particular geographical area came to be described as '*Āryāvarta*'. But here also '*Ārya*' did not stand for a people or a group of tribes but it rather connoted a group of tribes who cherished certain norms of conduct and who honoured the '*ārya*-s' or elderly men who were sage-like. From the literary evidence there are strong grounds to infer that the *Ṛgveda* was partly set in an Iranian-Afghanistan horizon. There are equally strong grounds to infer that parts of the *Ṛgveda* were composed in Afghanistan and that the original Ṛgvedic

11. Law : *Rivers of India*, Calcutta, 1944, p. 10.
12. Zimmer, H. : *Altindisches Leben.*, p. 16.

people were immigrants who came from Afghanistan and entered into the Indus plain. Hillebrandt and R. N. Dandekar are of this view.[13] The *Dāsa*-s were often mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. They probably represented the original inhabitants of the Indus plain. The later Vedas describe some of them as '*Kṛṣnatvacaḥ*' (black-skinned).

These Indo-Iranians entered the Indus plain in an epoch when the Harappan civilization was showing signs of a steady decline. The Ṛgvedic people or the particular branch of the Indo-Iranians who chanted the *Ṛk* hymns, reached a moderate level of material culture, and archaeologists associate this people with finds of ochre-coloured pottery.

Some scholars have argued that the Ṛgvedic people did not themselves speak of an earlier home or of a home in Iran or Turan.[14] These scholars have also reasoned that *Saptasindhavaḥ* refers to the land of the seven rivers, all of which lie on Indus basin. However, these scholars seem to have altogether ignored the allusions to three or four rivers of Afghanistan contained in the *Ṛk* hymns. Also in the *Ṛgveda* there is mention of four seasons of the year which agrees with four seasons mentioned in Avestan Iranian literature. The word '*Śard*' in Avestan meant winter, which corresponds to '*Śarat*' in Vedic Sanskrit. The view of Dr. B. S. Guha was that the Nordic group in the sub-continent was characterized in the Eurasian Steppes lands and that they entered India around 1400 B. C.[15] He further observed that the original Nordic type was supposed to have been tall, yellow-or golden-haired and blue-eyed. The more recent view that even during their habitation in Iran and Afghanistan, the 'Aryans' had become ethnically mixed due to substantial degrees of admixture with members of other racial types, like Mediterranean and proto-Australoid, seems to be more plausible.

The spread of the "Aryans" into the east and the south of the sub-continent following upon the epoch of the *Ṛgveda*, was a two-way cultural traffic. Sanskrit opened its door wide open to admit thousands of idioms of Dravidian and proto-Australoid languages. During the two millennia following the Ṛgvedic epoch the ancient culture and philosophy of the sub-continent drew profusely from the three streams, 'Aryan', Dravidian and

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13. Dandekar, R. N. : 'The antecedents and the early beginnings of vedic period', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Tenth Session, Bombay, p. 40.
14. Sastri, S. Srikanta : Appendix to Ch. X of *The Vedic Age*, being Vol. I of *History and Culture of the Indian People*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1950, pp. 215-7.
15. Guha, B. S. : "Racial Elements in the Population," No. 22 of *Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs*, Oxford Univ. Press, Bombay : 1944.

proto-Australoid and the resulting culture projected a new self, which wholly transcended the personalities mirrored in the three distinctive culture streams.

How can the striking resemblances between the idiom, metre and syntax in the *Gāthā* portion of *Avesta* and the *Ṛgveda* be explained than by positing that a portion of the Indo-Iranians migrated to India ? On the contrary, if the said resemblances were sought to be explained by positing that an opposite movement had taken place, namely, that there was an efflux of Indo-Aryans from Indus plain into Iranian plateau, then it would certainly go contrary to the evidence of the geo-cultural thrust or direction reflected both in the *Avesta* and the *Ṛgveda*.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Sures Chandra Banerji

History is a weak point of Sanskrit literature. Some western scholars, notably Keith, hold that Indians have no history nor any historical sense. It is, however, a sweeping remark, not based on facts. The fact, however, remains that, compared with the bulk of the *Kāvya*-s of various kinds, history is very poorly represented in Sanskrit.

A few *Kāvya*-s, notably the poetical work, *Rājataraṅgiṇi* of Kalhaṇa (12th. cent. A. D.) and the prose work *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa (early 7th cent. A. D.), contain some historical material. Facts are, however, mixed with fancy in such a way that it is difficult to separate the cheese from the chaff. In certain works, the authors give some biographical account, and, in rare cases, autobiographical information is available. Leaving aside Sanskrit inscriptions, we shall briefly set forth here the salient facts that can be gleaned from some Sanskrit works about the lives of kings, other respectable personages and of the authors themselves.

We shall deal with the matter under the following classes of literary compositions :—

A. Poetical Works.
B. Prose Writings.
C. Dramas.
D. Poetics, Prosody, Dramaturgy.
E. Smṛtiśāstra.
F. Miscellaneous Works.

Under each class, only the well-known works will be taken into consideration.

Before considering classical Sanskrit literature, it should be stated that the tradition of writing biographical account in India dates back to the Vedic times.

The *Dānastuti*-s of the *Ṛgveda* contain information about the gifts made by kings or other sacrificers to priests. From these hymns, of which there are about forty, we get information about the donors and the donees concerned. In some of these hymns, the songs of victory, containing the praise of Indra, are mixed with the glorification of the victorious king. The hymns of this class mention the full names of the donors, and refer to historic events. Only one hymn[1] is wholly a *Dānastuti*. In other such hymns, usually three to five verses at the end of the hymns are devoted to the *Dānastuti*. Some other noteworthy *Dānastuti*-s are also contained in the *Ṛgveda*.[2]

The *Gāthā Nārāśaṃsi*-s of the Brāhmaṇa literature[3] are songs in praise of heroes. In these, however, panegyrics are more important than historical truth; the result is that the historical information is sometimes lost in the maze of too much of effusive enthusiasm. It is interesting to note that the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*[4] brands these *gāthā*-s as 'lies'.

Some of the Purāṇas throw lurid light on some royal dynasties, particularly of the period later than 600 B. C.

The *Nilamata Purāṇa*, referred to by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, still exists. It contains information about some kings of Kashmir.

The historicity of the list of pontiffs, contained in the Jaina *Paṭṭāvali*-s, cannot be totally ignored.

A. POETICAL WORKS*

Bhaṭṭikāvya

In a verse of *Bhaṭṭikāvya*[5] the author informs us that he composed it at Valabhī, ruled over by Śrīdharasena. At this place, four kings of this name are known to have ruled roughly from 495 to 641 A. D. It is not known who of them has been referred to by the author.

1. *ṚV.*, 1.126.
2. *Ibid.*, I.130; 1.64; X.117, etc.
3. *Cf.* *Śatapatha*, XI.5.6.8; 7.9. The *Āśwaloyara Gṛhya* also contains such *gāthā*-s
4. 1.11.5; *Kāṭhaka*, 14.5.
5. XXII.35.

* Titles of works arranged in English alphabetical order.

Bhramaradūta of Rudra Nyāyavācaspati

From the concluding portion we learn that the poet's grandfather, Vidyāvācaspati, was a resident of village Rāmakeli on the Bhāgīrathī and was honoured by the king of Gauḍa, who was Husein Shah (accession 1493 A. D.). Rudra's father was Vidyānivāsa.

Cakrapāṇi-vijaya of Lakṣmīdhara.

In his genealogy, the poet mentions Bhojadeva as one of his ancestors. This Bhoja is identified by some with king Bhoja of Dhārā (1000-1055 A. D.). Others think that he was king Bhojavarmadeva (latter half the of 12th cen. A. D.) of Bengal.

The poet states that he is a resident of the village Bhaṭṭāṅkita Kośala which is Bhaṭṭakośala, according to some, Kośala according to others. Identified, by J. Ghosh, with the modern village Kuśaila in the Vaguḍā district of Bengal[6].

Caurapañcāśikā of Bilhaṇa (11th.-12th Cent. A. D.)

In the South Indian recension, the text is included in the framework of a longer poem, entitled *Bilhaṇa-Kāvya*. In it, the scene is laid in the place, called Mahilapaṭṭana. The reigning king Vīrasiṃha's queen, daughter of King of Avanti, gave birth to a daughter, named Śaśikalā or Candralekhā. She was placed in charge of Bilhaṇa for education, and fell in love with him. They were married according to the *Gāndharva* form. Once while secretly enjoying her company, Bilhaṇa was detected, and the king ordered him to be executed. The poet recited a fine poem of fifty stanzas. The princess resolved to put an end to her life. At the request of the queen, the king set him free.

Gītagovinda of Jayadeva (12th Cent. A. D.)

From the poem we learn as follows. The poet was son of Bhojadeva and Rāmā (or, Vāmā, Rādhā) devī of Kendubilva, generally identified with village Keniduli in Birbhum district of West Bengal. The poet, a protégé of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, mentions Padmāvatī who was probably his wife.

Among his contemporaries, adorning the court of his patron, are mentioned the poets, named Dhoyī, Śaraṇa, Umāpatidhara and Govardhana,

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6. *Indian Culture*, II, 1935-37.

Hammīra-mada-mardana of Jayasiṃha Sūri (1219-1229 A.D.)

The poet, pupil of Vīrasūri and priest of the temple of Muni Svarata of Broach, describes the exploits of Tejaḥpāla and Vastupāla, ministers of king Vīradhavala of Gujarat.

The work is stated to have been composed at the instance of Jayanta-siṃha (between 1219 and 1299 A. D.), son of Vastupāla, in order to commemorate the exploits of the aforesaid ministers.

The poet describes the conflict between the Mleccha rulers, Hammira or Amir Shikār and Vīradhavala and the futility of the Muslim invasion of Gujarat.

Haravijaya of Ratnākara (850 A. D.)

Son of Amṛtabhānu, he appears to have been a contemporary of the Kashmir Kings, Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa (832–44 A. D.) and Avantivarman (855-84 A. D.), the former having been his patron.

Haricarita (1493 A. D.) of Caturbhuja

The poet, son of Śivadāsa and descendant of Suvarṇarekha, is stated to have enjoyed the grant of the village of Karañja by Dharmapāla (875-900 A. D.), a Pāla King of Bangod. The work is stated to have been composed at Rāmakeli, a suburb of Gauḍa.

Kādambarī-Kathāsāra

The poet, Abhinanda, son of Jayanta, states that Śaktisvāmin, Jayanta's great-grand father, was a minister of the Kashmir king, Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of the Karkoṭa dynasty in the middle of the eighth century A. D.

Kapphiṇābhyudaya of Śivasvāmin

The poét, son of Arkasvāmin, appears to have been court-poet of king Avantivarman (855-884 A. D) of Kashmir.

It deals with the Buddhist account of the Deccan king, Kapphiṇa, described in the *Avadānaśataka*. The work describes the invasion of the kingdom of Prasenajit of Śrāvastī by Kapphiṇa and the conversion of Kapphiṇa to Buddhism,

Kathāsarit-sāgara

The work is stated to have been composed by Somadeva for the diversion of Queen Sūryamati who immolated herself on the pyre of her husband, Ananta, king of Kashmir, who put an end to his life in 1081 A. D.

In a copy of the work, the Vaghela king, Bhavasiṃha, added the genealogy of his dynasty as well as the names of his courtiers.

Kumārapāla-carita or *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* of Hemacandra (1089-1170 A. D.)

It describes the reigns of the kings of Anhilvad up to Kumārapāla (accession 1142 A. D.).

Among the minor historical works of the Jains, mention may be made of the *Kīrtikaumudī* in which Someśvara (12th. cen.. latter half) glorifies Vastupāla.

Kuṭṭanīmata

The poet Dāmodaragupta is referred to in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[7] as a minister of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (779-813 A. D.).

Naiṣadha-carita (1200 A. D.)

In the concluding verse, the poet Śrīharṣa is stated to have been honoured by the king of Kānyakubja.

In the *Prabandha-kośa* (1348 A. D.) of Rājaśekhara Sūri Śrīharṣa is stated to have composed poems as a protégé of the Kānyakubja Kings, Vijayacandra and Jayacandra.

Navasāhasāṅka-carita (c. 1005 A. D.) of Padmagupta or Parimala

It describes various events after which the marriage of Navasāhasāṃka, the Paramāra King of Dhārā, with Śaśiprabhā, daughter of the Nāga King, Śaṃkhapāla was solemnised.

Pavanadūta of Dhoyī

It describes how king Lakṣmaṇasena (c. 1185-1205 A. D.) of Bengal, while on an expedition to South India, fell in love with a Gandharva girl, named Kuvalayavatī.

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7. *IV*, 496

Pṛthvirāja-vijaya (Incomplete) of unknown authorship and date.

It describes conquests of the Cauhāna King, Pṛthvīrāja of Ajmer and Delhi, his fight with Shahabuddin Ghori and fall (1193 A. D.).

Rājataraṅgiṇi of Kalhaṇa (12th cent. A. D.)

It describes the reigns of the kings of Kashmir, and mentions Jayasiṃha (1127-59 A. D.) as the ruling sovereign. The really historical portion of the work begins with the Karkoṭa Dynasty, i. e. from 600 A. D.

Rājataraṅgiṇi : Its continuations

(I) By Jonarāja.

Describes the events from 1459 to 1486 A. D.

(III) By Prājyabhaṭṭa and his pupil, Śuka.

Entitled *Rājāvali-patākā*, it describes the events of the reigns of kings up to the conquest of Kashmir (1586 A. D.) by Akbar.

Râmacarita of Sandhyākaranandin

Composed at the time of King Madanapāla of Bengal, it describes the events of the life of king Rāmapāla (C. 1077-1103 A. D.).

Saduktikarṇāmṛta of Srīdharadāsa

The compiler states that his father, Vaṭudāsa, was a friend and scribe of king Lakṣmaṇasena (12th-13th cent.) of Bengal. Śrīdhara describes himself as a *Mahāmāṇḍalika* under the same king.

Śrīkaṇṭhacarita (1135-1145 A. D.) of Maṅkhaka

The poet informs us that Somapāḷa, son of Saṃgrāmapāla of Rājapurī in Kashmir, was patron of Jalhaṇa (13th cent. A. D.). Maṅkhaka states that Jalhaṇa composed an account of Somapāla. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refers to the poem *Somapalavilāsa*[8] ; it is lost.

From Maṅkhaka's work we learn also that he was son of Viśvāvarta and grandson of Manmatha as well as a pupil of Ruyyaka, the famous rhetorician. We are told that the poet's brother, Alaṃkāra, was a minister of king Jayasiṃha of Kashmir (1127-50 A. D.).

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8. VIII.621 f.

Subhāṣita-muktāvali or *Sūkti-muktāvalī* (1257 A. D.)

Though attributed to Jalhaṇa, it seems to have been compiled by a physician, named Bhānu, who, enjoying the patronage of Jalhaṇa, an army commander of the then ruling monarch, out of gratitude, perhaps, associated it with the name of his patron.

From the introductory portion, we learn that Jalhaṇa was fifth in descent from one Dādāḥ who was an army commander under the Yādava King Mallugi or Mailugi, son of Lakṣamaṇadeva.

Jalhaṇa, appearing to have been an officer in charge of elephants, flourished under king Kṛṣṇa who is known to have been installed in 1247 A. D.

Śūrjana-carita of Candraśekahara (latter part of 16th cent. A. D.)

It deals with the life of the poet's patron, Śūrjana, a descendant of Māṇikya Rāya, younger brother of Pṛthvirāja Chauhān. Emperor Akbar attacked Śūrjana who took shelter in the fort of Ranthambor. Later on, he became a friend of Akbar to whom he made over the fort. In return, Akbar gave him extensive land on the Narmadā, in Madhurā, Vārāṇasī, etc.

Śūrjana visted, Vṛndāvana, and returned to Vārāṇasī where, after his death, his wives burnt themselves on the funeral pyre of their husband.

His son, Bhoja, succeeded him and helped Akbar in his Gujarat war. Bhoja is stated to have conquered the kingdoms of Suhma, Vaṅga, Vidarbha, Videha, Trigarta, Mālava, etc.

The work contains the genealogy of Śūrjana.

Vikramāṅkadeva-Carita of Bilhaṇa

It deals with the life of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvana-malla (1076-1127 A. D.).

In some minor poetical works, there are euologies of particular persons. For example, the *Rājendrakarṇapūra* is a panegyric of king Harṣa of Kashmir (1059-1101 A. D.).

Some comparatively less known poetical works deal with the exploits of regional rulers. For example, the *Rāṣṭrauḍha-vaṃśa* of Rudra narrates the history of Vāgūla dynasty of Mayūragiri, from Rāṣṭrauḍha upto the poet's patron, Nārāyaṇa Shāh.

In the *Raghunāthābhyudaya*, Rāmabhadrāmbā describes the events of the life of her lover, Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore, round about 1620 A. D.

In the *Madhurāvijaya* (also called *Vīrakamparāya-carita*), Gaṅgādevī describes the incidents relating to the conquest of Mādurā by her husband, Acyutarāya, king of Vijayanagara.

The *Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya* (C. 1530 A. D.(of Tirumalāmbā has, as its theme, the interesting events connected with the marriage of Varadāmbikā with the above king.

B. PROSE WRITINGS

The *Harṣacarita* and the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa are the only noteworthy prose *Kāvya*-s containing biographical and autobiographical information.

From the introductory portions of these two works we gather the following autobiographical account of the author.

Genealogy.

Kuvera
|
Pāśupata
|
Arthapati
|
Citrabhānu (m. Rājyadevī)
|
Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

Native place-Prītikūṭa on the bank of the Hiraṇyabāhu, also called Śoṇa.

King Harṣavardhana invited him to his camp near the city of Maṇitārā on the bank of the Agira (Acira) vatī.

The author salutes[9] Bharbu (V.L. Bhatsu, Bhartsu), presumably his preceptor, who is stated to have been held in high esteem by his pupils, the Maukharis and the feudatory Chiefs.

The author of the *Hitopadeśa*, a version of the *Pañcatantra*, states that the name of his patron was Dhavalacandra who must have flourished earlier then 1373 A. D., the date of copying of the earliest extant MS. of the work.

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9. *Kādambarī*, intro. verse 4.

Some *Campū*-s throw light on the lives of the poets concerned or of their patrons. The noteworthy works of this class are as follows.

K i r t i k a u m u d i of Someśvaradeva (bhaṭṭa)—1179-1262 A. D.

The poet is stated to have been son of Kumāra and priest of Bhīmadeva of Anahillapāṭaka (Paṭṭana) of Gujarat and Lavaṇaprasāda of Dholka. It deals with the life of Vastupāla. minister of Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala, the Vaghela rulers.

Y a ś a s t i l a k a—c a m p ū (595 A. D.) of Somaprabha Sūri

It narrates the account of Yaśodhara, king of Avanti. The conspiracy of his queen and his conversion to Jainism are, perhaps, historically important.

Among the Jaina Prabandhas, containing such information, the most noteworthy is the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga (14th cent. A. D.)

From it we gather the following information. Umāpati was a minister of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. He is stated to have been deprived of his post as a result of giving advice to the king, puffed up with vanity. The king, having ordered him to be put to death, he recited an eulogistic verse which brought the king to his senses. He cancelled the order, and appointed him Prime Minister.

A few epistles in Sanskrit throw light on the lives and activities of some celebrities.

The *M a h ā r ā j a-K a n i k a-l e k h a* (C. 1st cent. A. D.)

Attributed to Mātṛcitra, identified by F. W. Thomas with Mātṛceṭa, purports to be the author's reply declining the invitation of king Kanika, the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka, according to Thomas, to his court.

The *Suhṛllekha* of the Buddhist philosopher, Nāgārjuna (C. 2nd cent. A. D.), was sent to his friend, king Udayana. It seeks to embody, in a nutshell, the quintessence of Buddhism.

The *Ś i ṣ y a l e k h a-d h a r a m a-K ā v y a* of Candragomin (7th Cent. A. D. according to some, 5th cent. according to others)

It is addressed to Prince Ratnakīrti, infatuated with power and pelf, in order to bring him round to the path of virtue.

C. DRAMAS

Some dramas deal with the life of historical personalities. The authors of some dramas give autobiographical information. The titles of the noteworthy dramas, containing historical information, will be arranged in the English alphabetical order. The minor or little known dramas have been left out for the present purpose.

Caitanya-candrodaya (1572 A. D.)

Stated to have been composed by Paramānandasena Kavikarṇapūra, son of Śivānanda of Kāñcanapallī (Kānchrāpāḍā) in West Bengal, at the behest of Pratāparudra, Gajapati King of Orissa.

The main incidents of the life of Caitanya, the renowned Bengali reformer of Vaiṣṇavism, have been described.

Caṇḍakauśika

In the prologue, Kṣemīśvara states that it was composed in the court of king Mahīpāla who was the Pala King Mahīpāla I or II of Bengal, according to some, the Pratihāra king, Mahīpāla of Kanauj, according to others.

Caturbhāṇi

The word Candrodaya, stated to be Mauryakumāra in the *Padmaprābhṛtaka*[10], one of the four monologue plays, is taken by some to refer to either Candragupta Maurya or his son Bindusāra.

Karṇasundarī of Bilhaṇa

The hero is Karṇadeva Trailokyamalla, Cālukya king of Anhilvad (1064-94 A. D.)

Laṭakamelaka

Composed by Śaṃkhadhara at the time of Govindarāja of Kanauj, known as Raṇaraṅgamalla, in the first half of the 12th Cent. A. D.

Mattavilāsa

We learn from the prologue that the author, Mahendravikrama, was son of Siṃhavarman and king of the Pallava dynasty. The epithets of the

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10. P. 61, line 1.

king as Guṇabhara, Avanībhājana, Mattavilāsa, Śatrumalla, etc. occur in the drama.

Mṛcchakaṭika

From the prologue we learn that the author, Śūdraka, was a Brahmin king, versed in various Śāstras.

Mudrārākṣasa.

From it we learn that Candragupta (evidently the Maurya emperor) had Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya as his Prime Minister and that Rākṣasa was Prime Minister of the Nandas.

In the concluding verse, there is mention of a king, named Avantivarman (v. l. Rantivarman, Dantivarman). Two kings of the name are known from history. One of them was a Maukhari King of the 7th Cent. and the other a king of Kashmir (accession 855 A. D.).

In some MSS., the name Candragupta occurs in place of Anantivarman. There were three kings of this name, viz. Candragupta Maurya (4th Cent. B. C.), Gupta King Candragupta I (4th cent. A. D.) and Candragupta II, called Vikramāditya (accession C. 380 A. D.).

Prabodha-candrodaya

In the prologue it is stated to have been composed at the instance of Gopāla on the occasion of the defeat of the Cedi King, Karṇa by Gopāla's friend, Kīrtivarman, who appears to have been the Candela King (1050-1116 A. D.) of Jejākabhukbi.

Verse ii.7 reveals the author's intimate familiarity with Bengal. It mentions Rāḍha, Bhuriśreṣṭha (modern village Bhursut in Burdwan district, West Bengal).

The dramas *Viddhaśāla-bhañjikā*,[11] *Bālarāmāyaṇa*[12] and *Bālabhārata*[13] of Rājaśekhara contain the following information.

The author was teacher of king Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, known as Nirbhaya or Nibbhaya.

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11. 1.6.
12. 1.5.
13. I.7; II. 1,9.

The author enjoyed the patronage of the above King's son and successor, Mahīpāla, who has been identified by Fleet[14] with the Mahīpāla of Asni inscription (917 A. D.).

Rājaśekhara appears to have been, for sometime, a protégé of Yuvarāja, identified with Yuvarāja I Keyūravarṣa, the Kalacuri ruler of Tripuri (in the Cedi Kingdom).

In the *Viddhaśāla-bhañjikā*[15] and *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*[16], Rājaśekhara mentions an eulogy of himself by Kṛṣṇa-saṅkaravarman, court-poet of King Mahendrapāla, presumably the Pratihāra king, who came to power in the later part of the ninth century A. D.

D. POETICS, PROSODY, DRAMATURGY

Daśarūpaka of Dhanañjaya (10th. cent. A. D. last quarter)

The author states[17] that he belonged to the group of distinguished learned men around king Muñja, identified with the Paramāra king Muñja of Mālava (994-C. 995) having several epithets, viz. *Vākpatirāja*[18], *Utpalarāja*[19], Amoghavarṣa, *Pṛthvi-vallabha*, *Śrīvallabha*.

Ekāvali of Vidyādhara (13th-14th cent)

The author states that poet Harihara obtained immense wealth from a prince, Arjuna, who is believed to be identical with the Mālava ruler of this name.

Reference is made to Narasiṃha[20] who is supposed to be identical with one of the kings of Kaliṅga of this name, whose dates fall between 1282 and 1327 A. D.

The author's patron is stated to have curbed the pride of Hammīra,[21] who was probably the Chauhāna prince who came to the throne about 1283 A. D., and tried to conquer the Southern countries.

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14. *Indian Antiquary*, XVI.175-78.
15. 1.7.
16. 1.17.
17. *IV*. 80
18. Vide *Dhanika's* commentary on IV.54-55.
19. Under V.16 of Kṣemendara's *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā*, under II,1 etc., of *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*,
20. V.7.
21. Pp. 176, 177, 255, 260.

Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa (C. middle of 11th. cent–first quarter of 12th.)

The author praises king Bhoja[22] who is apparently the Paramāra king Bhoja of Dhārā with whom he is supposed to be contemporaneous.

Kuvalayānanda of Appayya Dīkṣita (C. 3rd. and 4th. quarter of 16th. cent)

It is stated, at the end, that the work was composed at the instance of a South Indian Prince, named Veṅkaṭa, identified (a) by Aufrecht,[23] followed by Eggeling[24] with Veṅkaṭa of Vijaynagar (C. 1535 A. D.), (b) by Hultzsch[25]. with Veṅkaṭa I of Pennakoṇḍa whose inscriptions range between 1586-1613 A. D.

In the colophons to his *Śivāditya-maṇi-dipikā*[26], Appayya mentions, as his patron, a prince named Cinna Bomma, son of Cinnavīra and father of Liṅgama Nāyaka.

Appayya's *Yādavābhyudaya-vyākhyā* was written at the instance of Cinna Timma, cousin of Aliya Rāmarāja of Vijaynagar.

Pratāparudra-yaśobhūṣaṇa of Vidyānātha (13th-14th cent.)

The author eulogises, in the illustrative verses, king Vīrarudra or Rudra, described as son of Mahādeva and Mumandi or Mummaḍambā[27]. The king is described as a Kākatīya monarch having his capital at Ekaśilā-nagara in Tṛliṅga or Andhra country. The above king is identified with the seventh Kākatīya king Pratāparudradeva I (C. between 1295 or 1268 and 1319 A. D.) of Ekaśilā or Warangal. The above Yādava king is supposed to have been Rāmacandra (C. 1271-1309 A. D.), the sixth ruler of the Yādavas of Devagiri.

Rasārṇava-sudhākara of Śiṅga (or Siṃha) Bhūpāla, also called Śiṅga-dharaṇīśa, Śiṅgarāja, Śiṅga-mahīpati (C. 1st half of 14th. cent.).

From the introductory verses we learn that the author belonged to the Recarla dynasty, and reigned in the region between the Vindhyas and

22. Under X.26b.
23. *Cat. Bod*, 213a.
24. *IO C*, III, p. 335.
25. *Rep. of S. Indian Skt. MSS.* II, p. XIII, *EI.* p. 71 ; *JASB*, 1907, p. 211,
26. Hultzsch 1056.
27. Pp. 12, 13, 16, 17, 133.

Śrīśaila. He was son of Ananta (or Anapota) and Ānandāmbā. His grandfather and great-grandfather were respectively Śiṅgaprabhu (or Śiṅgama Nāyaka) and Yācama Nāyaka.

Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viśvanātha (C. first half of 14th. cent. A. D.)

The author describes himself, in a concluding verse, as son of Mahākavi Candraśekhara who was, probably, a dignitary of a king of Kaliṅga. In the illustrative verse *durgālaṅghita* etc.[28], Viśvanātha describes his father as *Mahāpātra* (Prime Minister). *Sāndhi-vigrahika* (Minister of peace and war) and as versed in fourteen languages. In the colophons to the first and the tenth chapter, the author refers to himself as *aṣṭādaśa-bhāṣāvāravilāsinī-bhujaṅga* (the gallant of courtesans in the form of eighteen languages) *Sāndhi-vigrahika* and *mahāpātra*.

Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhoja

The author, most probably the Paramāra King Bhoja of Dhārā (11th. century A. D.). He refers to Muñja[29] who appears to have been king Muñja Vākpatirāja of Mālava.

Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra of Vāgbhaṭa (11th-12th. cent. A. D.)

The Cālukya king Jayasiṃha Siddharāja of Anahillapattana and his capital are referred to.[30] The king is stated to have been son of king Karṇadeva.

From the concluding verses of the *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* and *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* we learn that the author wrote in the reign of king Ananta (1028-63 A. D.) of Kashmir.

Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva of Halāyudha

The author describes himself as *Dharmādhyakṣa* (judge) of king Lakṣmaṇasena (1179-C. 1205 A. D.) of Bengal.

E. SMṚTIŚĀSTRA

Durgābhakti-taraṅgiṇī (C. 1438 A. D.)

Attributed to Narasiṃhadeva of Mithilā, though actually written by

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28. II.21—Siddhāntavāgīśa's ed.
29. ad. I.71, p. 22.
30. IV.45, 76, 81,85, 132.

Vidyāpati. In it, Dhīrasiṃha, son of Narasiṃha, and his brother, Bhairavendra, styled Rūpanārāyaṇa, are praised.

G a ṅ g ā v ā k y ā v a l i of Vidyāpati (15th. Cent.)

The work is stated to have been written under the patronage of Viśvāsadevī, queen of king Padmasiṃha of Mithilā, and attributed to the queen by the author.

H ā r a l a t ā of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa

From the work we learn that the author belonged to the place, called Campāhaṭṭi, and was preceptor and *Dharmādhyakṣa* (judge) of King Ballālasena of Bengal, whom he assisted in the compilation of the huge digest, *Dānasāgara* (1169 A. D.).

K ā l a s ā r a of Gadādhara (latter half of 15th Cent.)

Author is stated to have been son of Nīlāmbara and nephew of Haladhara, spiritual preceptor of Harekṛṣṇa-bhūpati.

K ṛ t y a r a t n ā k a r a of Caṇḍeśvara (1314-70 A. D.)

Author is stated to have been son of Vīreśvara and Minister of king Harasiṃhadeva of Mithilā.

M a d a n a-p ā r i j ā t a

The author, Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa, compiled it under the patronage of king Madanapāla whose reign period, according to R. C. Majumdar, was 1360-70 A. D.

P i t ṛ d a y i t ā of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa

Same information as in the *Hāralatā* (q. v.).

R ā y m u k u ṭ a-p a d d h a t i

Same information as in the *Smṛtiratnahāra.*

S m ṛ t i r a t n a h ā r a of Bṛhaspati Rāymukuṭa

The author praises his patron, Yadu, son of Rājā Gaṇeśa (accession 1414-15 A. D.) of Bengal. The title, Rāyamukuṭa, is stated to have been conferred by his patron.

Vīramitrodaya of Mitra Miśra

The author names his patron Vīrabhadradeva of Vaghela family, King of Ayodhyā (2nd half of 16th Century).

F. MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

Anaṅgaraṅga of Kalyāṇamalla

Composed for pleasing Lād Khān, son of Ahmad Khān Lodi of Oudh (16th Cent.).

Bhūparikramā of Vidyāpati

Stated to have been composed at the order of Devasiṃha, father of Śivasiṃha.

Nṛttaratnāvalī (1253-54 A. D.) of Jāya Senāpati.

Stated to have been patronised by Kākatīya King Gaṇapati of Warangal (1202-62 A. D.) who is probably identical with Gaṇapati, mentioned in *Saṃgīta-śṛṅgāra-hāra* of Hammīra (1283 A. D.).

Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdhara (10 cent. A. D.)

Author stated to be resident of village Bhūriśreṣṭha or Bhurisṛṣṭi (modern Bhursut) in Dakṣiṇārāḍha, son of Baladeva and Acchoka and grandson of Bṛhaspati. He informs us that he wrote it as a protégé of the Kāyastha King, Pāṇḍudāsa.

Nyāyamañjarī of Jayanta

He mentions the Kashmirian King, Śaṃkaravarman (883-902 A. D.).

In the verse *rājñā tu*, he says that the king imprisoned him, and that he used to pass his days in prison by writing books.

Prāṇatoṣiṇī, of Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṃkāra

Author was great-great-grandson of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, the renowned Tāntric scholar of Bengal. It was written under the patronage of Prāṇakṛṣṇa Biswas (1764-1834 A. D.), a landlord of Khardah, a northern suburb of Calcutta.

Puruṣa-parīkṣā of Vidyāpati

The second introductory verse mentions the Mithilā King, Śivasiṃha, son of Devasiṃha. The third verse states that the work was undertaken at the order of Śivasiṃha; the chapter colophons repeat this statement.

Saṃgīta-ratnākara of Śārṅgadeva

From the introductory verses we learn that the author was born in a Brahmin family of Kashmir. His grand father, Bhāskara, is stated to have migrated to south India. His father, Soḍhala, is stated to have satisfied King Bhillama, and led the Yādava King Śiṅghanarāja to prosperity. The author appears to have been Chief Auditor of this king.

Sarvānanda-taraṅgiṇi of Śivanātha

The author, son of Sarvānanda, informs us that Sarvānanda, author of the Tantra, entitled *Sarvollāsa*, lived in the reign of a Dāsa King of Mehār, a famous holy place for the followers of Tantra in Tippera district (now in Bangladesh).

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

WORDS DENOTING SEPARATION IN KĀLIDĀSA

Sukumari Bhattacharji

Though primarily a poet of love, joy and fulfilment Kālidāsa also excels in the poetry of separation. A study of three words denoting separation may reveal certain levels of emotional depth in the poet's subconscious. For the sake of brevity we shall take just three such words : *viraha*, *viyoga* and *viprayoga*, and try to show that they represent subtle differences in nuances.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* does not use any of the three words except once in a compound. The elderly Agnimitra's infatuation for a girl young enough to be his daughter is hardly anything more than a passing royal fancy for a pretty maiden ; the presence of the three queens makes this love only a mere episode in the king's frivolous love-life. Hence his temporary separation from Mālavikā is not treated with any depth ; and words denoting separation do not occur in this play except once.

Viraha, the commonest word occurs most frequently. It is derived from the prefix '*vi*' (special) and verb '*rah*', a root in the *bhvādi* and *curādi gaṇa*-s ; in both it means 'to abandon'.

The fourth act of the *Vikramorvaśīya* uses *viraha* many times : *dayitāvirahita, virahānugata*[1], *priyatamāvirahaklāntavadana*[2], *dayitāvirahonmādita*[3], *kariṇīvirahasantāpita*[4], *priyāvirahajām*[5]. The occasion of all these was Purūravas's separation from Urvaśī who had temporarily been transformed into a creeper in the Kumāravana. Before this happens we are introduced to the vehemence of

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1. Prakrit song no. 4.
2. *Ibid*, no. 15.
3. *Ibid.*, no. 19.
4. *Ibid.*, no. 21.
5. *Vyathām*, 25.

the couple's passion, the inherent selfishness of a love because of which a mother banishes her child and a king neglects his duties and responsibilities. Such an impetuosity carried the germ of its own destruction; the magic of the Kumāravana is but an externalization of the inherent curse of such a passion. There is a lack of real depth in this passion, so the conventional word *viraha* never occurs alone, it is always a member of a compound. We shall come to this point later.

In the *Raghuvaṃśa viraha* is twice used by itself in VIII : 60 and 89. In VIII : 56, it is a member of a compound; the word is *virahāntarakṣama*. All three occur in the context of Aja lamenting after Indumatī's death.

The *Abhijñānaśākuntala* describes Duṣyanta languishing for Śakuntalā. The last act uses *viraha* twice and both times as a member of a compound : *virahavrata*[6] and *virahaśūnyahṛdayā*[7] in the prose passage after verse 31.

In the *Meghadūta viraha* never stands alone; it is always found in a compound, where it is either the first or the second member. Thus we have *Kāntāviraha*[8], *virahavidhura*[9], *ciravirahaja*[10], *virahadivasa*[11], *virahaśayana*[12], *virahamahati*[12], and *prathamaviraha*[13]. While the *Pūrvamegha* uses *viraha* in connection with rivers pining for the cloud i.e. the showers, the *Uttaramegha* uses it about the Yakṣa's wife. One notices that while the first group is used conventionally, the second group evokes more concrete and vivid images : the first separation[14], the empty bed[15], the long days of separation[16] and the nights lengthened by separation[17].

The next word denotative of separation is *viyoga*, which derivatically means '(being) separated (from)'. This word normally occurs by itself, though occasionally it enters a compound. The *Ṛtusaṃhāra* belonging perhaps to the poet's juvenilia uses it singly and in connection with the rainy season[18], once with early autumn[19], and once with spring in the compound

6. VII : 21.
7. Act VII.
8. *Pūrvamegha*, 1.
9. *P.* 8.
10. *U.* 12.
11. *Ibid.*, 24, 29.
12. *Ibid.*, 26.
13. *Ibid.*, 31.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, 24, 29.
16. *Ibid.*, 26.
17. *Ibid.*
18. II : 23.
19. II : 9.

Kāntāviyoga[20]. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* uses it in a compound *sannidhiviyoga*[21], banishment from proximity which merely signified physical absence. The *Vikromarvaśiya* uses it on the occasion of the end of the lovers' temporary separation in the compound *tadviyogodbhave*[22] and another time as *ciraviyoga*, long separation[23]. The *Abhijñānaśākuntala* uses it once in a nondescript fashion : Māḍhavya consoles the king saying that parents cannot bear to see their daughter suffering pangs of separation[24]. We notice that *viyoga* occurs less frequently than *viraha*. It does not connote anything really specific and is almost as generalized and colourless as *viraha*. An additional vowel value adds slightly more weight and sometimes suits the exigencies of the metre better. Independently, as far as the poetic import is concerned *viyoga* does not add anything over the connotation of *viraha*. *Viyukta* with the final conjunct consonant sound forces the reader's attention on the pathos of the separated lover. The *Meghadūta* uses *viyoga* twice in the *Uttaramegha*; once we have *madviyoga*[25] and another time *tvadviyogavyathā*[26]. Both lack any real specification and hardly gain anything from the other member of the compound.

The last word we take up is *viprayoga*; it does not occur in any of the dramas. A marvellous use of *viyukta* (past participle of *viyoga*) is found in verse 38 of the *Uttaramegha* where the Yakṣa sends a message to his wife through the cloud messenger : 'Are you alive and well, my girl ?' Thus asks the one in the Rāmagiri hill, the separated one. Poetically the most significant use of *viyukta* is in the *Kumārasambhava* where in the description of Pārvatī's penance her friend mentions the love-lorn Pārvatī taking pity on the Cakravāka birds separated at night. It really adds a depth to Pārvatī's own separation, her utterly forlorn state. In the *Ṛtusaṃhāra* it occurs in an inflected form : *viprayukta*. The context proves that the word is introduced there not so much for depth of emotion as for the sake of alliteration; the complete line reads, *priye priyaṅguḥ priyaviprayuktā vipāṇḍutām yāti vilāsinīva*. The obvious chain of alliterations requires *viprayukta* which no synonym can replace. But in all other instances *viprayukta* or *viprayoga* has a specific connotation. The *Raghuvaṃśa* describes Rāma and Sītā's return journey by the aerial chariot to Ayodhya. Rāma points at a spot below where he and the

20. VI : 29.
21. V : 9.
22. IV : 41.
23. IV : 42.
24. Act VI just before stanza 10.
25. 17.
26. 45.

rain cloud shed tears at separation from Sītā.[27] When Sītā is abandoned by Rāma she sends an immortal message to him through Lakṣmaṇa saying, 'I shall pray that even in my next life none but you may be my husband, but there be no more separation (*viprayoga*) then.[28] While the first verse of the *Meghadūta* opens in a general vein using *viraha*, the next one which mentions a particular Yakṣa separated from a particular woman, uses *viprayukta*. Verse 10, while generalizing the condition of separated lovers, says hope (of reunion) prevents the woman's heart from splitting at separation. The ideal dream world described in the *Uttaramegha* ends on 'there is no separation there'.[29] The last verse of the *Meghadūta* bears the Yakṣa's blessing to the cloud. May you never experience separation (*viparayoga*) from (your wife) the lightning.

Analysing the above instances we can certainly conclude that Kālidāsa uses *viraha* in a conventional manner to signify simple unqualified separation. The word lacks specificity and any distinctive connotation; the very sound is weak; it lacks even a long vowel to resound its connotative depth or expanse; it does not embody any real significance; hence it is time-worn and evokes only a stock response. *Viyoga* derivatically connotes slightly more, it evokes prior union and present separation, hence it communicates some of the pain of the separated condition. It is frequently semi-impersonal and thus lacks concreteness. *Viprayoga* and *viprayukta*, on the other hand, are almost always personal, never (except the alliterative *Ṛtusaṃahāra* use) vague or generalized. Derivatically it emphasizes the separation by the additional prefix *'pra'* (signifying *prakarṣeṇa*, i.e. intense). Thus it alone is capable of conveying the full poignancy of separation.

Another interesting trait of Kālidāsa's particular predilection for this word is borne out by the syntactical position in which he places it for maximum poetic effect. We shall take three interesting instances : Sītā's prayer gains an unbearable poignancy when she almost chokes on the last heart-rending proof of her love by saying that she yearns for this self-same Rāma—who has caused her such endless suffering—as her husband in the next life.

The word *viprayoga* occurs at the very end of the verse—thus the whole heavy weight of the experience falls with a thud on that word. The word

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27. *tvadviprayogāśru*, XIII : 26.
28. XIV : 66.
29. *viprayagopapattiḥ*, 3.

itself has a conjunct consonant sound where the accent falls. It has a 'body' as far as the sound is concerned and that becomes more evident because of the final position where the final pause stretches the echo and makes the burden of grief linger and vibrate with the resonance. The bitterness and immensity gain in poignancy. The ideal Nightingale world of lovers' paradise in the *Uttaramegha* evoked by a series of associations signifying absence of pain[30] also reaches its emotional climax at the last phrase : no separation. The word there, *viprayogoppattiḥ* bears the full weight of the human hankering for being spared separation from the loved one—the worst fate a lover can experience. The syntactical position greatly helps its connotation and evocative richness. The entire emotional accent of the stanza falls on this word. In the last verse of the poem the Yakṣa also makes the full depth of his yearning for his absent wife real and vivid by wishing that the cloud suffer no separation from his beloved wife. Again the word used is *viprayoga* ; and it is the last word in the verse.

And all these three uses of *viprayoga* have a common characteristic : they evoke an ideal unrealized longed-for condition : the Yakṣa's wishful blessing of freedom from separation for the cloud,[31] of Sītā's bitter prayer for uninterrupted conjugal peace, security and bliss in the next life,[32] and humankind's eternal dream of being spared the anguish of separation.[33] All these uses have a negative suggestion that conjures up the ideal bliss of lovers' union which the harsh realities of life so often rudely thwarts.

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30. *Uttarmegha*. Verse 3.
31. *Ibid.*, last verse.
32. *Raghuvaṃśa*, XIV : 66.
33. *Uttaramegha*, verse 3.

EMENDATIONS IN *JAIMINĪYA BRĀHMAṆA 1.66-104*

H. W. Bodewitz

As was already noticed in my *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*[1] the text of Raghu Vira's edition of the first book is open to improvement. Continuing the list of emendations given there I present here a survey of the emendations which I have made while translating and commenting upon the *Agniṣṭoma* section of the mentioned text.

The present survey covers *JB*. I.66-104. The numbers between brackets refer to page and line of the edition. An extensive argumentation in support of the emendations will be given in the commentary on the translation of the complete *Agniṣṭoma* section which will be published later. Caland's transcript, to which I sometimes refer, is in the University Library, Utrecht.

66 : *prajananaṃ jyotir agnir devatānāṃ jyotir virāṭ chandasāṃ jyotir virāḍ vācaḥ/ agnau saṃtiṣṭhate/* [30.1]
See *TS*. 7.1.1.1.
stomo vā etat stome jyotir dadhad eti [30.9]
See *TS*. 7.1.2.
atha yat stomas stoman ... abhipraṇayati [30.10]
See *TS*. 7.1.2.

69 : *mano* for *jano* [31.4]
Cf. *ṚV*. 10.129.4. For *manas* as a *devatā*
See *JB*. 1.70.

70 : *yajño vā avati* (for *avatiḥ*) [31.31]
See *PB*. 6.4.5.
audumbarī mīyate (for *audumbarīm īyate*) [31.33]
See *PB*. 6.4.6.

1. I 1-65, (Leiden 1973), p. 4 ff.

. . . *devatābhyāṃ namaskaroty ārtvijyaṃ kariṣyan* [31.34]
Punctuation! Cf. *PB*. 6.4.8.

71 : *poṣukā ha tvai bhavanti* . . . . [32.8]
A dependent clause ("if the pillar is made of fresh Udumbara wood") has fallen out.

upaspṛśyā3ṃ nopaspṛśyā3m [32.9]
Cf. *TS*. 7.5.7, 1 and see Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 552.

pradhamet (for *prathamet*) [32.10]
See the "Studies" of the editors, published in Fel. Vol. Kirfel and Frenz, *Verben im JB.*, p. 20.

upaspṛśya nanv āspṛṣṭenaivodgeyam. [32.11]
(for *upaspṛśya nesvāspṛṣṭenaivodgeyam* ...)
See also Caland's note on *PB*. 6.4.13;
Frenz, o.c., p. 21-22; author, *JRAS* 1977, p. 154. I translate: "Indeed touching (the pillar) there should be sung (by the *Udgātṛ*) in a very free way (hardly 'touching' the verse on which the Sāman is based)".

72 : *niyanti* (for *nīyanti*) [32.24]

abhiṣṭyai (for *abhiṣṭyai*) [32.27]
See *PB*. 6.4.15. Caland's translation "for the seeking of.." is to be replaced by "in order to honour" (*iṣṭi* from *yaj*).

abhipritlyai (for *abhipretyai*) [32.27]
See *PB*. 6.4.15.

ā priṇāthām (for *priṇīthām*) [32.29]
See *LSS*. 1.7.7.

73 : *karavāmemaṃ kasyāṃ cid ācitīti* (for *citācitīti*) [32.35]
See *JRAS* 1977, p. 150.

74 : *sahasravartani* (for *sahasravartanim*)
See Parpola's note on *LSS*. 1.8.9 and *SadvB*. 1.4.11.

79 : *adhyūhyapāṃśusavana iti grāvā*.. (for *adhyūhya "imā pāṃśusavanaḥ" iti grāvā*). [35.14]
See *PB*. 6.6.5; *LSS*. 1.10.13.

viśam (for *viśy*) [35.15]
See Bloomfield's Concordance. I translate "Here I push the people on so and so",

viṭ tiṣṭhati (for *vitiṣṭhati*) [35.16]
See the "Studies" of the editors referring to Whitney's MSS.

abhi prakṣīnānnahīnam ? (for *abhiprakṣīnāhīnam*) [35.16]

yad idam asmai vacane vada iti (for *vaceti*) [35.17]
"(saying "I have hereby deputed to this brahmin") whatever I proclaim here to him in an official announcement".

anantaro (for *anantaram*) [35.19]
Cf. *Kauṭ. Arthaś.* 6.2.19 *bhūmyanantaraḥ prakṛtyamitraḥ.*

81 : *asti hi ... nyaktam* belongs to the preceding paragraph. [36.6]

81 : *sāvasinau* (?) (for *savāsinau*) [36.19]
("having inhabitants who are sāvasa"; on this term see author, *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I.1-65*, p. 90, n. 38).

82 : *sarpsyan* (or *srapsyan*) for *sarpptyan?;* the text in my copy of the edition is not quite clear) [36.27]

tayāparigṛhītayā (for *tayā parigṛhītayā*) [36.30]

83 : *eva tad* (?) (for *etad*) (*tad* "then, on that occasion") [37.4]

udañca itvā (for *udañcayitvā*) [37.4]
See the "Studies" of the editors (referring to Whitney's MSS) and cf. *JSS.* 1.10 *ta udañco bahiṣpavamānāya sarpanti*

84 : *'procya* (for *procya*) [37.14]

'vidvān (for *vidvān*) [37.22]

85 : *anapavyāthāya* (for *anapavyādhāya*) [37.33]
See the "Studies", Caland's *Auswahl*, Renou's "*Index Védique*" and cf. *JSS.* 1.17 *devarathasyānapavyāthāya*

87 : *parāsiṣu hi stuvanti* (for *parācībhis stuvanti*) [38.27]
See Caland's *Auswahl* and Oertel, "*Zu den Kasusvariationen..*", *Bayer. Akad.* 1937/8, p. 76 ff. and cf. 1.89 *parāciṣu stuvanti.*

88 : *yad dhiṃkṛtya n'oṃkuryāt* (for *yad dhiṃkṛtyenoṃkuryāt* [39.2]
See Ghosh, *Fragments of Lost Brāhmaṇas*, p. 1.

parāñ evānnādyam iyāt (for *parāñ devānnādyam iyāt* [39.3]

yajūḥ .. abhivyāharati (for *yad yajuḥ .. abhivyāharati*) [39.5]
See Ghosh, *Fragments*, p. 1.

vittaṃ (for *vit*) [39.9]
See Ghosh, *Fragments*, p. 1.

89 : *kalpate 'smai. "diśaḥ ... uddiśo diśa" iti* (for *kalpate 'smai. "diśaḥ... uddiśo diśa iti*) [39.13]

(*kalpate 'smai* "Prajāpati is favourable for him")
For the formulas see *JSS*. 1.11.

ye devasomasya (?) (for *yad eva somasya*) [39.17]

Cf. *bhakṣita eva devas somo* (MSS : *devasomo*) *bhavati* [39.22]

90 : *upeva vā ātman prajopaivātman prajayā* ... (for *upeva vā ātman prajayā*..) [40.4]
See MSS ... *prajevaivātman*, in Caland's transcript

prajevaivātman aparu u (?) (for *aparedyuḥ*) [40.6]

yajño vai gobhir bhaṅgaḥ—paśavo hi yajñaḥ—pariṣkṛtaḥ (?) (for *yajño vai gobhir bhaṅgaḥ paśavaḥ pariṣkṛto*) [40.7]
Cf. *ŚB*. 3.1.4.9 *paśavo hi yajñaḥ*.

93 : *pra prajayā paśubhir jāyate* (for *prajayā paśubhir jāyate*) [41.13]

94 : *jyaiṣṭhyāya śraiṣṭhyāya* (for *jyaiṣṭhyāya*) [41.23]

95 : *anyatoghāty* (for *anyato vāty*) [42.7-8]
Cf. *ŚB*. 1.6.3.33.

96 : *eṣaḥ ity evainaṃ jyaiṣṭhyāya* ... (for *eṣa eṣaḥ ity enāṃ jyaiṣṭhyāya* ..) [42.24]
Cf. *JB*. 1.94 *ete ity evainān jyaiṣṭhyāya* .. [41.22]

100 : *saṃtatam* (for *satatim*) [43.30]

101 : *hiṃkuryād evety abhāyi dāyivāṃ o yā hiṃ kṣate bhūr* (for *hiṃkuryād eva* .... *bhūḥ*) [44.10]
The Jaiminīya Sāman form of *abhi devām iyakṣate* (*JS*. 3.1.3 ; *SV*. 2.1)

reto na vicchinatti (crit. ed. omits *na*) [44.11]
One does not split the seed, if one does not utter the Hiṃ-sound with a following Visarga *ā* (see *LSS*. 1.12.10 with Parpola's note on *viṣṛj*).

mradīyo (for *mamṛdiyo*) [44.11]

Punctuation : .. *mradīyo iva vā ato reto dāruṇatara iva hiṃkāraḥ/api vainad* ... (instead of ... *iva/ hiṃkāro 'pi* ...) [44.11 f.]

102 : *niruktena vai vāco bhuñjate 'niruktam* (instead of .. *bhuñjate/niruktam* ..) *asyā upajīvanīyam* [44.33]
Cf. *JB*. 1.102 and *ṢaḍvB*. 2.1.25.

104 : *prāṇyāpānyāt* (for *prāṇyāpānyānyāt*) [45.19]

parokṣeṇaivaināṃ tad (for *parokṣeṇaivainān tad*) [45.20]

gṛhā (for *grahā*) in agreement with Caland's transcript [45.34]

krator (for *kṛtor*). Cf. *JUB.* 3.39.3-10 (ed. Sharma, 3.7.2.3-10). [45.35]

Further suggestions for emendations in *JB.* 1.66-364 are welcome and, if communicated to the author, will be duly accounted for in the announced publication.

HYMN TO NĪLAKAṆṬHA IN VAJRABODHI'S VERSION

Lokesh Chandra

Vajrabodhi, Chin-kang-chih in Chinese, was a native of Malaya in South India. Malaya is located near the Potalaka mountain where Avalokiteśvara's palace was situated. His father was the Royal Preceptor of the Pallava king of Kanchi. He came to China by sea, and reached Canton in A.D. 719. By his untiring exertions, Vajrayāna or Tantric Buddhism gained popularity in China. He translated a number of Tantric texts into Chinese. During the years A.D. 731-736 he translated the hymn to Nīlakaṇṭha under the title *Ch'ien-shou ch'ien-yen kuan-tzu-tsai p'u-sa kuang-ta-yüan-man wu-ai ta-pei-hsin t'o-lo-ni chou-pen*[1]. The literal meaning of the title is: the complete and unabridged *dhāraṇī* of the Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, the Mahākāruṇika. This title was borrowed (with changes) from the earlier translation of Bhagavaddharma done during A.D. 650-661. Nanjio 320 has translated the title of Bhagavaddharma's version as: *Sahasrabāhu–saharsākṣa-avalokiteśvara–bodhisattva–mahāpūrṇa–mahā-ḳāruṇikahṛdaya-dhāraṇī-sūtra*. It should be noted that Nīlakaṇṭha does not appear in the Chinese title. Nīlakaṇṭha was an epiphany of Hari-hara who was the Sovereign patron of the State.[2] The epithets *sahasrabhuja* and *sahasrākṣa* represent his invincible and all-pervading power lending credence and authority to the State.

The Nīlakaṇṭha hymn is available in eight Chinese translations or transliterations :

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1. T 1061, K 1270, not in Nj.
2. Lokesh Chandra 1979 : 12.

A.D.	Translator	K	T	Nj
624-649	Chin-t'ung	K 292	T 1057b	Nj 318
650-661	Bhagavaddharma	K 294	T 1060	Nj 320
709	Bodhiruci	K 293	T 1058	Nj 319
731-736	Vajrabodhi	K 1270	T 1061	—
—	,,	—	T 1112	—
723-	Amoghavajra	—	T 1111	—
723-	,,	—	T 1113b	—
14th cent.	Dhyānabhadra	—	T 1113a	—

All the versions show variations in readings and have conspicuous additions and omissions. In an earlier paper (1979) I had taken up the reconstruction of the versions of Amoghavajra and Chih-t'ung. These reconstructions can be considerably and substantially improved by the version of Vajrabodhi. This paper presents the reconstituted text of the Nīlakaṇṭha hymn on the basis of the *Siddham* text given by Vajrabodhi. The original readings of the *Siddham* text are cited in the notes. The *Siddham* text is preceded by its Chinese transliteration. T.1062A is again a Chinese transliteration by Vajrabodhi of a shorter version of the hymn.

The *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha*[3] gives the following *hṛdaya* of Avalokiteś-vara : "*Om Padma Nīlakaṇṭha śaṃkha-cakra-gadā-padma-pāṇi vyāghra-carma-nivasana kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavita 'jina-carma-vāma-skandhottariya Nārāyaṇa-[rupa-dha] ra tri-netra mumcāṭṭahāsaṃ, praveśaya samayān, dehi me siddhim, Avalokiteśvara hūṁ*". It has all the four attributes of Viṣṇu : *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā* and *padma*, while *gadā*, 'mace' is missing in Vajrabodhi's version. Its *Nārāyaṇa-rūpa-dhara* helps to restore the corresponding reading in our version[4].

The present hymn preserves incontrovertible evidence of the origin of Nīlakaṇṭha Avalokiteśvara. He is a metamorphosis of Harihara, a syncretic form of Viṣṇu (Hari) and Śiva (Hara). The hymn invokes Hari in the vocative form *Hare* twice. Nārāyaṇa and Mahā-Padma-nābha are also invoked. Padmanābha is an aspect of Viṣṇu. Three attributes of Viṣṇu are referred to : *padma-hasta*, *cakrāyudha*, *śaṅkha-śabda-nibodhana*. The fourth attribute *gadā*, 'mace' may be found in another version.

Śiva invoked as Nīlakaṇṭha, Maheśvara, Niścareśvara, Tripuradahan-eśvara, and as the great *yogin* : *siddha-yogeśvara* (twice), *mahāsiddha-vidyādhara*,

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3. P. 324.
4. Note 15 .

mahāsiddha-yogeśvara, *mahāsiddha*, *siddha-vidyādhara*, *sarva-siddheśvara*. His aspect as the supreme *siddha* can be seen in Central Asian murals[5]. He is prayed to as Mahākāla, and spoken of as of black colour (*kṛṣṇa-varṇa*), of the colour of long darkness (*dīrgha-tama*), of the long dark fortnight (*dīrgha-kṛṣṇa-pakṣa*). The following four attributes also derive from those of Śiva :

(i) His hairstyle is a crown of black matted locks (*kṛṣṇa-jaṭā-makuṭa-dhara*).

(ii) A black serpent or cobra forms his sacred thread : *kṛṣṇa-sarpakṛta-yajñopavīta* (twice).

(iii) He has subdued the deadly poison : *halāhala-viṣa-nirjita*.

(iv) He roars with laughter (*mahāṭṭahāsa*). *Aṭṭāhāsa* is specific to the laughter of Śiva.

(v) Like Śiva, the deer-skin covers his left shoulder (*vāma-skandha-veṣa-sthita-kṛṣṇājina*) and a tiger-skin is his apparel (*vyāghra-carma-nivasana*).

"The triple god Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha, who is the same as Dattātreya, Narasiṃha, Vāmana and Varāha may well be worshipped by all, and they bestow their blessings on all alike".[6] In the present *dhāraṇī* we find that Nīlakaṇṭha has the faces of a *varāha* and of a *siṃha* : *varāha-mukha* or *mahāvarāha-mukha* and *siṃha-mukha* or *mahāsiṃha-mukha*.

The end fragment of the *Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī* in Brāhmī and Sogdian from Tun-huang (1912) is a valuable help to correct a number of readings. Its important variants are cited in the critical apparatus.

The vocative final *e* in *padma-hasta e*, *vegadhara e*, and *rūpa-dhara e* is a fascinating stylistic element. It foreshadows its use in Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*[7] *dhṛta-kuṇḍala e*,[8] *bhava-khaṇḍana e*,[9] *jana-rañjana e*, et passim.

Namo Ratna-trayāya

1. *Namaḥ Āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya mahākāruṇikāya sarva-bandhana-cchedana-karāya sarva-bhava-samudra-*

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5. Lokesh Chandra 1982 : 1-3.
6. Rao 1914:1.238.
7. 2.1.
8. 2.2.
9. 2.3.

śoṣaṇa[10]*-karāya sarva-vyādhi-praśamana-karāya sarvely*[11]*-upadrava-vināśana-karāya sarva-bhayebhyo trāṇa-karāya* |

2. *Tasmai namaskṛtvā oṃ*[12] *nama āryāvalokiteśvara-bhāṣita-Nīlakaṇṭhebhyo*[13] *namaḥ*[14] |

3. *hṛdayaṃ vartayiṣyāmi*[15] *sarvārtha-sādhakaṃ śubhaṃ* |
ajeyaṃ sarva-bhūtānaṃ bhava-mārga-viśodhakam ||

4. *Tadyathā* |

Oṃ āloke ālokamati lokātikrānta ehi hare āryāvalokiteśvara mahābodhisattva | *he bodhisattva he mahābodhisattva he virya-bodhi-sattva he mahākāruṇikā smara*[16] *hṛdayam* | *hi-hi hare āryāvalokiteśvara maheśvara paramārtha*[17] *citta mahākāruṇikā kuru-kuru karma* | *sādhaya-sādhaya vidyām* |[18] *dehi-dehi tvaraṃ kāmam*[19] | *gama-vigama siddha-yogeśvara* | *dhuru-dhuru viyati*[20] *mahā-viyati* | *dhara-dhara dharendre-śvara*[21] | *cala-cala vimala-mūrte*[22] *āryāvalokiteśvara jina kṛṣṇa-jaṭā-makuṭa-dhara* | *pralamba-vilamba*[23] *mahāsiddha-vidyādhara vara-vara mahāvara bala-bala mahābala cara-cara mahācara*| *kṛṣṇa-varṇa*[24] *dirgha kṛṣṇa-pakṣa dirgha-tama*[25] *he padma-hasta e* | *cara-cara niścareśvara*[26] *kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavita* | *ehy-ehi mahā-varāha-mukha tripura-dhaneśvara nārāyaṇa-rūpa-bala-vega-dhara e*[27] | *he nilakaṇṭha he mahākāla ha'āhala-viṣa-nirjita lokasya rāga-viṣa-vināśana dveṣa-viṣa-vinaśana moha-viṣa-vinā-śana hulu-hulu mara* | *hulu-hale mahā-padmanābha* | *sara-sara siri-siri suru-suru muru-muru* | *buddhya-buddhya bodhaya-bodhaya maitreya*[28] *nīlakṇṭha* | *ehy-ehi vāma*[29]-

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10. V. *sukṣaṇa.*
11. V. *sarvetityubhandrava*– (the breakup of the *sandhi* of *iti* is indicated).
12. V. *i* (it is a mistake for *oṃ* which is written ॐ. As *oṃ* is rare it was replaced by the commoner *i* ̈ by adding two dots above).
13. V. *nirakamtabhai.*
14. V. *nāma* for *nama(ḥ).*
15. V. *vrataicchyami.*
16. V. *smira.*
17. V. *poramatra*–.
18-19. V. *ṇihe-ṇihe tavaraṁ kamaṁ.*
20-21. V. *viyatti. viyat* 'sky'. *Dharā* 'earth' occurs in the next sentence. Nīlakaṇṭha lords over both heaven and earth.
22. V. *vimalamara.*
23. V. *praramma-viramma, Tunhuang: avalaṁmba vā pralambaṁ:*
24. V. *kṛṣṇivṛṇa.*
25. V. *dīrghatana, Tunhuang: nirghātana.*
26. V. *diśacaleśvara.*
27. V. *varupa-vara-mārga-ari.* Compare *STTS* where Tibetan has *ruba-dare* (=*rūpadhara e*), *Thunhuang: –vegadharī.*
28. V. *maite, Tunhuang: vāma*–.
29. V. *mamą*–.

sthita-siṁha-mukha / hasa-hasa muñca-muñca mahāṭṭahāsaṃ / ehy-ehi mahāsiddha-yogeśvara / bhaṇa-bhaṇa[30] *vāca*[31] / *sādhaya-sādhaya vidyāṃ / smara-smara taṃ*[32] *bhagavantaṃ lokita-vilokitam lokeśvaraṃ tathāgataṃ/ dadāhi me darśana-kāmasya darśanam/ prahlādaya māṃ*[33] *svāhā/ siddhāya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/ siddha-yogeśvarāya svāhā/ nilakaṇṭhāya svāhā/ mahāsiṃhamukhāya*[34] *svāhā/ siddha-vidyādha-rāya svāhā/ padmahastāya svāhā/ kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavītāya svāhā/ mahā-lakuṭa-dharāya svāhā / cakrāyudhāya svāhā/ śaṅkha-śabda-nibodhanāya svāhā/ vāma*[35]*-skandha-veṣa-sthita*[36] *-kṛṣṇājināya svāhā/ vyāghra-carma-nivasanāya svāhā/ lokeśva-rāya svāhā/ sarva-siddheśvarāya svāhā /*

5. *namo bhagavate āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya mahākāruṇi-kāya/ siddhyantu me mantrapadāni*[37] *svāhā //*

ABBREVIATIONS

K=Korean *Tripiṭaka*

Lewis R. Lancaster, *The Korean Buddhist Canon : a descriptive Catalogue*, Berkeley 1979 (University of California Press).

Lokesh Chandra 1979

Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara as the Buddhist apotheosis of Harihara, New Delhi (International Academy of Indian Culture).

Lokesh Chandra 1982

Notes on Central Asian Buddhist Iconography, New Delhi (International Academy of Indian Culture).

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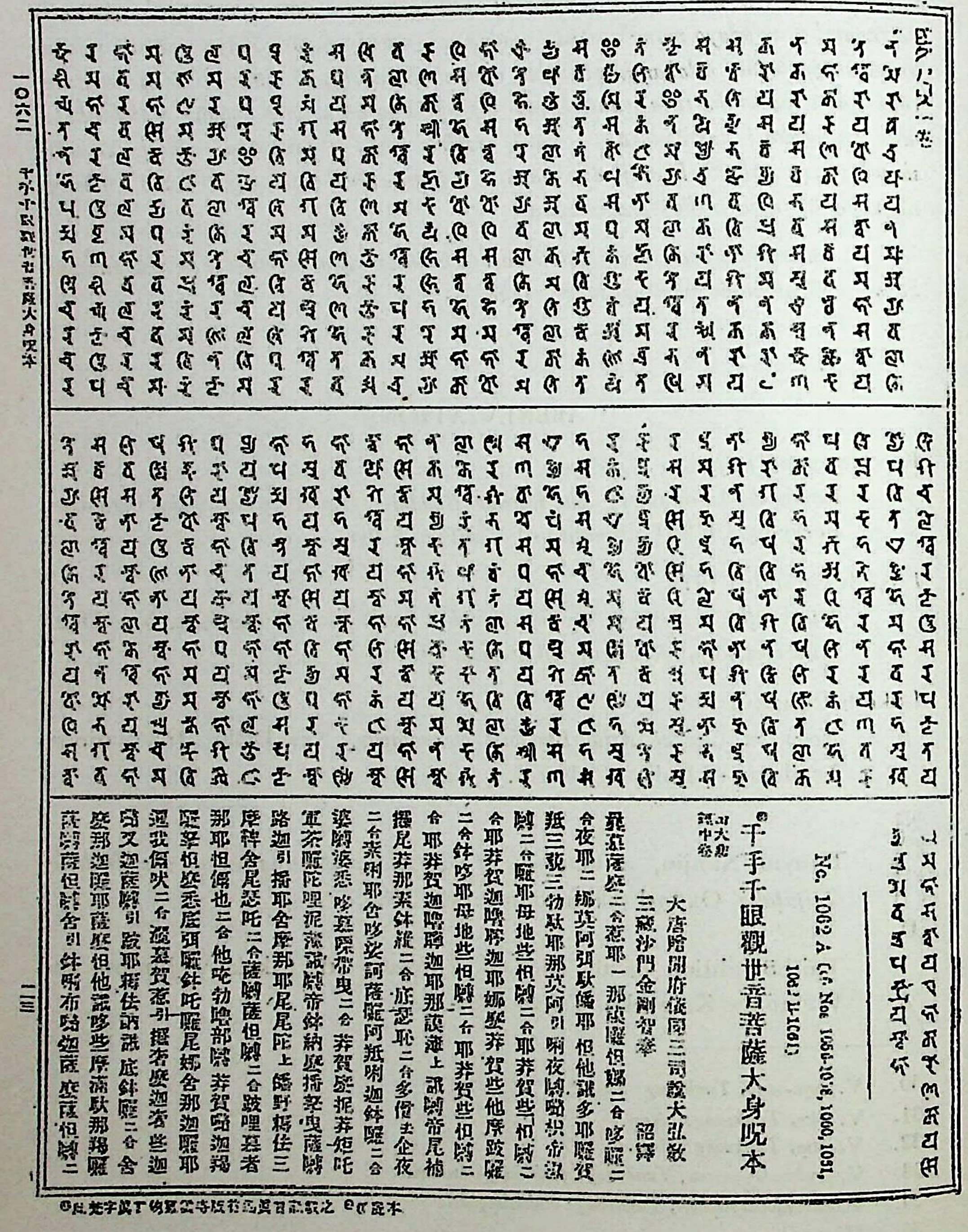
Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1883.

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Taishō edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, ed. Takakusu Junjiro and Watanabe Kaigyoku, Tokyo 1924-1929.

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30. V. *saṇa-saṇa*, *Tunhuang: haṇa* 2.
31. V. *vāce*, *Tunhuang: vācem*.
32. V. *śaṃ*, *Tunhuang: ntaṃ*.
33. V. *prakradayamana*, *Tunhuang: prahlādaya menaṃ*.
34. V. *mahādarasyiṃha–*, *Tunhuang: mahāsiṃgha–*
35. V. *mama–*.
36. V. *viṣa-sthita–*, *Tunhuang: –veṣa-sthita–*,
37. V. *vantrapadāya*,



Vajrabodhi's version in Siddham script (T. 1061)

Tunhuang

L. de la Vallée Poussin and R. Gauthiot, Fragment final de la Nīlakaṇṭhadhāraṇī en Brāhmī et Sogdienne, *JRAS* 1912.629ff. See S. Lévi. *JRAS* 1912:1063.

V

Vajrabodhi, T. 1061

Rao 1914

T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Madras 1914 (reprinted in 1968 by Paragon Book Reprint Corp.).

THE *PRIYĀNUPRASĀDANA VRATA* (*VIKRAMORVAŚĪYAM*)

Sadashiv A. Dange

The *Priyānuprasādana-vrata* is mentioned in Act III of the *Vikramorvaśiyam*. The background of the *vrata* is that it is accomplished by the queen of Purūravas (Devī, the daughter of the king of Kashi), to please her husband, Purūravas. As she mentions in the drama, by the performance of the *vrata* she gives freedom to her husband to make love to any woman he likes, or who likes him (the woman being Urvaśī in the present context). This she does keeping the divine couple of the moon and constellation Rohiṇī as witness, which had a conjunction on that particular day (*devatā-mithunam rohiṇī-mṛgalāñchanam sākṣīkṛtya*). Apart from the element of dramatic irony involved in the scene, as Urvaśī and Citralekhā are present in the background, the details of the scene have posed a problem for scholars. The problem is two-fold : (i) The shape of the moon, which is described as looking like a *khaṇḍa-modaka*; and (ii) The period of the vow. Let us examine.

(i) **The shape of the moon**—*khaṇḍamodaka* :

The mixed interlude (*miśra-viṣkambhaka*) of this act refers to the close of the day, as one of the disciples of Bharata says that the bathing time of the preceptor at evening has been transgressed. The close of the day is corroborated by the speech of the chamberlain who describes the time and the activities of various creatures at it (*divasāvasāna-vṛttānta*) at the royal palace. The elderly ladies of the harem are going about with the 'evening-lamps (*sāndhya-maṅgala-dipikāḥ*) placing them at places where the bali-offerings of flowers have been placed.[1] The smoke of the offerings offered into the fire

1. V. 2.

goes aloft. The king has just finished his evening *sandhyā* (*avasita-sāndhya-japya*). Hence the chamberlain goes to tell him that it is time to go to the terrace of the Maṇi-harmya palace whence the conjunction of Rohiṇī and the Moon could be well visible. The king immediately goes to the place, where the queen also is to arrive and wait till the conjunction (*yoga*) lasts. As they reach the terrace, there is the glow of light in the east (*timira-ricyamāna-pūrvadiśāmukham*...). The Vidūṣaka describes the on-coming moon, now, as "looking like a *khaṇḍa-modaka*". The king asks the torch-bearers to go and rest, as there is bright moon-light (*abhivyaktāyām candrikāyām*...).

The events would show that there was not much time between the sun-set and the moon-rise. At the same time, the moon had not already risen; there was a short spell of gathering dusk; yet, the dusk also did not gather sufficiently. The placing of the evening-lamps is obviously an usual custom, as is the offering into the fire at the close of the day and before the coming on of the night. The visibility of the moon after the dusk had started gathering, and its being in the eastern quarter are important points. This would show that the *tithi* was immediately the very next after the Full-moon day. As such, the moon would not look like a *modaka* that is broken. This comment is in view of the fact that many scholars have translated that the moon looked like a "broken *laḍḍu* (sweet ball)".[2] This would set at nought the suggestion, that the *tithi* was *Caturthi*. It is also to be noted, that the *pakṣa* cannot be the bright one; for, in that *pakṣa* the moon's digits would show themselves from the west coming to the east later in the *pakṣa*, and rising before the sun-set as the moon gets fuller. There are other reasons to

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2. Ed. by R. D. Karmarkar, Poona, 1932 (Second ed.); M. R. Kale. Bombay, 1932 (Seventh ed.); S. B. Athlye and S. S. Bhave, Bombay, 1932. Subsequent editions by groups of teachers (Godbole, Karnik etc., and Sane–Upadhyay, both, Bombay, 1971) do not add anything to the point mentioned above. Actually, these editions were meant for helping students at examination; hence, I do not expect any serious effort at interpretation. The reference to the *modaka*-s and the *dūrvā* have led the above scholars to believe that it is the Gaṇeśa-*vrata* of the *Saṅkaṣṭī-caturthī*. It may be noted, however, that, though the *dūrvā* is mentioned in the context of the worship of Gaṇeśa in the Puranic texts (cf. *Śiva P*. II.18.41, 44), in the present context, the *dūrvā*-shoots are worn by the queen (Auśīnarī) in her hair (*pavitra-dūrvāṅkura-lāñchita-alakā*). It may also be noted that in the earlier Purāṇas, like the *Matsya* and even *Agni*, Gaṇeśa is associated with *laḍḍuka*, rather than *modaka* (*Matsya P*. 259.53; *Agni P*. 50.26; cf. his name Laḍḍukeśvara). Kale renders *khaṇḍa-modaka* as *khaṇḍa-śarkarā-piṇḍa* and explains the expression as "A ball of sugar cut off at one side". This is an obvious confusion about the word *khaṇḍa*. His gloss is further interesting, "By *modaka* we are to understand a mere round lump of sugar, as other *laḍḍū*-s cannot be so white as to appear like the moon" Notes P. 50). The moon is never purely white!

believe that the *tithi*, though not clearly mentioned in the drama, is the one that shows the moon in a full form. The first day after the Full-moon-day would show the moon practically the same as that on the Full-moon-day. The moon is described by the epithet, in the present context, *mṛga-lāñchana* (*rohiṇī-saṃyogena-adhikaṃ śobhate mṛgalāñchanaḥ*), which cannot be said to have been used just traditionally by a dramatist like Kālidāsa. The fact is that the reddish hue of Rohiṇī makes the moon appear redder. Further, the mention of the *devatā-mithuna* would indicate the moon to be full, and not *khaṇḍita*. This would show that it is not correct to understand the word *khaṇḍa* in *khaṇḍa-modaka* as "broken" (*khaṇḍita*).

The conjunction af Rohiṇī with the full-moon appears to be a special occasion, not coming often. Though, like other constellations, Rohiṇī joins the moon every month, it is not the full moon always. The full-moon and Rohiṇī had a speciality, as will be clear from some other examples. Thus, in the *Śākuntala*, when Duṣyanta finally gets re-united with Śakuntalā, the former compares her with Rohiṇī that united with the Full-moon after the eclipse is over.[3] The reference to *uparāga* denotes the full-moon-day. We may take another example. This is from the *Kādambarī*. The context is the death of Puṇḍarīka. When the moon is described as rising in the eastern quarter, it is not only described as looking like the circle of the hoods of Śeṣa (*śeṣa-phaṇa-maṇḍala*), but also "appearing red due to fresh rise, as if reddened due to the lack-dye from the feet of Rohiṇī, who is angry in love (*rati-kalaha-kupita-rohiṇī-caraṇa-ālaktaka-rasa-lāñchita*)."[4] The tradition of the vow at the conjunction of the Full-moon and the constellation Rohiṇī is attested by the *Padma* and the *Matsya Purāṇa*-s, which prescribe the *Rohiṇī-candra vrata*. The *Matsya P.*[5] prescribes that when on the bright Fifth of a month or on a Full-moon-day there is Monday, or that when there is the Rohiṇī constellation on the Full-moon-day, one should observe the *vrata*.[6] The name of the *vrata* is mentioned as *Rohiṇī-candra-śayana-vrata*. One is enjoined to take at this *vrata* 28 morsels of food, which is in keeping with the fullness of the month, indicating also the fullness of the moon.

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3. *uparāgānte śaśinaḥ samupagatā rohiṇī yogam*, VII.22.
4. *Kādambarī*, Peterson's Ed., Bombay Un., Para 166, also 203.
5. 5 .1-28.
6. See also P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*. V-i, P. 395. Kane does not mention the bright Fifth. Another occasion for the worship of Rohiṇī and Candra is the dark Eighth of *Bhādrapada*, the day of the birth of Kṛṣṇa, if it is marked by the presence of the constellation Rohiṇī. Like the *Rohiṇī-candra-śayana-vrata* (to be mentioned further), here the original vow of the worship of the moon and Rohiṇī is superimposed and influenced by Kṛṣṇa-worship.

Against this background we have to examine the term *khaṇḍa-modaka*, to which the moon is likened. That it could not be the broken sweet ball (*laḍḍu*) is clear from the facts noted above. It may also be noted that *modaka* and *laḍḍu* were not the same thing, though in later period they are taken to denote the same thing. The *Skanda Purāṇa* appears to make a difference between the two; as, it mentions both.[7] The *Brahmavaivarta P.* also mentions them separately.[8] The *Skanda Purāṇa* mentions various types of *modaka*-s: prepared from *cārabīja*,[9] from coconut, almond, *kaṇabīja*, sesame and gum (*vṛkṣaniryāsa*)[10]. These ingredients are mentioned even for the preparation of the *pheṇikā*-s which are said to be prepared by frying them in clarified butter.[11] On the basis of this detail, we might not be wrong in assuming that the *modaka*-s were, originally, prepared by getting them fried. This may be a surmise; and we might let it rest at that, as we are not concerned with it in the present discussion. Though there is no mention of *khaṇḍa-modaka* in these types, we have other preparations where the word *khaṇḍa* occurs; and there is no context of the moon, nor is there any indication of the meaning "broken". Thus, we have mention, at one and the same place, of *karṇikā*-s filled in with sugar and ghee[12] and of *khaṇḍa-maṇḍaka*.[13] Here the difference is sought to be made between the preparation with *śarkarā* and *khaṇḍa*. We have other references to simple *maṇḍaka*-s. The word *khaṇḍa-maṇḍaka* cannot be taken against *vartula*, indicating the "broken" and the round varieties; for, that has never been the case. At another place we have reference to the *laḍḍuka*-s to be offered to the god Gaṇeśa; and they are enjoined to be prepared from *ājya* and *khaṇḍa*[15]. This is, obviously, a preparation with ghee and *khaṇḍa*, the latter being a variety of sugar, slightly yellowish brown in colour. This type is called *khāṇḍ-sārī* even this day (Is it an *apabhraṃśa* of *khaṇḍa-śarkarā*). The *khaṇḍa-modaka*, then, is a preparation from the yellowish brown sugar, like the *khaṇḍa-maṇḍaka*. In shape it is (or used to be) round, may be pressed into a lump like the *laḍḍu* or fried like the *pheṇikā*. In either case, it would suit the shape of the

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7. V.1.28.25 and II.5.9.21. The *Brahmavaivarta P.* also mentions them separately.
8. *laḍḍukam caiva;*—IV.8.34 *miṣṭānnam salaḍḍukaugham svādūni modakāni ca*—9.68: also *pakvalaḍḍuka-piṇḍakān, modakānam ca śailam*—13.57
9. *Ibid*[CD].
10. *Ibid.*, 22-23.
11. *kaṭāheṣu praloḍitāḥ. Ibid.*, 20,
12. *śarkarā-ghṛta-pūraiś ca karṇikaiḥ. Ibid.*,V.1.60.51[AB],
13. *khaṇḍamannḍakaiḥ. Ibid.*,[B]
14. *maṇḍakā vartulā ramyāḥ. Ibid.*, II.5.9.10,
15. *naivedye laḍḍukā deyā ājya-khaṇḍa-pariplutāḥ, Ibid.*, V.1.28.25.

full moon. We may add that the word *khaṇḍa* had the connotation, not only of "broken piece", but also of sugar. The *Rāmāśrayi* commentary on the *Amarakośa* renders the word *khaṇḍa* as "piece", and indicates that it was used also for sugar (*ikṣu-vikāra*) and the *Halāyudhakośa* renders it as such (*ikṣu-vikāraḥ khaṇḍa iti bhāṣāyām*). The *Kalpalatā* on the *Vikramorvaśīyam* rightly explains the word *khaṇḍa-modaka* (not as a "broken ball" but) as "modakas prepared with sugar" (*khaṇḍena sitayā nirmitā modakāḥ*). This should settle the meaning of the word *khaṇḍa-modaka* as a round eatable of the size of the full moon prepared with *khaṇḍa*, and not as "broken" ball.

(ii) **The Period of the Vow :**

The details in the drama show that the vow was accomplished in the spring season. It mentions the southern wind (*dakṣiṇa māruta* in the speech of the Vidūṣaka), the wind from the Malaya[16] and the new sprout of the mango tree (Ib. v.7 *cute navā mañjari* etc.) in act II. Act III corroborates it with the mention of the mango (speech of the Vidūṣaka, *bhoḥ aham api yadā śikhariṇim rasālam ca na labhe*..), and with a clear reference to it in the speech of Citralekhā (*vasantānantare uṣṇa-samaye bhagavān sūryo mayopacaritavyaḥ*). Citralekhā has accompanied Urvaśī to the king's palace, now, for the second time; and she would leave her there, as the queen gave the king freedom to have any woman. Thus, the spring has just begun[17], and Urvaśī is to be left with the king for the whole of the season to follow her heart's desire.

Now, it has been pointed out that the conjunction of Rohiṇī with the moon cannot take place on the second, third or even the fourth of the dark half of Caitra.[18] It should be noted, however, that the month *Caitra* is not mentioned in the drama, but we have simply reference to *Vasanta*. To bring in *Caitra* here is to follow the conditions as they are now. The beginning of (*Vasanta*) was never static; it changed. The end of the Autumnal equinox marks also the start of the spring. This happened on the new-moon-day of *Māgha* according to the *Kauṣitaki-Brāhmaṇa*[19]. This was roughly about 800 B.C.[20] At the time of the *Taittiriya Saṃhitā* it fell about 2350 B.C.,

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16. King, V. 6.
17. *upavana-sahakārair darśiteṣv 'aṅkureṣu*, cf. Act II, V.6[D].
18. See Ed. by Kangle R. P.
19. XIX.2, 3; cf. the reading, *māghasyāmāvāsyāyām*.
20. See Macdonell A. A. and Keith A. B., *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Hindi Tr. by Ram Kumar Rai, Chaukhamba, Varanasi, 1962, P. 474,479, Also original Eng. Ed. (London, 1912), under *Nakṣatra*.

according to Ṭilak.[21] The tradition of the start of the spring on the first day of the bright half of *Māgha* (i.e. after the *māghī amāvāsyā*) is indicated even in modern calenders, which mention the *Vasanta Pañcamī* as on the bright fifth of *Māgha*. According to one tradition, the *Vasantotsava* started on the fifth of the bright half of *Māgha*[22], while according to the *Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi*[23], it started on the first of *Caitra*. The latter speaks of the convention followed these days; the former indicates the older convention. Hence, to say that there is some confusion about the mention of the vow in the spring season in the *Vikramorvaśīyam*,[24] in view of the eastern rise of the (full) moon, is not correct. The point has to be further probed. It is very likely that at the times of Kālidāsa, the vow fell on the either the full-moon-day or the very next day, for the reasons already detailed above, of the month *Māgha*. There is another interesting detail which we might consider in this connection. According to the *Padma Purāṇa*[25] a plate filled with thirty *modaka*-s is to be given to a *brāhmaṇa* on the *Māgha Purṇimā*. The queen (*Kāśirāja-putrī*) performs the said *vrata*, and gives a plate of *modaka*-s to the Vidūṣaka[26]. It should also be noted that only the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the oldest of the Purāṇas, mentions the vow associated with the Moon and Rohiṇī. Kālidāsa mentions the vow, though the name is not the same as mentioned in the Purāṇas mentioned above. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*[27] only follows the *Matsya Purāṇa*. The earlier two Purāṇas call it *Rohiṇī-candra-śayana-vrata*, while the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* calls it *Candra-Rohiṇī-śayana-vrata*. There are also many similarities between the *Vikramorvaśīya* and the *Śākuntala* on the one hand and these Purāṇas on the other.

Social aspect of the Vow :

We have noted above that the name of the vow, as it occurs in the Purāṇas has the word *śayana* attached to it; also that the vow clearly mentions the moon and the constellation as a couple (*mithuna*). The drama does not mention the name of the vow in the same way; but, all the same, it mentions

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21. *Ibid.*, Hindi, P. 480, where the authors refer to *Oraion*.
22. *Nirṇayasindhu* 229.
23. 100.
24. Editions mentioned above, at No. 2.
25. *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, 239.16^{CD}.
26. Cf. *hañje, imān aupahārika-modakān ārya-maṇavakāya lambhaya*,
27. *Uttarakhaṇḍa* 206.1-30.

the moon and Rohiṇī as a *mithuna*. The Purāṇas, mentioned above, however, enjoin the worship of Viṣṇu and his 'wife', calling them Soma and Rohiṇī; and, at the end of the vow, golden images of the moon-god and Rohiṇī are enjoined to be given to a brāhmaṇa placing them on a bedstead. This puranic vow seems to be an adaptation of the actual earlier worship of the moon and Rohiṇī, as they appear in the sky, under the influence of the Viṣṇu cult. The *śayana-vrata* has long tradition, and various divine couples are enjoined to be donated, placing them on a bedstead.[28] Actually, the practice of the formation of *mithuna*-s touches the Vedic ritual-context; and actual terracotta seals depicting the *mithuna*-s are seen from the second century B.C.[29] But, it is difficult to say whether the figures on these seals stand for gods. As such, the clear mention of the *vrata* in the *Vikramorvaśīyam* is to be taken as the first literary evidence of the practice. The mention of the *Candra-Rohiṇī-mithuna* in the two Purāṇas and in this drama would also indicate that the period of Kālidāsa and that of the two Purāṇas was not much removed from each other. This would support the Gupta-period theory for Kālidāsa, but with the Vaiṣṇava influence.

The purpose of the *mithuna*-worship is invariably associated with the gift of the *mithuna* placing the deities on a miniature bedstead. A bed, or a spacious chair appears also in the terracotta seals mentioned above; but the figures are nude; it is doubtful if they could be taken as those of gods. All the same, there is no doubt about the fact that the *mithuna*-worship mentioned by Kālidāsa falls in line with this long tradition. The purpose of the *mithuna*-worship has always been the gain of happy conjugal life by the person who performs it. Even in the case of the *Rohiṇī-candra-śayana-vrata*, the worshipper asks for long life and a happy married life, the usual prayer being that the *mithuna* of the gods should keep the worshipper's partner only for himself (or, hereself as the case may be), i.e. to keep the bed in-tact.[30] As against this background, the *Priyānuprasādana vrata*, which is nowhere mentioned in the tradition, has to be taken, along with its name, as a purposeful device to heighten the effect of the whole scene. The *vrata* has a tinge of irony, not unmixed with pathos; for, herein, the queen does not ask the divine

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28. On this point see my article, "The Gift of the Bed", *Brahma Vidyā*, Adyar Vol. 44-45, 1980-81, being K. K. Raja Fel. Vol.
29. See my book, *Sexual Symbolism from the Vedic Ritual*, Delhi, 1979, P. 214ff.
30. Cf. *Vāmana*, *P*.

यथा त्वशून्यं तव देव तल्पं समं हि लक्ष्म्या वरदाच्युतेश ।
सत्येन तेनामितवीर्यविष्णो गार्हस्थ्यनाशो मम नास्तु देव ॥ 17.23.

mithuna to keep her bed in-tact with her partner, but, on the other hand, offers it, along with her beloved husband, to another woman! And this, keeping the divine happy couple witness! The element of pathos is clear in the speech of the Vidūṣaka, who asks the queen, "Lady, is the king indifferent to you?", and in her reply, "Fool, I wish to make my husband happy by resigning my own happiness". The sting in this reply would be better understood by the audience of the time when the *vrata* was popular and when the *devatā-mithuna*-s were worshipped for conjugal happiness.

BUDDHISM AND THE *BHAGAVADGĪTĀ**

Smt. Sindhu S. Dange

The original problem in the *Bhagavadgītā* is very simple, and it is presented very precisely in the very first chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā*, termed "*Arjuna-viṣāda-yoga*". The solution given by Lord Kṛṣṇa for the problem is also very straightforward, as expected :—"As Arjuna was a kṣatriya warrior, he had to fight; because, it was his duty to fight." Now, a question is—when both the problem and the solution thereof are simple and free from complications, why should the *Gītā* run into eighteen chapters, containing so many verses, inviting so many commentaries and interpretations, even upto the present day? Scholars have tried hard to fix up the original form of the *Gītā*, which, obviously, must have been very small. The extensive form of the *Gītā*, with its exposition of *Jñāna*, *Tapas* and *Karma*, and even *Āhāra*, and several other factors require consideration. It may be noted that the last-mentioned topic, viz. *Āhāra*, should have the least consideration on the battle-field, Arjuna is standing in ! Again, the eulogy of the path of Action in unequivocal terms also awaits explanation. We are aware how Bal Gangadhar Tilak has named his work on the *Gītā* as *Gītā-rahasya* or, alternately, *Karmayogaśāstra*, laying stress on the path of action propounded by the *Gītā*. A majority of commentators point out that there is a synthesis of *jñāna* and *karma* in the *Gītā*, thus placing *jñāna* (knowledge) side by side with *karma* (action).

There is no doubt that the stress given upon the path of action was a direct reaction of the path of renunciation. Since the days of Yājñavalkya and Ārtabhāga the problem of *karman* had been discussed; and renunciation was prescribed as a way to get away from the bondage of *karman* (action). *Sannyāsa* (renunciation) was the solution forwarded by the thinkers of the Upaniṣads. On the other flank, Gautama Buddha and Mahāvīra came to

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the same conclusion, after studying the social problem in their own way. From another angle, *Sannyāsa* amounts to escaping from the burning problems of life in the case of the unworthy. Persons who cannot get along with their family, or with the society, could readily accept this path of escapism. This tendency is hinted at in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* (a Sanskrit drama of about 300 B.C. to 100 A.D.)[1]. Even if it is taken for granted that all men who take to *sannyāsa* are sincere, what is to happen to the society ? The old Brahmanical religion based on the fixed set-up of the four *varṇa*-s would, naturally, get off the balance if the renunciation got more importance than necessary. This was exactly what was about to happen at the period round about the *Gītā*. Gautama Buddha (not to speak of Mahāvīra, who is out of scope of this paper, though he was older than the Buddha) selected the way of renunciation from the Brahmanical fold and made it more popular. Now, though the Upaniṣaads aimed at renunciation, they had not totally severed their link with ancient sacrificial religion. This is clear from the fact that sacrifice came to be explained in a metaphorical way, and the traits of the influence of ritual are seen in the mention of the *Mantha-vidyā* in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya* Upaniṣads.[2] But, the religion of the Buddha openly denounced the ritualistic religion of the Brahmanical school and preached the path of renunciation. The popularity of this new creed, especially among the lower strata of the society, which formed the tremendous majority, and also among some high-born thinkers, posed a challenge. The *Gītā* stands as one of the efforts to thwart this challenge.

Here, the point of chronology of the *Gītā* on the one hand and the older Buddhistic treatises on the other, needs a bit of explanation. B.G. Tilak says that the *Gītā* was earlier in point of time than the old Buddhistic treatises.[3] But, this suggestion cannot be accepted. Without going into the details of the problem of date, we may simply point out the opinion of Winternitz, which is generally accepted, that the *Gītā* attained its extensive form at the hands of Sauti, the third editor; and the date of this third edition of the *Gītā* is taken to be between the 3rd-4th century B.C. to the 3rd-4th century A.D.[4] This period roughly coincides with the period of the consolidation of the Buddhistic faith. If we view the *Gītā* minutely, and compare the ideas from it with the old ritualistic tradition, there remains no doubt about the

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1. *sannyāsoḥ kuladūṣaṇair avajanair meghair vṛtaś candramāḥ*, V.14.
2. For *Manthavidyā* see *Bṛh.Up.* 6.3; for *Madhuvidyā* see *Chān. Up.* 3rd chap., also *Bṛh. Up.* 2.5. For the whole life of a human being regarded as a *Yajña* see *Chān. Up.*
3. B. G. Tilak, *Gītārahasya or Karmayogaśāstra*, Vol. II, Poona, First Ed. 1936, pp. 812ff.
4. M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literaturé*, Vol. 1, pt. II, Calcutta, 1963, p. 408.

tendency to re-interpret the old concepts; and, this re-interpretation appears to be on parallel lines to the Buddhistic concepts. We take the details one by one :

1. The *Gītā* is more enthusiastic in propounding the path of Action, as compared to the path of total renunciation. The concept of *yajña* is incorporated in this path of action. From this angle, the *Yajña-cakra* mentioned in the third chapter of the *Gītā* is a clear replica of the *Dharma-cakra* of Buddhism.

2. The *Gītā* denounces the ritualistic religion[5]. It calls the Vedic ritualistic passages by the name "*Puṣpitā Vāk*", and describes the Vedas as "*Traiguṇya-viṣayāḥ*". It may be said that herein we have an echo of the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*[6] But, a minute study would show that the tone of the criticism in the *Gītā* comes near the Buddhist tone as we have in the *Dighanikāya*[7].

3. The *sthita-prajña* of the *Gītā* is said to attain the state of *brahmanirvāṇa*[8]. There can hardly be any doubt about the fact that *brahma-nirvāṇa* is a mixed term; it can be described as Brahmo-buddhist. Tilak says that in this context, the word *nirvāṇa* means "Great joy", and he tries to support the interpretation from a tale from the *Mahābhārata*. But, it has to be accepted that the *Gītā* is at work to stress that the attainment of *nirvāṇa*, as propounded by the new faith is not different from the concept of the union with the Brahman, and that there is no necessity to follow the new path. The shattering of all desires gives one the state called Brāhmī. The shattering of all desires can be accomplished by doing the necessary actions; and, yet one can get into the state of *niḥ-spṛhatva*. Actually, the concept of Brahman has a long history. In the Vedic ritual tradition it conveyed the sense of sacrificial rite; the sacrifice itself was *brahman* (*Nir. parivṛḍham karma*). The Upaniṣads changed the concept, but kept the term. In the thought of the *Gītā*, Brahma contains action; but, it is to be modified with the urge of renunciation of its fruit. Thus, the concept of *brahma-nirvāṇa* tries to go a step further; and, on the social basis, is more charming than the dry *nirvāṇa*. This new angle to the already known concept of Brahman was necessitated by the popularity of the concept of *nirvāṇa* that the Buddhist faith floated in the then society.

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5. II.42-44.
6. I.2.8-11.
7. *Tevijjasutta*, 13.15,
8. *B. G.* II,72,

4. Lord Kṛṣṇa points out that the *cāturvarṇya*—system is based on the qualities and actions (*guṇa-karma*)[9]. The simple sacrificial religion had become sacerdotal. It needed a drastic reform. Buddha had already declared, "One becomes not Brāhmaṇa by birth, nor does he become an a-Brāhmaṇa by birth; by deeds does one become Brāhmaṇa; by deeds does one become a-Brāhmaṇa".[10] Saying that Brāhmaṇahood depends on action (deeds), and not on birth, the Buddha specifies the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa, which are: *tapas*, *brahmacarya* and *saṃ-yama*[11].

5. The *Gītā* refers to the theory of incarnation[12]. Now, the seeds of the theory of incarnation are to be found in the Brāhmaṇa texts.[13] The *Mahāyāna* sect believes in this theory, and has referred to twenty-four Buddhas. The Jātakas note several births of the Buddha when he lived his life as the Bodhisattva. In this case, the Buddhists have drawn upon the Brahmanical faith; and there can be no probable influence of Buddhism on the *Gītā*. But, a parallelism could be noted.

6. In the *Gītā*, from the 7th chapter onwards, the concept of the personal god comes to the fore-front, a trait which was practically absent in the Vedic tradition uptil then. Now, even though Mahāvīra and Buddha taught against incarnations, their followers raised them to the divine status; and various places connected with them came to be frequently visited. The *Mahābhārata* shows Kṛṣṇa as the popular god-head of the times. The manifold forms of Kṛṣṇa would match with the various lives of the Buddha. In fact, Kṛṣṇa dominated the field completely; and, it is proclaimed that whatever is endowed with splendour or glory is only an aspect of this god-head. It is no wonder that he was chosen to give the gospel of the *Gītā*, as the Hindu society needed in the turmoil of the period then.

7. In the 9th chapter of the *Gītā*, the *Rājavidyā*, also called the *Rājaguhya-yoga*, is mentioned; it is kept open for women, the *Vaiśya*-s and the *Śūdra*-s. The mention of women indicates the enhancement of

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9. *B.G.* IV. 13

10. न जच्चा ब्राह्मणो होति न जच्चा होति अब्राह्मणो ।
कम्मना ब्राह्मणो होति कम्मना होति अब्राह्मणो ।। *Suttanipāta* 3.9.57.

11. तपेन ब्रह्मचरियेन संयमेन दमेन च ।
एतेन ब्राह्मणो होति एतं ब्राम्हणमुत्तमं ।। *Ibid.*, 62.

12. 4.7-8.

13. *Śat. Br.*, I.8.1 for the Fish; I.9.3.9 for the Dwarf; VI.1., 1.12 for the Tortoise; XIV.1.2.11 for the Boar; *Taitt. Saṃ.*, I.10.8 for the Boar etc,

their status, if it is remembered that the Law-books (the Smṛtis) denied them the right to recit the Vedic *mantra*-s. This appears to be a reflection, or a reaction, of the inclusion of women as nuns in the Jaina and the Buddhistic order. Again, the mention of the *Śūdra*-s is noteworthy, beyond doubt, and shows a re-adjustment of the old religion to the new times.

8. The 17th chapter of the *Gītā* deals with the *Śraddhā-traya-vibhāga*, giving an exposition of the three-fold faith, food, sacrifice, penance and gifts. This would indicate that the *Gītā* is becoming an all-comprehensive treatise. The reference to gifts (*dāna*) comes again in the 18th chapter[14]. The reference to *dāna* is specially to be marked. Though there are a good number of instances to praise the *dāna*[15], a regular philosophy of gifts (if we may say so !) in the *Gītā* has a direct parallel in the Buddhistic Jātakas and the Aṭṭhakathās of Buddhaghoṣa present a spectacle of princes, prosperous merchants and courtesans relinquishing everything and turning recluses, lavishing rich gifts for the construction and maintenance of big monasteries.

Other notable points in this connection are the mention of the *Daivī sampat* in the 16th chapter of the *Gītā*[16], especially *ahiṃsā* (non-injury) and compassion for the creatures, which are more prominent in the Buddhistic (and the Jaina) faith, rather than Vedic-Brahmanic. The entire note struck in the *Gītā* is that an individual has to live for the society and do good to it, of which he is the part and parcel. The *Gītā* does not think high of the *sannyāsin*, who attains release for himself without doing anything for the society. In the eyes of the Gītākāra the *karmayogi*, who tries to bring about the *loka-saṅgraha* is of the highest importance. This is a step positively distinct from the Upaniṣads, and has the echo of the *Mahāyāna* Buddhistic thought, which expects the individual to live for his fellow beings[17].

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14. XVIII.3 and 5.
15. Cf. the Ṛgvedic *Dānastuti*-s and the story of *Jānaśruti* from the *Chāndogya Up.*, IV.1ff.
16. XVI.1-3.
17. The way to attain *nirvāṇa* is of morality and contains three important factors—*śīla*, *samādhi* and *prajñā*. The concept of *śīla* contains four important feelings—*maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekṣā*; they are called *Brahmavihāra*. The Pāramitās mentioned in connection with the Bodhisattva are again worthy of note (they are six or ten).

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SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF MANU

R. M. Das

It is natural to expect a basic social philosophy underlying any sociological discussion. Such is the case with Manu also. He raises the fundamental question of the significance of man's existence on earth, the ultimate purpose of his being and fulfilment of his life. Upon such bases he seeks to define his relations with every other thing, person, event and circumstances in the world. Thus for Manu the individual's relations with the Primal Cause define his relations with other men, with his family, with the group or society in which he lives or with which he comes into contact, with his village and his country and, indeed, with the entire creation—animate and inanimate. Therefore, as a social philosopher, Manu concentrates his thoughts on social unity of mankind and seeks to interpret the significance of the special aspects of human life with reference to that unity.

He first makes an effort to study values, ends, ideals and not what exists or has existed or may be expected to exist, but rather the meaning and worth of these modes of existence. But while doing so he does not ignore the historical, political, economic or other relevant facts. As it is not safe to ignore any aspect of a thing in philosophy he has interpreted the significance of these facts with a view to evaluating them critically.

As a true social philosopher Manu sets before us an ideal of the harmonious development of human potentialities as the essence of a happy life and enquires into the conditions for its realisation. He has taken into consideration laws, customs and institutions in respect of their functions, not merely in carrying on some sort of social life but in maintaining or promoting a harmonious life. The value of such theoretical discussions is very great. It helps us in clearly understanding the conditions of success, in measuring results, in recognising elements of success and failure and in planning out necessary adjustments. Manu does not apply mere abstract principles, which

are not embedded in experience; on the contrary, the only valid principles, according to him, are those that emerge out of experience. This is why he accepts the principles of dynamic growth, of flexibility and modifiability, in the prescriptive regulations in accordance with the changing conditions and times. This characteristic of his laws is evidently seen in the provisions he has made by way of what he calls *Āpaddharma*-s. Manu has expressly declared that the laws change with the age of the human race.[1] Radhakrishnan is holding the same view when he says, "An institution apropriate and wholesome for one stage of human development becomes inadequate and even dangerous when another stage has been reached. The cry of conservatism 'it has always been thus' ignores the fundamentals of the theory of relativity in philosophy and practice, in taste and morals, in politics and society, of which the ancient Hindus had a clear grasp."[2]

The significance of time and place in the activities and behaviour of man has been fully recognised by Manu. But it is not possible to visualise and anticipate all the probable variations of the place and time which human beings are likely to be confronted with and hence no sweeping generalisations have been attempted by Manu regarding man's conduct under conditions peculiar to these two. Indeed the recognition of *deśa* and *kāla* as potent factors affecting *dharma* itself is a tacit acceptance by Manu of the fact that despite the attempts at formulating rules for regulating man's conduct of life as rigid and static principles, but have been allowed a certain amount of flexibility and modifiability in their operation to suit the varying conditions.[3] Moreover, to speak of *dharma* itself becoming *adharma* and vice versa according to the change of times and localities is really to speak a good deal more than just allowing the mere possibility of modification in *dharma*. It is to ask men to be prepared for such complete and radical changes in *dharma* as may be even contradictory to the generally accepted *dharma*, in order to suit the exigencies of times and other conditions.

Manu knows fully well that it would be exceedingly foolish on the part of any one, howsoever extensive his knowledge might be, to suppose that he can say the last word on such a subject. This is the reason why he does not

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1. अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मास्त्रेतायां द्वापरे परे ।
   अन्ये कलियुगे नृणां युगह्रासानुरूपतः ॥ *Manu*, 1.85
2. *The Hindu View of Life:* P. 91
3. देशधर्मान् जातिधर्मान् कुलधर्मांश्च शाश्वतान् ।
   पाषण्डगणधर्मांश्च शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्नुक्तवान् मनुः ॥ *Manu*, 1.118

prescribe any dogmatic system, but introduces discussions of difficulties with some suggestions for their possible solutions. He knows that he cannot foresee all the possible contingencies and provide for them all. So he expressly lays down, "If it be asked how it should be with respect to points of law which have not been mentioned, the answer is that which brāhmaṇas who are *Śiṣṭa*-s propound, shall doubtlessly, have legal force."[4] The numerous options allowed regarding the various materials to be used in a rite and the varying times and modes of performing it, show that he recognises the difficulties that were likely to be met with. So he is not idealistic, doctrinaire and severe in his prescriptions. Similarly in referring to the different customs of families and countries he points out some particular customs which may override the rules of law. This also supports the above assertions.[5] Thus, Manu does not, for a moment, assume that the laws he is promulgating are to regulate the actions of his descendants for all time to come. He has the foresight to see that changes might be necessary in the course of time and thus provides with a machinery which the future generations may use in solving their own problems.

As a social philosopher Manu does not give us any detailed scheme of social, political or economic reforms. He only helps us see for ourselves the guiding principles which determine our course. He gives us a general sense of direction, a goal, a purpose, an ideal in the light of which we can organise our own recipes.[6] Therein lies his supreme importance; for in the words of Adler, "In each mind there is the conception of a goal or ideal to get beyond the present state and to overcome the present deficiencies and difficulties by postulating a concrete aim for the future. Without the sense of a goal individual activity would cease to have any meaning."[7]

Human life is highly complex and dynamic. But Manu has fully explained and made intelligible this complexity by emphasising the ideal,

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4. अनाम्नातेषु धर्मेषु कथं स्यादिति चेद्भवेत् ।
   यं शिष्टा ब्राह्मणाः ब्रूयुः धर्मः स्यादशंकितः ।। *Manu.*, 12.108
5. T. N. Carver, *The Essential Factors of Social Evolution*, p. 256, "Group ways of behaving have to be altered in order to be continuously adapted to the changing life conditions, a group must face".
6. धृतिः क्षमा दमोऽस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः ।
   धीर्विद्या सत्यमक्रोधो दशकं धर्मलक्षणम् ।। *Manu.*, 6.92
7. Adler : *The Science of Living*. p. 33.

the attainment of which is pith and core of man's activities. He has propounded the ideal by studying man and society which he considers to be always in a dynamic state. In other words he has considered not what they actually are but what their potentialities are and what achievements they have made, without laying too much emphasis on their frustrations. He fully knows that man is midway between an animal and a god and has in him the characteristics of both.[8] That is why he does not think it enough to treat human life as the life of reason only and to lay down mere abstract principles for its guidance. He studies all the aspects of human life as the life of reason only and to lay down mere abstract principles for its guidance. He studies all the aspects of human life with great insight and scientific precision. He has emphasised the fulfilment of all the four human urges (*Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa*) in a coordinated way.[9] That is why he gives the highest place to the *Gṛhasthāśrama* where the fulfilment of all these four is possible simultaneously.[10]

Thus, we see that in the opinion of Manu the just management and conduct of life should be conceived of and formulated in a harmonious coordination of the three great life-needs of man—*Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*. That is why, while dealing with problems of *Dharma* he deals with the remaining two problems of the life also. He himself says, "Some declare that the chief good consists in the acquisition of spiritual merit and wealth, others place it in the gratification of desire and the acquisition of wealth, others in the acquisition of spiritual merit alone and yet others say that the acquisition of wealth alone is the chief good here; but the correct decision is that it consists of the aggregate of those three."[11]

It is, however, important to note that when he refers to *Artha* and *Kāma* as *Puruṣārtha*-s he means that they should be in their due proportion in the

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8. न मांसभक्षणे दोषो न मद्ये न च मैथुने ।
   प्रवृत्तिरेषा भूतानां निवृत्तिस्तु महाफला ॥ *Manu* 5.56
9. सर्वेऽपि क्रमशस्त्वेते यथाशास्त्रं निषेविताः ।
   यथोक्तकारिणं विप्रं नयन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥ *Ibid*. 6.88
10. सर्वेषामपि चैतेषां वेदस्मृतिविधानतः ।
   गृहस्थ उच्यते श्रेष्ठः स त्रीनेतान् बिभर्त्ति हि ॥ *Ibid*. 6.89
11. धर्मार्थावुच्यते श्रेयः कामार्थौ धर्म एव वा ।
   अर्थ एवेह श्रेयस्त्रिवर्ग इति तु स्थितिः ॥ *Ibid*. 2.224

integrated scheme of life.[12] *Artha* refers to the problems and activities connected with the finding, making, gathering, conserving and organising of the material necessities of life. And *Kāma* refers to the sex and procreative tendencies of human beings, their right functioning, their organisation and their management with reference to both, the individual and the group.

Vātsyāyana also speaks in the same strain when he says, 'One should pursue all the three *Puruṣārtha*-s—*Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*—together in proper adjustment with each other, without any one of these coming in the way of the other.'[13]

Thus Manu emphasises that the most important thing is that the progress along these lines has to be made simultaneously, otherwise there would be lopsided development of personality leading to the degeneration of the other elements. Many aim at a progressive realisation of these ideals in all the three aspects of control[14]—the control of natural forces, the control of individualistic tendencies and the control of self—in their proportionate importance. In his opinion it is no good gaining the whole world at the cost of our soul.

Social philosophy deals with values of life. It is a normative and regulative science. This is why Manu, as a social philosopher, points out to us the directions in which we ought to proceed; but he has not placed before us Utopian ideals. He keeps himself within the bounds of realities and practicabilities when he tells us of the ends which we ought to pursue. An end we must have, because rational progress is possible only when we know it clearly and definitely.[15] But one thing, in this connection, deserves special attention. The ends set forth by Manu are not what society demands but what it actually needs in keeping with its fundamental nature. Manu's rules about the ideal food, the ideal forms of marriage and the duties of the brāhmaṇas lead to this conclusion. His predecessors followed only the tendencies of the age and supplied not what the age needed but what it demanded. The moral instructions they gave was, as a rule, merely the

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12. तेषु सम्यग्वर्त्तमानो गच्छत्यमरलोकताम् ।
    यथासंकल्पितांश्चेह सर्वान् कामान् समश्नुते ॥ *Ibid.* 2.5
13. शतायुर्वै पुरुषो विभुज्य कालमन्योन्यानुबद्धम् ।
    परस्परस्यानुपघातकं त्रिवर्गं सेवते ॥ *Kāma Sūtra*, 1.31
14. *Manu.*, 2.91,94
15. अकामस्य क्रिया काचित् दृश्यते नेह कर्हिचित् ।
    यद्यद्धि कुरुते किञ्चित् तत्तत्कामस्य चेष्टितम् ॥ *Ibid.*, 2.4

reflection of the morality practised and accepted by the average man of their times. Against this, Manu gives a profound analysis of the real needs of society and puts forth objective standards of thought and action in place of the relative and subjective whims and caprices of this or that individual.[16] He very honestly recommends the moral norms which the society stood in need of. MacIver remarks, "The task of social science is to find guiding threads of principle through the infinite variety of processes and activities which make up social life. It has to avoid the danger of becoming a mere summary or smattering of the particular social sciences. It has to be general or architectonic science unfolding the nature of community, that greater common life which is the matrix of the particular associations, family, state, economic corporations, church and all the rest."[17]

Manu does not believe in the pessimistic theory that there is nothing but chaos everywhere in the world and no good can be derived from it. He has a robust optimistic outlook on life which has none of the morbid melancholy. His optimism is rational and practical as there is no craze in it for wealth and pleasure seeking as such. He believes that law and order can be established and all the innate tendencies in man can be synthesised and made to work in co-operation. A cursory glance at his work reveals that he is not given to mere day-dreaming and yearning for an easy escape into the oft-quoted but little understood *Nirvāṇa*. On the contrary, such glimpses into the cosmos, as his scientific investigations reveal to him, have convinced him beyond doubt that the complexity of earthly existence can be put into an order and the march of human progress can be subjected to some form of control. His high praise of the *Gṛhasthāśrama* and the institution of marriage and the fourfold discipline of the *Āśrama* s is the positive proof of his practical approach to the problem.

In short, Manu is a far-sighted thinker. He goes very far ahead and looks back also. To him practical politics does not mean taking account of only the evil side of human nature, ignoring the better one. His opinion is always dominated and governed by high ideals. In his view all activity not organically and consistently related to the well-ascertained and clearly defined objects of life, is not practical at all.

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16. विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिः नित्यमद्वेषरागिभिः ।
हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तं निबोधत ।। *Manu.*, 2.1

17. R. M, MacIver : *The Elements of Social Science*, p.13

सङ्क्रमसूत्र of कात्यायन
TEXT WITH TRANSLATION, EXPOSITION AND ILLUSTRATION

G. V. Devasthali

त्रिपदाद्यावर्तमाने संक्रमः ॥१॥

Translation : *Saṃkrama* occurs when three or more *pada*-s (as a group) are repeated in the *Saṃhitā-Pāṭha* (*SP*)

Notes :

Saṃkrama is a feature peculiar to the *Pada-Pāṭha* (*PP*), The *Jaṭā-Pāṭha* (*JP*) and all the *vikṛti-pāṭha*-s. The word आवर्तमाने (in the *sutra*) stands for संहितायामावर्तमाने. So, this phenomenon (namely आवर्तमानत्व) belongs to the *SP*.; while संक्रम belongs to the *PP* (primarily); and from there it is carried on into the other *Pāṭha*-s.

So what this सूत्र tells us is: If a group of three or more *pada-s* recurs thrice (or more), it is subjected to संक्रम (in the *PP*). संक्रम =going together, coming close to one another. What exactly happens here is that the *pada*-s repeated in the *SP*. are dropped in their subsequent occurrences; and then the gap caused thereby is covered up by bringing the two parts (thus caused) together. Thus the *Pada* preceding the dropped *pada*-s and the one standing immediately after them come close together. This coming together of two *pada*-s (and consequently the two parts of the *SP*.) is what is named संक्रम (from सम् + क्रम् move together).

It may be observed here that this phenomenon occurs in the *Saṃhitā*-s of all the Veda-s, with slight variations. In the *ṚV* it is known as समय[1] and

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1. See *Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya* (*ṚV. Prā*). 10.19; 11.24.

there is a tract called गलितप्रदीप (of लक्ष्मीधर) which deals with this topic in connexion with the *ṚV*. Later on this phenomenon was popularly named गलित (what is dropped or omitted), which has become current for all the *Veda*-s.

Illustration :

इन्द्रा याहि (= इन्द्र आ याहि) occurs thrice in the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* (*VS*).

By the rule here this triad of *pada*-s will be retained in its first occurrence, but dropped in the second and the third occurrences. Thus it may be observed that repeated occurrence belongs to the *SP*. and the elision of this in two places belongs to the *PP*.

Another instance: नमो हिरण्यबाहवे···पतीनां पतये नमः[2] where the cluster पतये नमः occurs more than thrice; and has been dropped in the *PP*. in all its occurrences except the first.

द्विपदैकपदान्यप्यनुवाके ॥२॥

Translation : A group of two *pada*-s, and even a single *pada* (if repeated thrice) are passed over, provided they stand in the same अनुवाक.

Notes : The previous rule applies to three or more *pada-s* while this rule applies to a group of two *pada*-s, or even a single *pada*, [provided they occur (as *Tripada*-s in the previous rule) in the *SP*. thrice] in the same *anuvāka*.

Illustration : for एकपद—

मा छन्दः प्रमा छन्दः प्रतिमा छन्दो[3]. Because the एकपद namely छन्दः has occurred (more than) thrice in the same अनुवाक, it will be retained once, and will

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2. *VS.*, 16.17-19.
3. *Ibid.*, 14.18.

be elided in all the other occurrences, in the *PP* = मा । छन्दः । प्रमेति प्रमा । प्रतिमेतिप्रति मा[4]

Illustration: for द्विपद—

वाजश्च मे प्रसवश्च मे प्रमतिश्च मे[5]. Here, the द्विपद, च मे has occurred (more than) thrice; and in the same अनुवाक. Hence in *PP*, the द्विपद, च मे will be elided in all its occurrences, except the first; and the *PP*. will be: वाजः । च मे । प्रसवऽ इतिप्र सवः । प्रमतिरिति प्र मतिः[6] ।

The conditions for the संक्रम of एकपद and द्विपद are that they should occur (in the *Saṃ*) thrice or more, and that too in the one and the same अनुवाक. Both these conditions must be fulfilled. If one of them is unfulfilled संक्रम will not occur.

Illustration: एकपद—

वसोः पवित्रमसि द्यौरसि पृथिव्यसि[7]····· कुक्कुटोऽसि[8]. Here the word असि, occurring thrice in the same अनुवाक is retained in its first occurrence but the असि in कुक्कुटोऽसि is not thus passed over, because it does not occur in the same अनुवाक with others. This can be seen from the *PP*: वसोः । पवित्रम् । असि । द्यौः । पृथिवी[9]······कुक्कुटः असि (from अनुवाक 5).

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4. *VP*., 14.14.
5. *VS*., 18.1.
6. *VP*., 18.1.
7. *VS*., 1.2.
8. *Ibid*., 1.16, in *anuvāka*, 5.
9. *VP*., 1.2.

Illustration : द्विपद—

व्रतं कृणुत व्रतं कृणुताग्निर्ब्रह्मा—[10] Here the द्विपद, व्रतं कृणुत is in the same अनुवाक., but has not occurred thrice, and hence there can be no संक्रम of it in

PP.; व्रतम् कृणुत । व्रतम् । कृणुत । अग्निः । ब्रह्म ।[11]

इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा[12] and सोमः पवते सोमः पवते[13] are two more illustrations given by the commentator, where एकपद and द्विपद are not subjected to संक्रम in the *PP*. because the condition of त्रिरावृत्त (implied by the plural used in the सूत्र) is not fulfilled. Hence their *PP*. will respectively be ; इषे । त्वा । ऊर्जे । त्वा ।

and सोमः । पवते । सोमः । पवते । respectively.

अनन्तरे ॥३॥

Translation : (संक्रम occurs) in the case of immediate sequence (of the *pada*-s concerned).

Notes :

आनन्तर्य, the commentator, explains, is of two kinds : (1) brought about by अर्थ, and (ii) brought about by शब्द. This means that it is either clearly noticeable in the words themselves, or it is implied (on the basis of अर्थ). In the preceding सूत्र, the आनन्तर्य of the first variety has been illustrated. This सूत्र deals with the other variety.

Illustration :

गन्धर्वस्त्वा विश्वावसुः परिदधातु विश्वस्यारिष्ट्यै यजमानस्य परिधिरस्यग्निरिड ईडितः ।

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10. *VS.*, 4.11.
11. *VP.*, 4.11.
12. *VS.*, 1.1,
13. *Ibid.*, 7.20.

इन्द्रस्य बाहुरसि दक्षिणो विश्वस्यारिष्ट्यै···ईडितः। मित्रावरुणौ त्वोत्तरतः परिधत्तां ध्रुवेण धर्मणा विश्वस्यारिष्ट्यै······ईडितः।[14]

The *PP*. of this is: गन्धर्वः। त्वा। विश्वावसुः। विश्ववसुरिति विश्व वसुः। परि। दधातु। विश्वस्य। अरिष्ट्यै। यजमानस्य। परिधिरिति परि धिः। असि। अग्निः। इडः। ईडितः॥ इन्द्रस्य। बाहुः। असि। दक्षिणः॥ मित्रावरुणौ। त्वा। उत्तरतः॥ परि। धत्ताम्। ध्रुवेण धर्मणा॥[15]

(Note that the *SP*. here and hereafter particularly in the case of pretty lengthy cases will be given with lines of dots at different places. In such cases readers are requested to read the complete text of the passages from any edition of the वाजसनेयि संहिता. The *pada* text is, of course, given in full; and attention drawn in the notes to the points be noticed).

In this case it may be observed that there is संक्रम of विश्वस्यारिष्ट्यै यजमानस्यं परिधिरस्यग्निरिड ईडितः in its second and third occurrences: while in its first occurrence it is retained. But all these have occurred in the same place, and not at different places separated from each by some other irrelevant matter. Hence this is an illustration of अनन्तर गलित (There is nothing in this passage to disturb its unity).

As an instance of व्यवहितार्थं (as opposed to अनन्तर) गलित, we may see the following :—

मधुश्च माधवश्च वासन्तिकावृतू, अग्नेरन्तःश्लेषोऽसि कल्पेतां द्यावापृथिवी कल्पन्तामापः

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14. *Ibid.*, 2.3.
15. *VP.*, 2.3,

ओषधयः कल्पन्तामग्नयः---ये अग्नयः समनसोऽन्तरा द्यावापृथिवी इमे ।[16]

शुक्रश्च शुचिश्च ग्रैष्मावृतू अग्नेरन्तःश्लेषोऽसि --- ओषधयः कल्पन्तामग्नयः ।[17]

नभश्च नभस्यश्च वार्षिकावृतू अग्नेरन्तःश्लेषोऽसि---कल्पन्तामग्नयः[18]---

इषश्चोर्जश्च शारदावृतू अग्नेरन्तःश्लेषोऽसि---कल्पन्तामग्नयः[19]---

सहश्च सहस्यश्च हैमन्तिकावृतू ---कल्पन्तामग्नयः[20]---

तपश्च तपस्यश्च शैशिरावृतू---कल्पन्तामग्नयः[21]---

Here we see that *pada-s* taken from different parts of the *VS.*, but they are treated as if they are connected with one another to form one whole. And this is done on the strength of अर्थानन्तर्य, not minding the various intervening parts, separating them from one another. अनन्तभट्ट puts this point succinctly in the words : अत्र शब्दकृतानन्तर्याभावेन व्यवहितत्वेऽपि बुद्धिपरिवृत्तित्वेनार्थकृतमानन्तर्यमिति ज्ञेयम् ।। It may be observed here that though these passages stand at different places in the *VS.* they are quite close to one another because of the matter dealt with them. This is what is अर्थकृतमानन्तर्यम्. This topic would require some detailed discussion and hence it is reserved for some other occasion in view of the limited space that an article can claim. I shall leave the matter here only pointing out that Anantabhatta has much important information to give to an inquisitive reader and student of this topic.

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16. *VS.*, 13.25.
17. *Ibid.*, 14.6.
18. *Ibid.*, 14.15.
19. *Ibid.*, 14.16.
20. *Ibid.*, 14.27.
21. *Ibid.*, 15.57.

अपराङ्गे ॥४॥

Translation: (Elision takes place in cases) where (the repeated पद) is subservient to another *pada*.

Illustration:

स्वाहा यज्ञं मनसः स्वाहोरोरन्तरिक्षात् स्वाहा द्यावापृथिवीभ्यां स्वाहा वातादारभे स्वाहा ।[22]

स्वाहा । यज्ञम् । मनसः । उरोः । अन्तरिक्षात् । द्यावापृथिवीभ्याम् । वातात् । आ । रभे । स्वाहा ।[23]

Here the word स्वाहा is elided in the *PP*. in all places except the first, because they are all subservient to the several deities after which they stand. The first, of course, is retained in the natural course.

In विश्वो देवस्य--पुष्यसे स्वाहा[24], स्वाहा is subservient to the मन्त्र preceding it. For, it is independent of any other word. In fact, the स्वाहा at the end of our मन्त्र here is retained on the same ground. Similarly the स्वाहा at the end of विश्वो देवस्य नेतुर्भर्तो वुरीत सख्यम् । विश्वो राय इषुध्यति द्युम्नं वृणीत पुष्यसे स्वाहा[25]. The स्वाहा at the end is not मन्त्र subservient to any one, and as such it is retained in the *PP*. The main point to be considered is: When a स्वाहा (कार) becomes an अङ्ग and when it is not so. This point requires further elucidation.

22. *VS.*, 4.6.
23. *VP.*, 4.6.
24. *VS.*, 4.8.
25. *Ibid.*, 4.8,

अस्वरविकारे ॥५॥

Translation—(Elision takes place) in cases where (the repeated *pada*-s) undergo no modification in accentuation.

Illustration:

SP— तेजोऽसि शुक्रममृतमायुष्या आयुर्मे पाहि । etc.[26]—

PP— तेजः । असि । शुक्रम् । अमृतम् । आयुष्याः । आयुष्या इत्यायुः पाः । आयुः । मे । पाहि ।

आ । ददे ॥[27]

Here between पाहि and आ ददे, देवस्य । त्वा । सवितुः । प्रसवे । अश्विनोः । बाहुभ्याम् । पूष्णः । हस्ताभ्याम् । is गलित.

Similarly in *VS*[28] शुक्रज्योतिश्च चित्रज्योतिश्च सत्यज्योतिश्च ज्योतिष्माँश्च । शुक्रश्च ऋतपाश्चात्यंहाः ॥[29]

The *PP* of this will drop all the च्s except the first.

अलिङ्गविकारे ॥६॥

Translation: In cases where the repeated words, if they show no change of gender (are passed over in the *PP*),

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26. *Ibid.*, 22.1.
27. *Ibid.*, 22.1
28. *Ibid.*, 17.80.
29. *Ibid*,

Illustration :

अग्नेर्भागोऽसि दीक्षाया आधिपत्यं ब्रह्म स्मृतं त्रिवृत्स्तोम इन्द्रस्य भागोऽसि विष्णोराधिपत्यं

क्षत्रं स्मृतम् पञ्चदश स्तोमो नृचक्षसां भागोऽसि धातुराधिपत्यं जनित्रं स्पृतं सप्तदश स्तोमो ···[30]

In the *PP*. all the repeated *pada*-s with no change in gender will be गलित.[31]

Commentators have here given examples to show what would happen if the condition अलिङ्गविकारे is not fulfilled. Thus सं ते पयांसि समु यन्तु वाजाः सं वृष्ण्यान्याभिमातिषाहः ।।[32]

Here the commentator tells us that of the three सम् (पदs), first refers to a word in the neuter. The second is a word in the masculine and hence is not dropped. The third refers to a word in the neuter and hence owing to absence of difference in gender, it is dropped in the *PP*. (Read ; अत्र त्रयाणां सं शब्दानां मध्ये प्रथमो नपुंसकविषयो, द्वितीयः पुरुषविषयोऽतो गृह्यते, तृतीयो नपुंसकविषय एव अतो लिङ्गस्याभेदादभिक्रम्यते । उवट ; also see भाष्य of अनन्तभट्ट)

असमाने ।।७।।

Translation : (संक्रम occurs in the case of repeated words) if they are not similar (in all respects).

Illustration :

आयुर्यज्ञेन कल्पतां प्राणो यज्ञेन कल्पतां चक्षुर्यज्ञेन कल्पताम्[33]. This, in *PP*, will

30. *Ibid.*, 14.24.
31. See *VP.*, 14.20.
32. *VS.*, 12.113.
33. *Ibid.*, 9.21.

read- आयुः । यज्ञेन । कल्पताम् । प्राणः । चक्षुः । श्रोत्रम् । पृष्ठम् । यज्ञः । यज्ञेन कल्पताम् ।[34]

Here we see that the पद, यज्ञेन, is dropped (गलित) all through the passage except in the concluding portion. This is accounted for by the word असमान in this सूत्र. What is meant is: यज्ञ is different (असमान) from आयुः, प्राणः, चक्षुः श्रोत्रम्, and पृष्ठम्; and hence it is omitted in the *PP*. along with कल्पताम्. But it is not असमान with यज्ञ; and hence the following two पद्s with it are not dropped.

तिरावृत्ते ॥८॥

Translation: In cases where a word or a pair of words recurs thrice (or more) संक्रम takes place, as in all the previous cases).

The commentator tells us that this rule is an adjunct (शेष) of सूत्र २ above. So what is meant is: संक्रम will occur when a पद or a द्विपद recurs thrice or more.

Illustration :

इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा रय्यै त्वा पोषाय त्वा लोकं ता इन्द्रम्[35]

The *PP*. of this will be इषे । ऊर्जे । रय्ये । पोषाय । only.[36]

It has to be noted, however, that this rule applies only if some *pada* or *pada*–s recur three or more times in the same अनुवाक. (See *Sū*. 2 above).

By way of illustration and counter illustration, उवट cites इषे । त्वा । ऊर्जे ।

34. *VP*., 9.20.
35. *VS*., 14.22.
36. *VP*., 14.18.

त्वा । वायवः । स्थ । [37] where त्वा occurs only twice; and hence, by the present rule, it cannot be गलित in the *PP*.

अनन्तभट्ट here remarks: त्रिरावृत्त इति विशेषणाच्चतुर्थे न संक्रमः । ये त्वत्र 'आयुषे त्वा वर्चसे त्वा कृष्यै त्वा क्षेमाय त्वा'[38] इत्यादौ चतुर्थेऽपि संक्रमणं तत्तु त्वाशब्दस्य मध्यमत्वज्ञापनार्थम् । ऋषीणां तथैव दृष्टत्वात् ।

This argument of अनन्तभट्ट appears to require further scrutiny and elucidation.

गूढे ॥९॥

Translation: (संक्रम occurs, even if) some पद or पदs are repeated thrice only implicitly (i.e. on the basis of अनुषङ्ग) c.f. गूढं नाम यत्र तृतीयपदस्यावृत्तिरनुषङ्गापेक्षितत्वात् पदस्याधस्तनपदानुषङ्गेण भवति । उवट

Explanation:

अनन्तभट्ट explains the word गूढ in another way also as follows:— गूढो नाम स्वप्रकरणे द्विरावृत्तोऽपि प्रकरणान्तरमादाय यस्त्रिरावृत्तो भवति । By way of illustration he points out that वायोः पूतः पवित्रेण प्रत्यङ्क्सोमो अतिद्रुतः । इन्द्रस्य युज्यः सखा ॥ occurs only twice in *VS.*[39] but its third occurrence is seen (by implication) in the राजसूय प्रकरण. And on the basis of this (implied third occurrence), संक्रम is accepted here also, because here there are three occurences, one of them being गूढ.

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37. *Ibid.*, 1.1.
38. *VS.*, 14.21.
39. *Ibid.*, 19.3.

पदसमूहे ।।१०।।

Translation : (संक्रम occurs) when a group of (one or more) पद्s recurs many times.

Explanation :

समूह is explained as यत्रैकादि पदं बहु कृत्वा (? त्वः) आवर्तते स समूहः अभिप्रेतः (उवट) अधुना यत्र एकद्वित्रिप्रभृतिपदानि बहुकृत्य (? त्वः) आवर्तन्ते तत्र संक्रमोऽनेन विधीयते । (अनन्तभट्ट) ।

Such, for example, are नमः and च मे which recur many times in the शतरुद्रियाध्याय.

Here उवट raises the question: Why there is no elision of च मे (द्विपद) in स्वश्च मे यज्ञेन कल्पताम्[40] स्वरिति स्वः। च । मे । यज्ञेन । कल्पन्ताम् ।[41] His answer to this question is: अविकारार्थं पुनरुक्तस्य ग्रहणमुपरिष्टाद्वक्ष्यति । तेन सूत्रेणेह पुनरुक्तं गृह्यते । एवमर्थविशेषात् पुनरुक्तस्य ग्रहणं भवति । अर्थसामान्यात् पुनरुक्तस्यातिक्रमः ।

And here he has quoted two authorities without naming them or pointing out the exact source, with the words: तथा चोक्तम् : द्रव्यदेवतालिङ्गवचनस्वर-कर्तृभेदैः पुनरुक्तस्य ग्रहणं भवति । अर्थसामान्यात् पुनरुक्तस्यातिक्रमः । आह च—पुनरुक्तानि लुप्यन्ते पदानीत्याह शाकलः अलोप इति गार्ग्यस्य काण्वस्यार्थवशादिति । This citation deserves a careful study in connection with गलित.

संहितायाम् ।।११।।

Translation : संक्रम occurs in the (आर्षी) संहिता (also, when a मन्त्र is repeated).

Explanation :

Ordinarily गलित is found occurring in the *PP*. only. But *VS*. appears to be unique in having this phenomenon in the संहिता itself. In *VS*. we come across repetition of its own मन्त्र. When they occur first, they are given in full but when they occur again, they are given in the form of प्रतीक्s only.[42]

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40. *Ibid*., 18.1.
41. *VP*., 18.1.
42. *VS*., 12.54-56 occurring again in full in *VS*., 15.59-61 appears to be only an exception to this rule.

It is these repeated मन्त्रs that form the topic of this सूत्र। उवट writes : आर्ष्यां च संहितायां पुनरुक्ते आवर्तमाने संक्रमो भवति ।

Here the संक्रम, not traced by any one as far as I know. I have found in *VS.*[43] the last three *pada*-s लोकं ता इन्द्रम् (*VS*) = लोकम् । ताः । इन्द्रम् (*PP*).[44]

Another peculiar thing I have noticed is that these three मन्त्रs, we are considering, have been adopted in the *VS.* in full in two places.[45]

No संक्रम, as laid down by our सूत्र here, has been accepted, though संक्रम is adopted in *VS.*[46] as shown above. It may be observed that this type of संक्रम has been adopted in many places: and to me it appears that the संहितकारs in all these cases have indicated the मन्त्रs or अनुवाकs by means of प्रतीक as we generally do when we come across passages repeated verbatim. It may perhaps be interesting to go deeper into this matter and study all the passges repeated on this principle. This may be deferred to some other occasion,

In connexion with such संक्रमs, उवट and अनन्तभट्ट hold diametrically opposite views on the question whether these मन्त्रs subjected to संक्रम should be repeated in full in ब्रह्मयज्ञ etc. उवट opts in the positive, while अनन्तभट्ट does it in the negative. Obviously this problem also has to be reserved for some other occasion.

Why should the triad 15.59-61 be not subjected to संक्रम (as at 13.58). Their first occurrence, of course, is in *VS.*[47] where they naturally are given in full. This also has to be considered in the light of the tradition obtaining among the यजुर्वेदिन्s of the various शाखाs.

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43. *Ibid.*, 13.58.
44. युधिष्ठिर मीमांसक's माध्यन्दिनसंहितायाः पदपाठः where he has chosen to adopt this into his final text of this. But it may be observed that the variants shown in the foot-notes have omitted this त्रिपदी. Here, it is worth trying to find out which of these is traditionally accepted. It is even possible that both might have been accepted—one in one शाखा, the other in another. This requires further investigation.
45. *VS.*, 8.54-56 and *VS.*, 15.59-61.
46. *VS.*, 13.58.
47. *Ibid.*, 8.54.

अवसानार्थं पुनर्ग्रहणम् ॥१२॥

Translation : For (indicating) the completion (of a unit) (even a recurring पद) should be taken (retained, not elided).

Notes :

In बृहस्पतये । हविषा । विधेम । स्वाहा[48]. In *VS*[49] we have स्वाहा at the end of every subsection upto the end. Here in the *PP*, we find that this स्वाहा, though dropped in all other places, is retained in two places, namely after अग्नये and विधेम. Why so ? The present सूत्र says that it is retained to indicate completion (अवसान). उवट on this remarks: अग्नये स्वाहेत्यत्र पुनरुक्तं (स्वाहेति पदम्) अवसानार्थं गृह्यते । Similarly on the next part he writes: बृहस्पतये । हविषा । विधेम् । स्वाहा । नात्रावसानादन्यत् प्रयोजनमस्तीति. Here, one has to consider what exactly is meant by अवसान in such places: and what purpose is served in the *VS*. (or any other संहिता).

अविकारार्थं च ॥१३॥

Translation : (A repeated पद is retained in the *PP*. 'पुनर्ग्रहणम्') to indicate absence of modification (i.e. to indicate a total identity of it with the previously occurring similar पद). इतिवि अश्नुविने ।[50]

Illustration :

इषाय । ऊर्जाय । स्वरिति स्वः । स्वाहा । मूर्ध्ने । व्यश्नुविनs Here if the पद 'स्वाहा' is not retained, then the पद 'स्वः' standing before it will not be clearly under-

48. *VP*., 4.7.
49. *VS*., 4.7.
50. *VP*., 22.27.

stood as being रिफित. The usual mode of conveying this रिफितत्व (of the word like स्व:) is to cap it with इति in the *PP*. as स्वरिति. The *VS*. has instead achieved this by retaining the स्वाहा after it, so that its रिफितत्व may not be evident and one will have to exhibit it by इतिकरण(स्वरिति स्व:).

अनन्तभट्ट, however, tells us that this inclusion of स्वाहा in this पाठ is in the माध्यन्दिनपाठ only. As for the काण्वs, the matter stands differently as shown in the next सूत्र .

उत्सर्गश्च ।।१४।।

Translation: And (according to some authorities) the injunction in the preceding सूत्र) is to be abandoned.

Both the commentators say that in this सूत्र the word च stands for वा. अनन्तभट्ट has clearly stated that the view stated in this सूत्र namely यद्विकारार्थं पुनरुक्तं पठ्यते इति उच्यते तस्य उत्सर्गः परित्यागः कर्त्तव्यः इति काण्वादयो मन्यन्ते । …… । एवं चायं व्यवस्थितो विकल्पः ।

What अनन्तभट्ट means to say is that सूत्रs laydown पुनर्ग्रहण of a पद to indicate that the preceding पद should not have to undergo 'modification. What is stated in these two सूत्रs is: अर्थादिविशेषात् पुनरुक्तस्य ग्रहणम् । अर्थसामान्यात् पुनरुक्तस्यातिक्रमो द्रष्टव्यः । And in support of this view he cites an unspecified authority in the words: तथा चोक्तम् । द्रव्यदेवतार्थलिङ्गवचनस्वरकर्तृभेदैः पुनरुक्तस्य ग्रहणं भवति ।। आह च पुनरुक्तानि लुप्यन्ते पदानीत्याह शाकलः । अलोप इति गार्ग्यस्य काण्वस्यार्थवशादिति ।।

BUDDHIST MYSTICISM

R. C. Dwivedi

There are conflicting opinions about the nature of Buddhist mysticism. This is mainly due to the possibility of different interpretations of metaphysical postulates involved in the doctrines of *anattā* and *śūnyatā*. Buddhism itself is not a single system. It admits of all facets of philosophical thought : Realism, Idealism and Absolutism. Then there is a pathetic anxiety to give metaphysical labels to an experience which defies all such labels and all the categories of intellection. The inherent imperfection of our linguistic tool does not permit us to go beyond the terms of 'no' and 'yes'. No wonder, therefore, the *nirvāṇic* experience is spoken of and interpreted as annihilation or as bliss. Our notions about religion that it cannot be conceived without a God and Soul and some natural relationship between them add to our problem of understanding the nature of Buddhist mysticism. India's characteristic and much talked about spirituality based on the recognition of supremacy of spirit over matter seems to be offended when the permanence of and privileged place to spirit is denied. Thus the difficulties created by the established concepts of religion and philosophy, and imperfections of language are great hurdles. Buddha kept silence on many of the issues with which philosophy and religion had traditionally concerned themselves. I would also perfer silence. This choice may be allowed so that I may not be tempted to add to the confused noise. An exercise of such a choice here means restricting oneself, so far as possible, to a practical (as distinguished from speculative) analysis of experience that the Buddha had and his conservative (Hīnayānist)[1] compassionate and catholic (Mahāyānist) and errotic and asoteric following (Tāntrika) preached and practised ; that means taking experience as forming a concrete way of life and not as leading to a way of thought.

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1. The consensus among the scholars prefers the use of Early Buddhism for the Hinayāna but I have retained in this article the word of common parlance.

If this be granted i.e. if mysticism be understood as living and leading others to live a life of new experience (*nirvāṇa* in the case of Buddhism) that gives freedom from suffering, then ineffability would be considered the mark of expression but not a characteristic experience, leading to a lasting experience and passively will have to choose a different meaning for itself when serene contemplation is object of denotation. The so-called characteristics of mystical experience, namely, ineffability, transiency and passivity are not valid characteristics for *nirvāṇic* experience. Once a Gautama becomes the Buddha, the Enlightened, he is Buddha for ever leading others thereafter to the same goal. Buddha is to know and to wake up. Buddhahood is thus knowledge and awakening. It is enlightenment, experience. And that is *nirvāṇa*. *Dhammapada* describes this experience of Buddha in the following hymn of victory which echoes the immediate reaction of Buddha to his experience :

> Looking for the maker of this tabernacle
> I ran to no avail.
> Through a round of many births ;
> And wearisome is birth again and again.
> But now, maker of the tabernacle, thou hast been seen ;
> Thou shalt not rear this tabernacle again.
> All thy rafters are broken ;
> Thy ridge-pole is shattered ;
> The mind approaching the Eternal,[2]
> Has attained to the extinction of all desires.[3]

This symbolised expression of experience underlines (i) weariness of existence through the symbol of repeated births (ii) seeing of the *gahakāraka*, i.e. the 'ego' that binds us to a life of suffering, and (iii) freedom or sense of release symbolised by a mind free from all conditions or impressions or compounds. (Pot has been emptied of all its compounds, contents). This is then suchness (*tathatā*), egolessness (*anattā*) and *śūnyatā*. But all this sounds merely negative. A positive and more dynamic expression of

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2. The original is "*Visankhāragatam cittam*". Henry Warren translates it "This mind has demolition reached". Suzuki has pointed out how both the translators read their own meaning; one pointing to positive and the other to nihilistic or negativism.
3. The *Dhammapada*. V. pp. 153-4. tr. by Irving Babbit (Oxford University Press, 1936) and quoted by Suzuki in *Mysticism*, p. 44.) (Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York, 1957), (hereafter *Mysticism*).

experience is recorded in the *Vinaya* and the *Majjhima Nikāya* which runs as follows :[4]

I have conquered and I know all,
I am enlightened quite by himself and have none as teacher.
There is no one that is the same as I in the whole world
Where there are many deities.
I am the one who is really worth,
I am the most supreme teacher.
I am the only one who is fully enlightened.
I am tranquilized.
I am now in *Nirvāṇa*.[5]

This records the conquest of all knowledge whereby the conquerer[6] becomes enlightened, an absolute 'I', worthy, and tranquil. He is now Eckhart's man of freedom, who clings to nothing and to whom nothing clings.[7]

For this conquest of enlightenment Buddha revealed the four Noble Truths and prescribed the Eightfold path as a part of last Truth ; all in a meaningful order of succession. These Truths are on the (i) existence of suffering, (ii) cause of suffering, (iii) ending of suffering, and (iv) the path leading to the end. *Majjhima Nikāya*, 141 describes these as follows :

1. "What then is the Noble Truth of ill ? Birth is ill, decay is ill, Sickness is ill. Death is ill. To be conjoined with what one dislikes means suffering. To be disjoined from what one likes means suffering. Not to get what one wants also that means suffering. In short, all grasping at (any of) the five *skandha*-s (involves) suffering".

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4. The *Vinaya*, I. p.8. The *Majjhima Nikāya*, tr. by Lord Chalmers (Oxford University Press), 26, p. 12.
5. There is a similar *Gāthā* in the *Dhammapada*, V.353, which echoes the dynamism of experience. It runs as follows :
"I have conqured all, I know all, in all conditions of life I am free from taint. I have left all, and through the destruction of thirst I am free. Having by myself attained specific knowledge, to whom can I point as my teachers"—quoted by Suzuki in *Mysticism*, p. 68.
6. The conqueror is thus described in the *Dhammapada* (p. 179).
He whose conquest nobody can conquer again,
Into whose conquest nobody in this world can enter—
By what trace can you trace him,
The awakened, of infinite range, trackless ?
7. Maister Eckhart. tr. by C.da B. Evans (Hohn M. Watkins, London, 1924), Vol. I, p. 146.

2. What then is the Noble Truth of the origination of ill ? It is that craving (*taṇhā*) which leads to rebirth, accompanied by delight, now here, now there, i.e. craving for sensuous experience, craving to perpetuate oneself, craving for extinction."

3. "What then is the Noble Truth of the stopping of ill ? It is the complete stopping of that craving, the withdrawal from it, the renouncing of it, throwing it back, liberation from it, non-attachment to it."

4. "What then is the Noble Truth of the Steps which lead to the stopping of ill ? It is this Noble Eightfold Path which consists of (i) right seeing (*Sammādassana*) (ii) right knowing (*sammāsankappa*) (iii) right speech, (iv) right conduct, (v) right life, (vi) right action, (vii) right thought, (viii) right concentration."

Buddhist mysticism starts with the recognition of suffering, it finds *taṇhā* (*tṛṣṇā* in Sanskrit) as the cause of origination of suffering, it holds the hope of rooting out the cause of suffering and finally prescribes the ways of overcoming it. *Dhammapada* declares :[8]

"He who overcomes this contemptible thirst, sufferings fall off from him like water drops from a lotus-leaf".

It would be pertinent here to remark that the first item of the Noble Eight-fold Path is *Sammādassana*, right seeing. The right knowledge follows it, which in its turn, controls speech, conduct, life, actions and thought. This control leads to concentration. The basis of Buddhist mysticism is 'seeing' or 'experiencing' things as they really are. This was later on explained as *anattā* (egolessness), (*tathatā*) suchness and *śūnyatā* (vacuity, zeroness). From this proceeded the notion of a world of particulars. All this would debar any description of Buddhist mysticism either as Soul-mysticism,[9] or as pantheistic kind of God-mysticism. Buddhism admits no soul, no God. Realisation of self or return to God is not its ideal. Hence

8. The *Dhammapada*, tr. by Radhakrishnan, Verse 336.
9. F. C. Happold in his book "*Mysticism : A Study and an Anthology*" Penguin Books, 1963, divides mystical experience into two types ; namely, the mysticism of knowledge and understanding and the mysticism of love and union (vide pp. 40-42). Approaching these varieties from a different angle he considers mysticism in its three aspects of Nature—mysticism, Soul-mysticism and God-mysticism. Nature-mysticism is characterised by a sense of the immanence of God or Soul in nature. At its heart lies what Zaehner. "*Mysticism : Sacred and Profane*", calls the pan-en-henic experienc, that is the expericnc of the All in the one and of the one in the all. It may also be called 'pan-theistic'. In the soul-mysticism the idea of the

it would be inapt to give Buddhist mysticism labels such as mentioned above. But as proposed at the outset I would not like to go in my analysis beyond the periphery of purely religious or philosophical speculations. It is safer to remain at the coast when so many others are busy measuring the metaphysical depth of the Buddhism. At the end of enunciation of Four Noble truths Tathāgata warns the followers of his path to avoid two extremes. He says :

"There are two extremes, brothers, which must be avoided by one who is striving towards liberation. The one, the desire to gratify passions and the desire for the joys of the senses which is low, vile, degrading and pernicious and is the path of the children of the world ; the other that of violent mortification which is sad, painful, and useless. The intermediary path alone, which the Buddha found, avoids these two extremes, opens the eyes, enlightens the mind and leads to peace, wisdom, light, *nirvāṇa*."[10]

However, Buddhism, as it is generally understood to have emerged in the first phase of the Hīnayāna and the last phase of the Tāntricism, seems not to have scrupulously adhered to the golden rule of avoiding the two extremes. The Hīnayānist appears to have taken to the rigorous asceticism for his own perfection and the Tāntrika seems to adore the path of gratification of passions and the enjoyment of senses. Both are the Buddhists and yet standing apparently on the two extremes which the Buddha had enjoined upon all to avoid. A simple and somewhat naive way to get out of this difficulty is to explain away Hīnayānism as a somewhat unfaithful representative of Buddha's teachings,[11] and to discredit Tāntricism with stock belief that it is corrupt form and degeneration of pure Buddhism. A similar

exsitence of God is, in any expressible form, absent. The chief object of man is the quest of his own self and of right knowledge about it. In God-mysticism the basic idea is that of the return of the spirit to its immortal and infinite ground, which is God. The mystical schools of Śaṅkara and Meister Eckhart combine, according to him, the Soul-mysticism with God-mysticism. Happold labels Buddhist mysticism as "analytical Soul-mysticism". The qualification to the nomenclature is added because he found it difficult to ignore the analytical and scientific foundations of Buddhism.

10. *Sūtra* of the foundation of Reign of law *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* as quoted by Jacques De Marquette in "*Introduction to Comparative Mysticism*" (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1965), p. 58.

11. To quote Janques De Merquette, "It has become evident that Hīnayānism, far from being the most faithful representative of the early teachings as it claims to be, is on the contrary an entirely new version and quite a perverted travesty of the tenets of Gautam". *Ibid.*, p. 83.

difficulty (in the area of metaphysics) of undertaking Buddhist mysticism without firm belief in a permanent Soul and God leads to the transformation of views in a modern exponent like Mrs. Rhys Davids[12] who changed her earlier interpretation so as to admit the possibility of Soul and God and the positive state of bliss in *nirvāṇa*. Some others, such as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, find it safer to use from the very beginning the magical wand of upaniṣadic ideas and thus pave the way for others to confound the Buddhist mysticism with Vedantism.[13] However, there are some scholars, like Prof. T. R. V. Murti, who have boldly asserted the central doctrine of Buddhism being fundamentally different from the Brāhmaṇical (Hinduism as a common denominator has led to many confusions about the different point of views which Indianism has upheld) doctrine of soul. But presently we are more concerned with the mystical experience than with its various metaphysical labels. It is necessary to restrict the scope of mysticism to a trans-philosophical and trans-psychological as also trans-moral analysis of experience. Metaphysical interpretations vary from school to school and also within the same school, psychology has not so far reached a stage beyond the ego,[14] and morality is bound with shifting stands of social whims. The salvation is aimed at by all sorts of systems, such as, by pluralistic realism of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*, dualistic idealism of the *Sāṃkhya-yoga*, monistic absolutism of Śaṅkara, qualified monism of Rāmānuja, and by the 'inconceivable difference-non-difference' (*acintyabhedābheda*) of the

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12. Disgusted with the Buddhism where God plays no part and man is denied any personal reality, Mrs. Rhys David approves its description as "barely hanging on the fringes of the world religions and being sacred more than a system of ethics". Quoted in the *Original Gospel of Euddha*, p. 13.
13. The interpretation of *Śūnyatā* as an attributeless Reality escaping the grant of intellectual comprehension and verbal exposition, the description of *dharma*-s (things) as unspeakable, unchanging, all-void quiescent and pure by Nāgārjuna, admission of the *Tathatā*–nature of things to be something substantial, permanent and unchanging, Yogācāras conception of the ultimate reality as the *Abhūta-parikalpa* or as pure consciousness (*Vijñaptimātratā*) "drive us very near to the Vedāntic conception of the ultimate Reality as the *Nirguṇa* (attributeless) Brahman who transcends all knowledge, knower and the known". Similarly the conception of *Dharmakāya* or cosmic unity or the organised totality of things "seem to be just the same as that of the idea of the *nirguṇa* Brahman of the Upaniṣads". Summed up from Ch. I. pp. 29-32 of "*An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*" by S. N. Dasgupta (Univrsity of Calcutta, 1958).
14. D. T. Suzuki has said it aptly :
"The psychological analysis that cannot go further or deeper than the egolessness of the psychological ego fails to see into the egolessness of all things......"
Mysticism, p. 42.

Chaitanya School, and so on. Śaivism and Buddhism, through their different schools, admit of realism, absolutism, monism, dualism and pluralism. The *Kaivalya*-experience of the *Sāṃkhya*, *Apavarga* experience of *Nyāya Vaiśeṣika*, *Mokṣa*-experience of the Śāṅkara *Vedānta*, *Sālokya*, *Sāyujya*, *Sāmīpya*, and *Sārūpya* varieties of the Vaiṣṇavism and *nirvāṇic* experience of Buddhism do not give warranty for any one particular type of philosophical description. This becomes evident when we realise the contradiction cotained in the concept of salvation and the philosophical notion of a system. Take for example *Sāṃkhya* and the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* systems. According to well-known philosophical position of the *Sāṃkhya*, there are two ultimate principles, *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*, but the mystical experience of *Kaivalya* is final seperation of *Puruṣa* from *Prakṛti*.[15] In experience the second ultimate should not figure. The *Prakṛti* must disappear immediately when she is seen. Philosophically the ultimates are two and this is supported by the *Vivekakhyāti* (Discrimination), but the salvation is an experience of being only one. The *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika* philosophy admits seven ultimate categories, namely, *Dravya* (Substance), *Guṇa* (quality), *karman* (Action), *Sāmānya* (Universal), *Viśeṣa* (Final differentia), *Samavāya* (Inherence) and *Abhāva* (Non-existence). *Ātman* (*Soul*), according to this system, is a *dravya*, a substratum of consciousness—a quality arising in it under certain conditions. Realisation of the self, which is its goal of mystical experience, is a state when soul is in its true nature. The soul is a substance and the true nature of it can be being without quality (or a number of qualities). The Philosophical foundation of pluralistic realism must vanish in the mystical experience of the *apavarga* or Salvation. *Apavarga*-experience, thus does not found or sustain the philosophical system of either dualism of *Sāṃkhya* or realism of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*. Mysticism does not establish any particular school of philosophy. Mystical experience is the common goal of all the philosophical systems of India. It is the common (or rather universal) aim, not because it gives credence to a particular shade of philosophical opinion but because it may admit all schools and transcend them all. It would be unwise, therefore, to insist on holding one particular philsophical explanation of mysticism in general and more particularly Buddhist and Śaiva mysticism which have, in fact, admitted a variety of followers, realist, idealist, absolutist, in their fold. Philosophical interpretations of Four Noble Truths being a doubtful guide or at best being of equally good value let me prefer the scope of this article to methods of

15. *Vivekakhyāti* or discriminating knowledge which distinguishes the two ultimates and is conscious of the two, must ultimately lead to the mystical experience of the *Kaivalya*.

attaining the Enlightenment-experience by the ideal men of the Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna and Tāntrism.

The Noble Eightfold Path explained earlier forms the part and parcel of the last among the Four Noble Truths, indicating thereby the inseparability of Truth and the Path leading to it. If this inseparability is not adhered to, we will be cruelly defeated in our defence of mysticism against induced or artificial experiences and the veriegated forms of psychism, such as clairvoyance, psychometry and the like. The concept of ideal men of Hindu mysticism, such as *Arhant* in Hīnayāna, *Bodhisattva* in Mahāyāna, *Arhat* in Jainism, *Sthitaprajña* in the *Bhagavadgītā*, *guru* (spiritual teacher) in Śaivism, esoteric Buddhism and Śāktism, *Bhagavān* in the Bhāgavat cult, and the doctrine of *Jīvanmukti* (liberation while alive) will have no value and universal validity if mysticism be understood as a way of thought as opposed to a life of 'new' experience. Mysticism ought to concern itself with a way of thought. This will establish its independence from philosophy as also from artificial life created by drinks of various sorts.[16] Difference of philosophical opinion or its interpretation is not material for mysticism. A mystic may hold any opinion or none. The crucial point will be whether he has pursued relentlessly the spiritual path and attained a life of awakening, of larger awareness, of cosmic consciousness. This 'new' life is then the natural life of the mystic. Artificial life created by the hypnotic devices or by any kind of psychism can never produce a Buddha or a Mahāvīra.

The Fourth Truth which is actually the Truth of the Way is generally summed up and elaborated in terms of the triad, *Śīla* (Moral and ethical Discipline), *Samādhi* (contemplation) and *Prajñā* (Wisdom). This moral discipline is commonly accepted by all the schools of Buddhism of all countries. The *Śīla* has ten items and is spoken of *Daśa-Śīla*. These forbid, (1) killing of any being (*pānālipāta*) ; (2) taking what is not given (*adinnadānā*) ; (3) indulgence in sexual desires, (4) misconduct, (5) telling lies (*musāvāda*), (6) Slander (*pisunavācā*) ; (7) frivolous and senseless talk

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16. In fact many mystics openly abuse the philosophical speculations. Sahajayānists among the Buddhists are known for such a revolt against all passion for philosophy. Chaitanya is credited to have said that it would be better to throw off the Śāstras. When Upaniṣads declared (Vide *Iṣa up*) that *Vidyā* (Philosophical knowledge included) leads to greater darkness than the *Avidyā* (Ignorance) they did realise the utter meaninglessness of the philosophical opinions. Śaṅkara also makes a similar sense when he says (though in his own framework of matephystical commitment) that all epistemological knowledge leads to ignorance : *avidyāvadiṣayāṇi tāvad pratyākṣādīni pramāṇāṇi* (*Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya* on *Bādarāyaṇa Sūtra*).

(*samphappalāpa*) ; (8) covetousness (*abhijjhā*), (9) malevolence (*byāpāda*) and (10) wrong views (*micchādiṭṭhi*). The first four of these ten *Śila*-s, together with the abstinence from any state of indolence arising from the use of intoxicants (*surā-meraya-majjapamā-daṭṭhānā-vermaṇi*), constitute what is known as '*pañcaśila*' which is the minimal moral requirements[17] of Buddhism. Moreover, all Buddhists take the three Refuges in the *Buddha*, the *Dharma* and the *Saṅgha*. The monastic rules were minutely elaborated. The Theravāda prescribed 227 rules and the Mahāyāna 250 rules.[18] The first path of *Śila* is the fundamental basis to enter the second path of meditation. That the moral discipline is indispensable for the practice of meditation can be referred to from what are known as the four kinds of *Pariśuddhi-śila* (morality of purification), namely, the *Pātimokkha Saṃvara-śila* (restraint with regard to the the monastic obligations), *Indriya-saṃvara-śīla* (restraint of the senses), *ājiva-pariśuddhi-śila* (purity of mean of livelihood) and *paccaya-sannissita-śila* (morality in respect of the four monastic requisites). The rules of *Vinaya* are with slight difference in detail, common to all the schools and emphasise the ethical perfection as the invariable pre-requisite for embarking upon the spiritual journey to the path of meditation or *Samādhi*. The traditional definition of *Samādhi* is '*cita's ekāggatā* or one-pointedness of the mind.

Literally it means 'firm fixation' and can admit of a wide and diffuse connotation and is generally used in the sense of concentration of mind on a single object. Buddha has described it as follows in its sense of mindfulness and self-possession :

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17. Members of the Saṅgha are further enjoined to follow a discipline implying vows of chastity, humility and poverty which correspond to the vows of Christian monks.
18. Buddhism does not only prescribe negations for moral discipline but also lays down the six *Pāramitā*-s (perfections or virtues). These are perfections of (1) giving (*Dānapāramitā*), (2) Morality (*Śila*), (3) Patience (*kṣānti*), (4) Vigour (*Virya*), (5) Meditation (*Dhyāna*) and (6) Wisdom (*Prajñā*).
    Each of the six perfections has been dealt with at enormous length in extensive Mahāyāna literature. The extent of *Prajñāpāramitā* texts available in Mahāyāna seems to give a paramount emphasis to *Prajñā*. The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* speaks of three degrees in each perfection, viz., ordinary, extra-ordinary and superlative; when practised by ordinary people for the sake of worldly gains a perfection is said to be ordinary, when cultivated by the Hīnayānists for the attainment of individual *nirvāṇa*, it is extra-ordinary but when developed by the Bodhisattvas not for their own *nirvāṇa* alone but for the sake of all it is superlative. Closely paralleling this is the distinction af mundane practice of a perfection and the Transcendental given in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*,

"And how, O king, is a monk endowed with mindfulness and self-possession ? In this case a monk is self-possessed in advancing, in withdrawing, in looking forward or looking around, in bending, or stretching his limbs, in wearing his inner and outer robes and bowl, in eating drinking, masticating and tasting; in answering the calls of nature, in walking, standing, sitting, sleeping, waking, speaking, keeping silence. Thus, O king, is a monk endowed with mindfulness and self-possession."[19]

Buddhaghoṣa, in the II Ch. of his work, the *Visuddhimagga*, has given a very lucid and extensive information about the practice of meditation. He has collated from the Pāli texts forty supports or divisions of meditation, under the term *kammatthāna* which comprises the ten devices (*kasina*), the ten Recollections (*anusatti*), the four sublisme abodes (*brahma-vihāra*-s), the four formless spheres (*arupāyatana*), perception of the loathsomeness of food and analysis of the four elements. The time and space at my disposal will not permit me to give any description of these. These, however, are essentially the elaborations of the four *dhyāna*-s described by the Buddha.[20] The first *dhyāna* emphasises reasoning, investigation, joy and concentration. In this the mystic "suffuses, pervades, fills and permeates his body with the pleasure (*sukha*) and joy (*pīti*) arising from seclusion, and there is nothing in all his body untouched by the pleasure and joy arising from seclusion." In the second *dhyāna* there are "joy and pleasure arising from concentration and freedom from reasoning and investigation." In the third the mystic experiences the pleasure that the noble ones call "dwelling with equanimity, mindful and happy." The fourth *dhyāna* is "without pain and pleasure and with the purity of equanimity, mindfulness." Some other texts by reckoning the cessation of reason and cessation of investigation give a scheme of five *dhyāna*-s instead of four. The *Jhāna* in Prākrit is *dhyāna* in Sanskrit, Dzyan in Tibet, Ch'an in chinese and Zen in Japan. It corresponds to the 'Via Mystics' of Christianity. It begins with the discipline of mind, body and senses and can be paralleled with 'Via purgativa'. The fourth *dhyāna*, in which, as J. Evola has remarked,[21] the body is not only pervaded but also covered by the new force, leads to states of development of liberating insight or the wisdom begins and the transcendental path (*lokottara-magga*) begins to bloom. It is thus 'Via Illuminativa' of Christianity.

Beyond the paths of ethical perfection (*śila*) and meditation (*samādhi*) there is the Path of *Prajñā* or Wisdom. It is through this wisdom that a

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19. *Dighanikāya*, I, 47. (tr.by Thomas in Early Buddhist Scriptures).
20. Vide *Early Buddhist Scriptures*, pp. 63-64.
21. *The Doctrine of Awakening*, p. 196.

Buddhist mystic realises the impermanence of all composite things (*Saṅkhāra*), that all composite things are sorrowful and that all things are egoless. And it is this realisation which leads to the disconcern from suffering.[22] It is through Wisdom as D. T. Suzuki has explained, that the doctrine of non-ego, impermanence of things and a spirit of detachment are obtained.[23] The wonder that *Prajñā* performs lies beyond the domain of psychology. It catches the ego, "not from outside but from within"; catches the actor in the midst of his action, he is not made to stop acting in order to be seen as actor. The actor is the acting, and the acting is the actor and of this unification or identification *Prajñā* is awakened (p. 40), *Prajñā* institution is the same as Eichart's love "with which he (God) loves himself." In it opens the *prajñā*-eye which can see the world beyond the reach of psychology.

HĪNAYĀNA MYSTIC AND THE IDEAL OF ARHANT

Śila, Samādhi and *Prajñā* are thus the Pathways to *Nirvāṇa*. The last has been held as the path par excellence. The Hīnayāna mystic passes through four stages. These are :

1. The stage of the *Satāpanna* or one who has entered the stream.
2. The stage of the *Sakṛdāgāmin* or of one who will return only once to this world.
3. The stage of *Anāgāmin* or of one who will not be reborn in the world.
4. The stage of the *Arhant* who is completely free from error, free from delusion and ignorance.

The Buddhists texts speak of the stage of *Asekha* i.e. a stage which lies beyond teaching and may perhaps be regarded a stage beyond that of the *Arhant*, but the transition from the latter to the former is natural. After the *mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha a number of Buddhist communities came into existence, which differed in their understanding and interpretation of

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22. All composite things (*saṅkhāra*) are impermanent. When a man by wisdom realises (this), he need not (this world) of sorrow, this is the path to purity. All composite things are sorrowful. When a man by wisdom realises (this) he needs not (this world of) Sorrow; this is the path to purity.
All things (*dhamma*) are egoless. When a man by wisdom realises (this) he needs not (this world of) sorrow : this is the path to purity.
The *Dhammapada*, tr. S. Radhakrishnan (Oxford University Press, 1951) verses 277-9, pp. 146-7.
23. *Mysticism, Christian and Buddhist*. Pages within bracket in this paragraph refer to this book.

Buddha's teachings. Different versions of scriptures followed. Sāriputrā's version of Law, which was followed by the Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins was one of them. It held *prajñā* to be the highest of the five cardinal virtues, which are Faith, Vigour, Mindfulness, Meditation and Wisdom. According to this school of Sāriputra, which was later called Hīnayāna, Wisdom can assure final salvation. Wisdom is used here in a special sense. It is "a kind of methodical contemplation based on the rules of the Abhidharma" (D'onza). It was to pursue this path of *prajñā* that the old school of Buddhism dedicated itself. The final goal was to attain Arhanthood which is thus described in the *Dhammapada*.[24]

"To him who has finished the path and passed beyond sorrow, who has freed himself on all sides, and thrown away every fetter, there is no more fever of grief." "For such there are no more births. Tranquil is the mind, tranquil the words and deeds of him who is thus tranquilised and made free by wisdom." "They, having obtained 'the fruit of the fourth path' and immersed themselves, have received without price and are in the enjoyment of Nirvāṇa."

The above description of Arhant brings out two important characteristics of *Nirvāṇa*-experience : (1) The cessation of suffering through freedom from fetters and (2) The tranquility of mind. *Nirvāṇa* is extinction only in so far as it relates to the extinction of hoarded desires, extinction of the law of *Karman*, and the extinction of phenomenal existence.

Negative moment generates the freedom and leads to experience of perfect peace, bliss and perfect knowledge. The idea of *jīvanmukti* and *Videhamukti* is also to be found in the distinction between *nibbāna* and *parinibbāna*.

"When a Buddhist has become an *Arhant*, when he reached *nirvāṇa*, the fruit of the fourth path, he has extinguished upādāna and kleśa (error) but he is still alive." It is the same as the state of *Jivanmukta*.

When *upādi*, the *skandha*-s, the body with all its power passes away, "There will then be nothing left to bring about the rise of a new set of *Skandha*-s of a new individual and the *Arhant* will be no longer alive or existent in any sense at all, he will have reached *parinibbāna*, complete extinction or *nirupādiśeṣa nibbānadhātu*, extinction not only of *Taṇhā* and of the fires of passion but also of the *Upādi* and the five *skandha*-s."[25]

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24. *Dhammapada*, verses 90 and 98.

25. Quoted from *Fundamentals of Religion* by Dr. N. Brahma, University of Calcutta, 1960.

The *Avadāna Śataka*[26] brings out the freedom from suffering through struggle and strain and attainment of super-knowledge and powers of an *Arhant* in a fuller description of an *Arhant* :

"He exerted himself, he strove and struggled and thus he realised that this circle of 'Birth and death, with its five constituents (*Skandha*-s) is in constant flux. He rejected all the conditions of existence which are brought about by a compound of conditions since it is their nature to decay and crumble away, to change and to be destroyed. He abandoned all the defilement and won Arhantship. On becoming an Arhant he lost all his attachment with the 'Tripleworld' (i.e. the world of sense, desire, the world of form, the formless world). Gold and clod of earth were to his mind the same. He remained cool (in danger) like the fragrant sandalwood to the axe which cuts it down. By his Gnosis he had torn the 'eggshell' of ignorance. He had obtained Gnosis, the super knowledge and the 'powers of analytical Insight'. He became averse to worldly gains and he became worthy of being honoured, saluted and revered by the Devas, including Indra, Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa."

MAHĀYĀNA MYSTIC AND THE IDEAL BODHISATTVA

The two words which occur almost on each page of the Mahāyāna literature are the words *Bodhisattva* and *Śūnyatā* Literally *Bodhisattva* means an enlightenment-being. Early Buddhists, particularly the Sarvāstivādins, also conceived the idea of *Bodhisattva*. *Abhidharmakośa*[27] has given a fine description of him. He was conceived to be a previous incarnation of the Buddha who took good of others as his own. However, it is only in Mahāyāna (also known as Bodhisattvayāna) that the conception of *Bodhisattva* becomes valid ideal of the Buddhists. The concern of the Hīnayānists was for individual's pefection and his own Arhanthood. He followed the example of *Bodhisattva*, the previous incarnation of the Buddha, to win his own *nirvāṇa* as quickly as possible. The concern for the individual's *nirvāṇa* was replaced by a new ideal of *Bodhisattva*, conceived not as a being anxiously working and awaiting for becoming Buddha, but as one who would wait until even the smallest creature had won the *Summum bonnum* of his life and would work for the welfare of all for the same ideal.

This ideal of *Bodhisattva* working for the freedom and good of all, and not merely striving to gain his own freedom, made the old ideal of *Arhant*,

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26. *Avadānaśataka*, II.348.
27. *Abhidarmakośa*, III.94;II. 191-2.

who achieved *nirvāṇa* for his own self and would be born no more, appear as rather selfish. A passage from the *Prajñāpāramitā* brings out this difference in the two ideals :

"How do the persons belonging to the Vehicle of the Disciples and Pratyekabuddha train themselves ? They think, one single self we will tame, one single self we fill pacify, one single self we will land into nirvāṇa. Then they undertake exercises which bring about wholesome roots for the sake of taming themselves, pacifying themselves, nirvāṇising themselves; certainly, the Bodhisattva should not train himself like that. He should undertake exercises for bringing about roots wholesome with idea ; Myself I will place in suchness and for the sake of helping all the world I will also place all beings in suchness ; the immeasurable world of beings I will lead to nirvāṇa".[28]

In Tibetan, *Bodhisattva* is translated as a Being with heroic mind. The hero does not abandon the fellows caught in suffering.[29] The Hīnayāna mysticism aimed at arhanthood as the state of highest perfection and knowledge by an individual. It was individualistic quietism. Wisdom was taught here as the highest virtue, compassion was relegated to background or regarded as a subsidiary virtue. The ideal of *Bodhisattva* in Mahāyāna mysticism integrated the ideals of compassion and wisdom. This *Bodhisattva* had no concern for kingship of world, for heaven, salvation or glory, his simple concern is the suffering people. He suffered many hardships and remained ever prepared to sacrifice his life for the good of others. He undergoes all privations, hardships and troubles for the sake of others and declares :

"This effort of mine is not for attaining better existence nor for monarch's unrivalled imperial status, nor for unalloyed exalted, pleasures nor for spiritual glory or the happiness of liberation."[30]

The *Bodhisattva* does not only set himself free, he devises to make all others free. As *Prajñapāramitā* puts it :

"Doers of what is hard are the *Bodhisattva*-s, the great beings who have set out to win supreme enlightenment. They don't wish to attain their own

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28. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* XI, 234-35. Quoted by Conze.
29. The heroic nature of the Bodhisattva is finely woven into the texture of *Jātaka*-tales.
30. *Hastijātaka*, verse 21.

private *nirvāṇa*. On the contrary, they have surveyed the highly painful world of being and yet desirous to win supreme enlightenment, they don't trouble at birth and death. They have set out for the benefit of the world, for the ease of the world, out of pity for the world. They have resolved : We will become a place of rest, the final relief of the world, a refuge for the world, the world's place of rest, the final relief of the world, islands of the world, lights of the world, leaders of the world, the world meaning of salvation.''[31]

As contrasted with ethico-religious rigourism and quietistic and individualistic mysticism of Hīnayāna which Asaṅga characterises narrow in its aim of self-liberation, narrow teachings to realise that aim, narrow method applied for this realisation, insufficiency of equipment and the shortness of time which final liberation is guaranteed[32] the Bodhisattvayāna preferred attainment of perfect knowledge as associated with *Karuṇā*. Bodhisattvahood means the attainment of the Bodhimind which is defined as unified state of *śūnyatā* and universal compassion.[33] Integral function of the philosophical truth or wisdom (*śūnyatā* or *prajñā*) and universal welfare is what we must understand from the Buddhicitta.

Thus *Bodhisattva* is a heroic being full of knowledge and compassion. For him then *Saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* cannot be different. It is the doctrine of *Karuṇā* which is a key to the understanding of the classic statement of Nāgārjuna that there is not even the slightest difference between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. The quietist Hīnayāna mysticism now enters the phase of activistic in its second phase of Mahāyāna. The mysticism of knowledge and understanding is combined with the mysticism of love for the fellow human beings of the world which then cannot be conceived different from the *nirvāṇa*, the mystic ideal.

Another noteworthy feature of Mahāyāna is its conception of the three bodies of the Buddha. The Buddha is, according to this concept, not a particular historical personage, he is but the ultimate principle as the totality of thought and beings in an unconditioned state of all-existence. This principle has three aspects or bodies. viz., *Dharmakāya* (primordial body or thatness of all existence), the *Sambhogakāya* or the body of bliss and *Nirmāṇakāya* (i.e. the body of transformation).

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31. Quoted in *Buddhism* by Conze, p. 128.
32. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, Chap. I. verse 10.
33. *Śūnyatākaruṇābhinnam bodhicittamiti smṛtam* *Śrīguhyasamājatantra* (G. D. S. I., p. 153).

With universal freedom as their ideal the Mahāyānists made their religion catholic enough to make it acceptable to even ordinary person. It was in this stage of Buddhism the popular religious beliefs and practices began to be incorporated that a new school developed which introduced *Mantra*-elements, like the *Dhāriṇi*-s, into the province of this religion. The *Tattvaratnāvali*, in fact, divided Mahāyāna into two schools, viz., *Pāramitā-naya*, or the discipline of Supreme Virtue and *Mantra-naya* which introduced all sorts of esoteric principles and practices in Buddhism. The *Mantranaya* was the precursor of Tāntric Buddhim which was mainly divided into three vehicles, viz., Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna and Sahajayāna. Belief in the efficacy of the *mantra*, etc. had existed even in the times of Buddha himself[34], and Tāntric ideas of sexo-yogic practice leading to blissful union were present in the *sūtrālaṅkāra* itself. Belief in mysterious power of *Mantra*, worship of the *Stūpa*, reverence for the mystic *Bodhimaṇḍala*, or the Circle round the holy tree beneath which Buddha had attained his *bodhi*, were handed down from earlier traditions.[35] They paved the way for the vigorous propagation of the *Mantra*, *Mudrā* (posture and gestures) and *Maṇḍala* (Mystic diagram) by Tāntric Buddhism. Once the portals of Buddhism were flung open to esoteric elements the beliefs in gods, demigods, demons and ghosts, magic, charm and sorcery followed. To these again were added elements of yoga—*Haṭhayoga*, *Layayoga*, *Mantra-yoga* and *Rājayoga*. In the earlier phase of Tantrism the emphasis was laid on *Mantra*, *Mudrā*, *Maṇḍala* and *Abhiṣeka* but later on the sexo-yogic practice was held as the most important for the attainment of supreme bliss. It was through the enjoyment of the five objects of desire (*Pañca-kāma-guṇa*) and of the five accessories beginning with the syllable '*m*' (*Pañcamakāra*-s), namely *madya*, *māṃsa*, *matsya*, *mudrā* and *maithuna* that the perfection is said to be achieved.

This erotic mysticism is known as Vajrayāna or the Adamantine way. It is generally divided into four classes. The first two namely *kriyātantra* and *caryātantra* are considered lower as they are concerned with rites and ceremonial worship of Gods, etc. and the last two, viz., *Yoga-tantra* and

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34. *Tattvaratnāvali* in *Ādyavajrasaṅgraha*, p. 21.
    See also *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism* by Dr. B. Bhattacharya, p. 48 and *Introduction to Sādhanamālā* (Vol. II) Dr. Bhattacharya, pp. xvi-xvii.
35. For occasional references to Tāntric practices including the sex-element see *Dīgha-nikāya*, *Brahmajālasutta*; *Kathāvatthu*, xvii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, XXIII.2., *Majjhimanikāya*, Pali Text Society's ed. I, p. 305.

Anuttaratantra are considered higher inasmuch as they describe Yogic processes for the consideration and realisation of the ultimate truth.[36]

Another school of Tantra, which is not considered independent from Vajrayāna by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta is known as *Kālacakrayāna.* It lays emphasis on the control of vital winds and results attained thereby. According to this school the universe with all its objects and localities is situated in the body and time in all its divisions is within the body in the processes of vital wind. The stress on body-centred yoga seems to be a special feature of *Kālacakrayāna.* Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*[37] has similarly explained the functioning of time within the body with reference to vital winds and the process of controlling time through the control of vital wind through yogic practices.

Buddhist Tantrism appears to have transformed the philosophical concepts of Mahāyāna. Thus *Śūnyatā* is spoken of as *Vajra*—firm, substantial, indivisible, impenetrable, incapable of being burnt and imperishable. The transformation of *Śūnyatā* into *Vajra* explained how all the Gods, articles for worship, yogic practices, rites and rituals were regarded of *Vajra* nature. The supreme deity of this *Yāna* is Vajrasattva which resembles the pure consciousness of the Vijñānavādin and the Brahman of Vedānta.[38] The Mahāyānic idea of Bodhicitta as attainment of perfect wisdom combined with universal compassion was identified in Vajrayāna, more particularly in Sahajayāna with *Prajñā* and *Upāya* conceived as female and male respectively. Bodhicitta is thus a state produced through the union of passive female principle of *Prajñā* with active male principle of *Upāya.* The doctrine of *Śūnyatā* through its equation with *Prajñā* (feminine gender) was rendered female and the doctrine of *Karuṇā*, which was a dynamic principle for universal salvation, was transformed into male through its equation with *Upāya* (mas. gender).

Thus the union of *Śūnyatā* and *Karuṇā* or *Prajñā* and *Upāya* translated into the mystic union of female and male through sexo-yogic practice.

This union known as *Yuganaddha* or non-dualism (*advaya*) is described in terms of population of conjugal union in Buddhist, Śaiva and Śākta Tantras. It results in great bliss (*Mahāsukha*). There have always been two opinions

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36. Cf. division of Vaiṣṇavatantra into *jñānapāda, yogapāda, Kriyāpāda,* and *caryāpāda* (found in the *Padmatantra*).
37. *Tantrāloka*, Chap. III.
38. Vide *Obscure Religious Cults* by S. N. Dasgupta (Firmal K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1962) pp. 24-28.

on the nature of *Nirvāṇa* being a negative or positive state. Some passages in Pāli texts do describe it as a state of infinite bliss[39]. Vijñānavādin also described it as "the Immutable element which is beyond the reach of all good, permanent, perfect bliss—it is liberation, the substance itself."[40] However, Buddhist Tantrism is very positive about the positively blissful state of *nirvāṇa* which it calls *Mahāsukha*. It is described as *Satata-Sukhamaya* or eternally blissful, the place of both enjoyment and liberation, changeless, supreme bliss, the seed of all supreme bliss, the seed of all substance (*Vastu*).[41]

To conclude Buddhist mysticism aims at *nirvāṇa*, the Enlightenment-experience through ethico-moral discipline of mind, body and senses (as understood by the way of *śila*), through elaborate process of meditation (*Samādhi*) and finally through the insight into the nature of Reality (*Prajñā*). A Hīnayāna mystic attains the individul *nirvāṇa* and a Mahāyānist is busy working out the salvation of others. The good of the world is his own *Summum bonum*. The world and *nirvāṇa* are not different.

The Hīnayānist is only a step behind the Mahāyāna mystic. While the former stops when he has realised his own *nirvāṇa*, the Mahāyānist goes a step further to lead the world to the highest goal of human life—freedom from suffering and peace of mind.[42]

Individual's freedom and peace is the goal of Hīnayāna mysticism, the goal of Mahāyāna is universal freedom and universal peace. The path leading to this is common—

The threefold path of *Śila Samādhi* and *Prajñā*.

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39. *Milinda-panha* ed. Trenckner, pp. 315-26. See also *A Dictionary of Pāli Language* under the word *nibbāna*. Other references (i) *Suttanipāta* 1933, (ii) *Aṅguttara*. IV, 239, (iii) *Vimānavatthu*, 51 (iv) *Therigāthā*, 350 (v) *Dhammapada*, 285.
40. Vasubandhu's *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, *Triṃśikā*, Verse, 30.
41. *Guhyasiddhi* of Padma-Vajra quoted by Dr. Bagchi, p. 33.
42. *Boddhisattvabhūmi* (edited by Dr. Nalinaksha Datta) describes the Sixteen *Bhūmi-s* or grounds. Out of these fifteen are common for all Buddhists, only the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* expounding the ideal of universal freedom through compassion is exclusive to a Bodhisattva.

NIDHIPATI (AVŚ. 7. 17. 4 ETC.)

J. Gonda

The prayer for possessions and offsprings addressed to several gods that accompanies the first of the *samiṣṭayajus* oblations indicating the completion of a sacrifice—in case of the animal sacrifice that belongs to the Soma ceremonies[1] —is not only handed down with many variants[2], but also differently interpreted by ancient and modern commentators and translators. The text of the *TS.*[3], runs as follows : *dhātā rātiḥ savitedaṃ*[4] *juṣantām prajāpatir nidhipatir no agniḥ/tvaṣṭā viṣṇuḥ prajayā saṃrarāṇo*[5] *yajamānāya draviṇaṃ dadhātu.*[6] Whereas the commentator on *AVŚ*[7]. regards *rātiḥ* as an independent deity, "the giver of all that is conducive to welfare"[8] Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara on *VS.* are of the opinion that it defines or describes ("liberally

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1. J. Schwab, *Das altindische Thieropfer*, Erlangen 1886, p. 160 f.; W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906-1907, p. 391 f.
2. For particulars see W. D. Whitney and Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 400; A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge 1914, p. 64.
3. 1.4.44a.
4. *Pāda* a= *AVŚ*. 3.8 2a.
5. Various (and sometimes unclear or incorrect) translations of these words have been proposed. In any case, the participle is more or less stereotyped [see, e.g., *AVŚ*. 2.34.4 and also L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, XV, Paris 1966, p. 122 (on *ṚV*. 6.70.6)] and *prajayā* belongs to *draviṇam*.
6. Prescribed by the Taittirīyakas *BŚ*. 8.18 : 259.4; *BhŚ*. 14 19.10; *ĀpŚ*. 13.18.4 (also 9.18.16, see below); *VaikhŚ*. 16.22:233.4 (also 19.7:297.7, see below; 20.37:321.6 corresponding to *ĀpŚ*. 9.18.16); besides, *MS*. 1.3.38:44.4 (with *varuṇo mitraḥ* instead of *nidhipatiḥ*), followed by *MŚ*. 2.5.4.16; *KS*. 4.12:36.22; 13.9:191.1; and *KapS*. 3.10:33.17 (the same gods as *MS*.); *VS*. 8.17 (the same gods as *TS*.); *ŚB*. 4.4.4.9; see also *AVŚ*. 7.17.4; *AVP*. 20.2.6 (with *pūṣā* instead of Viṣṇu).
7. 7.17.4.
8. Cf., e.g., *AVŚ*. 1.26.2.

disposed") the name *Dhātar* as an apposition. With regard to *nidhipatiḥ* all three commentators concur in considering it an appositive substantive denoting an aspect or function of Prajāpati. Both commentators on *VS.*—which reads *prajāpatir nidhipā devo agniḥ*—explicitly state that mention is made of six gods, but Uvaṭa regards all six as *nidhipāḥ* "protectors of *nidhi* (s)" (the word used in *VS.* and *ŚB.*). Hence Griffith's translation "Prajāpati, the Treasure-Guard" and Eggeling's "the guardian of treasures".[9] On the construction of *nidhipatiḥ* (in the other texts) the opinions of the translators are divided : according to some[10] it belongs to Prajāpati, to others[11] to the following Agni. In rendering "lord of treasures" (and "Schätzeherr") they agree.

An attempt to decide this controversy—at first sight one would for reasons of syntax prefer the latter interpretation[12]—should be prefaced by the solution of some preliminary problems : what is a *nidhi* ? ; is one of the two gods elsewhere associated with *nidhi*-s ? ; is one of them, or are both of them, connected with other words that belong to the same semantic class ? ; if so, what is the exact meaning of these words and in what do they differ from *nidhi* ? ; what is the ritual use of the *mantra*-s in which the word *nidhi* occurs ? ; what is the structure of the sets of stanzas to which the above stanza belongs and what is their ritual function ? ; is it possible to detect the origin of their component parts ?

The general, basic and etymological meaning of *nidhi*, which is often translated by "treasure", is, generally speaking, perfectly clear : it is something deposited or that in which something is deposited.[13] It is not infrequently accompanied by a form of the related verb *ni-dhā-* "to put or lay down, deposit"[14] : In *AVP.* the gods are said to have deposited (re)generative

9. R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 74; J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* translated, II, Oxford 1885, p. 376.
10. Keith, *Veda of Black Yajus School*, p. 64; C. G. Kashikar, *The Sūtras of Bharadvāja*, Poona 1964, p. 441.
11. W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*. II,. Amsterdam Acad. 1924, p. 112; Whitney and Lanman, l. cit.; N. J. Shende, *The foundations of the Atharvanic religion*, Maysore n.y., p. 19.
12. Notice that in translating the stanza Keith renders *naḥ* by "for our sake", Kashikar and Caland omit it, Whitney renders : "Agni, our treasure lord".
13. Cf. J. Wackernagel and A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p. 299.
14. In *AVP.*, 3.12.3. For the use of this verb see J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 194.
15. *AVŚ.* 11.5.10 (*AVP.*16.153 10); 12.4.17; 29.

power (*vāja*) as a *nidhi* in the forest tree[15]. Hence, various contextual meanings and translations such as, on the one hand, "hoard" or "store"[16] : and on the other hand, "receptacle, container, treasury"[17] :

This word differs clearly in meaning from other words that are usually translated in the same way : from *ratna* "gift, present, goods, treasure" (Monier-Williams), which is a general name for "anything precious or valuable, the best of its kind, something of high excellence" ; from *draviṇam*, *draviṇa*-s which denotes "movable property (as opposed to house and field, evidently *RV*.[18] from *vasu*, a general term for "goods, property, wealth". It seems worthwhile to examine the ṛgvedic use of these words in connection with the names of the gods whose favour and generosity are implored in the stanza under discussion[19] : in four cases Savitar's gifts are called *ratna*[20], in one case *vasu*,[21] in some other cases words for "gift" are used ; irrespective of definite gifts (is "anything refreshing, comfort") Agni presents his worshippers in most cases with objects called *ratna*, in a few cases with *draviṇa* (s) ; Tvaṣṭar once with property (*rayi*), once with *draviṇa*-s. Viṣṇu is

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16. *RV*. 1.116.11 (a hidden treasure that has been dug up); 2.24.6; 8.29.6 (*pṛthivyāṃ nihitāni dhanāni*, Sāyaṇa); *AVŚ*. 2 4 17; 29 (consisting of a cow); *ṚV*. 10.186.3 (with a genitive of the word indicating that of which the *nidhi* consists: *amṛtasya nidhīr hitáḥ* (of the 'nectar' conferring continuance of life[12] stored up in Vāyu's house); 10.68.6. but also "the deposited offerings—e g. *ṚV*. 10.15.5 (*AVŚ*. 18.3.45) on the *barhis*, *ṚV*. 1.183.4 (with a genitive of the soma draught) etc.—, and "(the deceased who have been) committed (to the fire)" : *AVŚ*. 18.4.41 where Agni is declared to "know the deposits, the Fathers who have gone away"; "dépòt d'ambroisie", Renou, *E. V. P.* XV, p. 111.
17. Thus rightly Sāyaṇa on *AVŚ*.; cf. Renou, *E. V. P.* XVI, p. 125; 30; "Auftischungen" (Geldner, *ṚV*. übers.); cf. also *TĀ*. 6.7.2. *ṚV*. 10.108.7 (containing cattle, horses, goods); *ĀpŚ*. 16.22.2 (of the waters, *apām nidhiḥ*); *ŚG*. 1.2.8; *VāŚ*. 3.17: "the man who, while being in possession of cows, does not give them (to the officiants) is a *nidhi*.
18. Cf. 18.2.20; Sāyaṇa takes it to be an 'imperfect simile' (*luptopamā*), the deceased being compared to hidden treasures. 1.121.2; 10.61.12.
   "Behälter", W. Caland, in *Acta Or*. (Lugd.), 4, p. 18.—The word is also used for the bottom part of the fire-pan (*ukhā*, *ŚB*. 6.5.2.1 which is 'identified' with this world (the earth, 3; 22).
19. Dhātar gives offsprings (*ṚV*. 10.184.1) and disposes the duration of man's life (10.18.5); Rāti is invited to approach (10.66.10; cf. Renou, *E. V. P.* IV, p. 124); in connexion with Prajāpati the above words do not occur in the *Ṛgveda*. Prajāpati's procreative activity is well known; for Savitar see *ṚV*. 4.53.7; for Agni, e.g., 3.24.5; for Tvaṣṭar, e.g., 3.55.19; for Viṣṇu, e.g., 7.36.9. See p. 8 middle below.
20. *ṚV*. 2.1.7; 4.54.1, etc.
21. 5.42.3.

a liberal god[22], but what he gives is in the *Ṛgveda* nowhere called a *ratna* and only once *rayi*.[23] These differences in the frequency of the occurrences of these words in references to the gods' generosity can, to a certain extent, be understood as pointing to differences in this side of their character and in the personal benefit their worshippers expect from them. The word *draviṇa* (s) for which the gods in *TS*.[24] are besought occurs in many ṛgvedic cases in Agni stanzas, a few times in Indra or Soma stanzas and only rarely in connexion with other gods (once, with Savitar).[25] A *nidhi* that is stored up (a treasure) is, as far as I am able to see, normally not given,[26] but in *ṚV*.[27] the person speaking wishes to be given part of the *nidhi* in Vāyu's house (see above); in *AVŚ*.[28] the earth, said to bear *nidhi* and *vasu*, is requested to give a *maṇi* "gem", gold and goods (*vasūni*), no doubt part of these possessions; the stanza is *Kauś*.[29] appropriately used. A *nidhi* that is "dished up" (see above) is offered to the gods.

In a stanza[30] *nidhi* is, as an explanation of, or apposition to *kusīdam* "loan", used in the sense of something owed to another (in *casu* Yama); at the end of a soma sacrifice the sacrificer has to burn the plants (grass) with which he has strewn the sacrificial bed; in doing so he "makes here (i. e. still alive, in this world) requital for the loan and the *nidhi*[31] which he owes to Yama". The grass which, being burnt, reaches the realm of the lord of the deceased, is obviously regarded as a *nidhi* that is set apart for him. But no mention is made of someone who guards this *nidhi*.

The compounds *nidhipa*, *nidhipā*, *nidhipati* (or the combination *nidhīnām pati*) are not found in the *Ṛgveda*. On the other hand, the epithet *vasupati* (often with *vasūnām*, once with *vasos*) is applied to Indra[32], Agni[33], Savitar[34],

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22. Cf. J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht 1954, Delhi 1969, Ch. III. cf. *ṚV*. 1.156.2; 8.20.3.
23. 7.100.2.
24. 1.4.44a.
25. 4.54.1.
26. A *nidhi* that is "dished up" (see above) is offered to the gods.
27. 10.186.3.
28. 12.1.44; *AVP*. 17.3.11.
29. 24.39.
30. *MS*. 4.14.17 : 245.9; *MŚ*. 2.5.5.18 etc.
31. Here *TS*. 3.3.8.1 reads *bali* "gift, oblation, tribute"; cf. *AVŚ*. 6.117.1; *AVP*. 16.49.10. Miss J. M. van Gelder, *The Mānava Śrautasūtra*, New Delhi 1963, p. 105 translates "treasure"; W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906-1907, p. 410 "dépôt".
32. e.g. *ṚV*. I.170.5.

in most cases in prayers for goods, wealth etc. or allusions to the god's liberality. Combinations of *ratna* or *draviṇa* (s) with *-pa*, *-pā* or *pati* do not seem to occur in the Veda.

Referring for a long discussion of the compound *nidhipā*, which need not be repeated here, to another publication,[35] I first draw attention to a formula to be used by the man who wishes to build a house. According to *PG.*[36], he has to offer cooked food to a considerable number of deities, requesting them to give him a dwelling-place. The deities are addressed and given offerings in groups, the first group consisting of Agni, Indra, Bṛhaspati and some others, the last of Brahman and Prajāpati. The last group but one consists of Dhātar, Vidhātar and the Lord of *nidhi*-s *(nidhīnāṃ ca patim)*. It would seem that this "Lord" is no more an epithet (applied to Vidhātar) than Viśvakarman which is the third name in the preceding *mantra*. I would take him to be a Sondergott or 'functional' deity[37], one of those well-known otherwise anonymous 'parochial gods'—just as, e. g., Kṣetrapati, the tutelary deity called "Lord of the field or soil"[38] —whatever the character of the deposits committed to his care.[39] Although such a *pati* name was occasionally applied as an epithet to another god[40] there are no sound reasons for supposing that they originally were epithets of gods who had another name.

Elsewhere[41] I made an attempt to show that *nidhipā*[42] translated by "treasure-keeper"[43], should rather be taken to mean "the guardian of the deposit (s)" and probably denotes the guardian of the 'treasure' deposited by the person who by performing a definite rite has acquired the merit which is usually called *sukṛtam*.[44] From these stanzas it appears that the one who

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33. e.g. 2.1.11; 5.4.1.
34. 7.45.3; *TB.* 2.8.6.1.
35. Gonda, *Savayajñas,* p. 186ff.
36. 3.4.8.
37. J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens* ²1, Stuttgart 1978, p. 26f.
38. *AVŚ.* 2.8.5; cf. *Kauś.* 27.2.
39. See Gonda, *Rel. Indiens* ²I, p. 37; Notes on Brahman, Utrecht 1950, p. 67 f.; *The dual deities in the religion of the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1974, p. 311, n. 15; p. 313, n. 21.
40. cf. *ṚV.* 6.53.1 where Pūṣan is called "Lord of the way".
41. Gonda, *Savayajñas*, l.c. ; see also p. 434.
42. *AVŚ.* 12.3.34; 41 (*AVP.* 17.40.1) and 42 (*AVP.* 17.40.2).
43. M. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, S.B.E. 42, Oxford 1897, p. 189 f.; Whitney and Lanman, *op. cit*, p. 689 f. ; for my translations of these places see *Savayajñas*, p. 84f.
44. For *sukṛtam* see J. Gonda, *Loka*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 115 ff.; 132 ff. etc.; cf. e.g., *AVŚ.* 18 2.53.

offers the sacrificial food (the rice-dish under discussion) will reach heaven through it, where at the end of sixty years—it is hoped that he will not die earlier—the guardian of deposits will, it is expected, look out for him. It seems that the oblation itself "given by us, deposited (*nihitaḥ*, "dished up"[45]), heaven-going" (st. 42) is believed to assume, in heaven, the form of the sacrificer's ritual merit that is committed to the care of the *nidhipā*.[46] "In order to be in harmony with reality (*satyāya*, i. e. "in order to keep my world"), and with a view to (acquire) *tapas* (which is a means of ascending to the heavenly regions,[47] to the gods (*devatābhyaḥ*, probably the above *nidhipā*-s[48], we entrust this deposit (*nidhim*), this treasure (*śevadhi*[49], an inexhaustible quantity of goods)...". The conclusion seems to be warranted that in this stanza also the *nidhi*-s are the deposits in heaven consisting of the offerings that assume the character of religious merit, the *nidhipā*-s those deities who keep and guard them and who after his death welcome the sacrificer who had earned this merit.[50]

As observed elsewhere[51], it is neither beyond possibility nor capable of being proved that the *nidhi*-s of which Pūṣan has, according to *ṚV*.[52], knowledge refer to the same 'deposits' : this god functions also as a conveyer of the souls of the deceased[53]. In any case, the above is not the only use of *nidhipā*. In *PG*.[54] the following *mantra* is to be pronounced by a resident pupil in connection with the respectful maintenance of his teacher's fire (*agniparicaryā*) :"... As thou, O Agni, art the preserver of the *nidhi* of the

45. Remember the use of *nidhi* in the sense of "deposited offering". See also *AV*. 12.3.48 cd and *Savayajñas*, p. 113; 418.
46. On this stanza see *Savayajñas*, p. 113; 416. See also *AVŚ*. 12.3.46 (*AVP*. 17 40.6).
47. *AVŚ*. 4.11.6.
48. Bloomfield, in S.B.E. 42, p. 653 supposes these *devatāḥ* to be the brahmans, who in st. 38 are said to deliver "him" (the sacrificer represented by the offering to the deities, cf. *Savayajñas*, p. 84; 177 f.), but there also the deities in heaven are called *devatāḥ* and the intermediaries are *devatāḥ*. Cf. also *AVŚ*. 4.3.38 d.
49. See *Savayajñas*, p. 360. In *AVŚ*. 12.4.14; 17 mention is made of *śevadhir nihitaḥ* (*Savayajñas*, p. 360).
50. For a Buddhist parallel of the belief that "the treasure" awaits the arrival of the deceased in the world hereafter see, e.g., *Dhammapada* 219 f.; for an Iranian parallel G. Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God*, Uppsala 1945, p 84 ff.; *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart 1965, p. 39.
51. *Savayajñas*, p. 186 f.
52. 8.29.6.
53. Cf. *ṚV*. 10.17.3-6; *AVŚ*. 18.2.54 f.; *ĀśvŚ*. 6.10.19; ritual rules (*kalpa*) on *TĀ*. 6.1.1.
54. 2.4.2.

sacrifice for the gods, may I in like manner become the guardian of the treasure of the Veda for men"[55]. Although the ṛgvedic Agni does not concern himself with *nidhi*-s, he is here explicitly said to guard the treasure that consists in the sacrifice.[56] From the *mantra* it appears also that a human being could be a *nidhipa*[57], and that *nidhi* was used to indicate also other things that were from the ritual and religious point of view valuable.[58]

From the above places the conclusion may, I think, be drawn that at least in these contexts *nidhipā* is not a title or epithet of one of those gods who are usually known by their own name, but that it is a title or name of a function given to an otherwise anonymous god, a *Sondergott* who fulfils a certain duty or performs a certain task denoted by that title. One might, for instance, recall the compound *draviṇodas* "granter of (movable) property", which in *ṚV.*[59] likewise creates the impression of being only a designation of a divine power whose function it is to grant property[60], notwithstanding the fact that in *AVŚ*[61] it is an epithet of Agni. It would, therefore, be wise to take these facts and conclusions into account in studying other occurrences of *nidhipā* in the atharvanic sphere.

Turning now to a stanza of the *TS.*[62] it strikes us that in the *AV.* it does not seem to have been from the beginning part of a complete and simultaneously conceived hymn. A stanza, a prayer for possessions addressed to Dhātar[63], "lord of the moving creation" (*jágatas pátiḥ*), occurs in *AVP.*[64] as the last of four stanzas which, except for some variants, are also found in *TS.*[65] where they are followed by three other *mantra*-s; the whole set accom-

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55. See *Savayajñas*, p. 187 f.
56. For this god as a guardian of the sacrifice see also, e.g., *ṚV.* 1.1.4; 2.5.8.
57. See also the use of a a similar *mantra* in *ĀśvG.* 1.22.21 (*Savayajñas*, p. 187 f.). The rite is to effect the elevation of the student to the guardianship of the treasure, of the Veda (see especially *Manu*, 2.114 f., using the words *śevadhi* and *nidhipa*).
58. *AVŚ.* 19.27.9 (*AVP.* 10.7.9) deals with the deposited (*nihita*) *nidhi* of the gods, consisting of gold, discovered by Indra and guarded (*gup-*) by the waters.—A *nidhi* is not only guarded (*pā-*), in *AVŚ.* 10.7.23 (*AVP.* 17.9.4) mention is made of the *nidhi* of the *skambha*, the frame of creation, which the thirty-three gods always protect or defend (*rakṣ-*), but whose nature remains hidden from men.
59. 2.37.1 ff.
60. Sāyaṇa is of the same opinion.
61. In *AvŚ.* 19.3.2.
62. 1.4.44 a; *AVS.* 7.17.4,
63. 7.17.1.
64. 1.39.4.
65. 2.4.5 a, b, d, c.

panies the supplementary oblations (*upahoma*-s) preceding the offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt[66] that belongs to a definite unbloody sacrifice for the benefit of one desirous of cattle. The other three stanzas of *AVŚ.*[67] are, except for variants, *AVP.*[68] where they constitute, after three stanzas corresponding to *AVŚ.*[69] an eulogy upon Dhātar, a twofold heterogeneous 'hymn', the two components being welded together by the words *draviṇam ā dadhātu* in 3 b and *dhātā dadhātu* in 4 a. The stanzas 1-3 of *AVŚ.*[70] are, with several variants, found in *TS.*[71] as the first component of a group of *mantra*-s used in offering the *devikāhavīṃṣi* (oblations to four minor female deities preceded by Dhātar at the end of a soma sacrifice.)[72] In *MS.*[73] *pāda* a (the first four words) of *AV.* st. 1[74] is in a series of invitatory and oblatory *mantra*-s followed by b–d of *AV.* st. 2 and *AV.* 3 (*TS.* k). In *KS.*[75] *AV.* st. 1 is followed by a variant of *AVŚ.*[76] mentioning Prajāpati and a deity called "Lord of prosperity" (Puṣṭipati). St. 2 followed by a stanza which is h in *TS.*[77] and the first line of which is identical with *AVP.*[78] (see above), occurs in *ŚS.*[79] (likewise *devikāhaviṃṣi*). The same two stanzas in *ŚGS.*[80] are used in performing the *simantonnayana* ceremony[81]; for this purpose *ĀPG.*[82] and *HG.*[83] prescribe the four stanzas of *TS.*[84] The *mantra*-s which correspond to *AVŚ.*[85] are everywhere appropriately used, irrespective of their ritual function and the combination with other *mantra*-s.

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66. *BŚ.* 13.36: 135.9; *ĀpŚ.* 19.25.15.
67. 7.17.
68. 20.2.4-6.
69. 7.3.1 and 7.5.1; 2 and (st. 7).
70. 7.17.
71. 3.3.11.2; 3 g i k.
72. Cf , e.g., *TS.* 1.8.8.1; *ĀpŚ.* 13.24.2. See also *Bṛhaddevatā* 4.87 f. (recension B).
73. 4.12.6: 195.12 ff.
74. This is not to suggest that *MS.* and *KS.* have borrowed this material from *AV.*
75. 13.16 : 200.7 ff.
76. 7.19.1.
77. 3.3.11.
78. 20.2.7.
79. 9.28.3.
80. 1.22.7.
81. See J. Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, Leiden 1980, p. 89 f. For the use of the *mantra*-s see Gonda, The *simantonnayana* in the *gṛhyasūtra*-s, *East and West*, 7 (1956), p. 21 (=*Selected Studies*, Leiden 1975, IV, p. 195).
82. 6.14.2.
83. 2.1.2.
84. 3.3.11 g-k.
85. 7.17.1-3.

Thus these three stanzas addressed to Dhātar appear to have been usable for more than one purpose and capable of combination with other *mantra*-s. It may be supposed that in *AVŚ.*[86] they were combined with st. 4, which in *AVP.*[87] forms part of another group of stanzas and in other works is used independent of these three stanzas. There seems to be occasion for the supposition that this enlargement made the *sūkta* fit to consecrate the women's rite described in *Kauś.*[88] viz. to procure the birth of a male child : not only the references to Dhātar, the god who places the embryo[89], who is elsewhere[90], besought for offspring and receives oblations in a domestic rite for the same purpose[91], but also those to the creator god Prajāpati, and to the other gods mentioned in st. 4 who are elsewhere entreated for the same purpose refute Whitney's[92] statement that this hymn "offers little to suggest" a prayer for a male child.[93]

As to the last stanza of *AVŚ.*[94] we would perhaps not be far wrong if we regarded it as an originally independent, variable and adaptable stanza which could be combined with more than one other text. It may be observed that in *KS.*[95] its second line comes after another series of names, viz. *saṃ vo dadhātu varuṇo mitro agnis sam indras saṃ bṛhaspatiḥ*, in which Dhātar and Prajāpati do not occur.[96] Another variant of the stanza, enumerating the names of Varuṇa, Indra, Pūsan, Dhātar, Bṛhaspati, Tvaṣṭar and Viṣṇu in *ĀPŚ.*[97] used to accompany the 'anointing' of the two sorts of water (morning service of a soma ceremony).[98]

It should in this connexion be parenthetically recalled that Dhātar and Prajāpati have from the earliest texts much in common, or rather, that their

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86. 7.17.
87. See above, n. 6 (*AVŚ.* 7.17.2-4=*AVP.* 20.2.4-6).
88. 35.16.
89. *AVŚ.* 5.25.4 f.
90. *ṚV.* 10.184.1; *AVŚ.* 5.25.10.
91. Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, p. 368.
92. Whitney and Lanman, *op. cit.*, p. 400.
93. For Prajāpati see, *ṚV.* 10.85.43; Savitar, 4.53.7; Agni, e.g., 3.24.5; Tvaṣṭar, 2.3.9; 3.55.19; *AVŚ.* 2.29.2; Viṣṇu and see especially *ṚV.* 10.184.1 assigning Viṣṇu, Tvaṣṭar, Prajāpati, and Dhātar for four successive duties in the process of procreation.
94. 7.17.
95. 3.9 : 27.21.
96. In *MS.* 1.3.38 *varuṇo mitraḥ* takes the place of *nidhipatiḥ*, see n. 9 above.
97. 12.6.3.
98. Caland and Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, p. 143 f.

fields of action or spheres of influence are in some respects nearly related. Dhātar—the frequent translation "Creator" creates misunderstanding—has ordered, regulated, or managed (*akalpayat*) sun, moon, sky, atmosphere, and earth[99], and disposes (all) existences,[100] sustains earth, sky and sun,[101] is lord of the world.[102]. In course of time he came to fuse with Prajāpati when the later fulfilled a duty which as a rule is Dhātar's. Thus, in the *ŚB.*[103] Prajāpati "establishing himself in the quarters of the universe went on ordering and disposing (*dadhad vidadhat*) this universe", and inasmuch as he did so, he is Dhātar. In § 38 Prajāpati is 'identified' with the year[104] as well as with Dhātar. And in *TB.*[105] Dhātar, 'identified' with the year, is said to produce offsprings in (at the end of) a year.

As to *nidhipati* in st. 4 and *nidhipā* I would venture the hypothesis that this figure came in course of time to be identified with some of the great gods when these fulfilled the function of a protector of a *nidhi*.[106] In *MS.*[107] the title appears to be given to Indra, because the function is attributed to this god, the great champion of gods and mankind : "Indra, the destroyer of the enemies, who by his greatness established (fixed) heaven and earth... must accept our oblation... ; may the god of gods, the *nidhipā*, help us". The position of *nidhipatir* between the names of Prajāpati and Agni in a stanza of *TS.*[108] no doubt facilitated a double reinterpretation. It could easily be regarded as an epithet of either god. Mention of *nidhipā* has already been made.[109]

Now, it seems relevant here to notice some relations between a *sūkta* of *AVŚ.*[110] and Prajāpati. In *Kauś.*[111] the recitation of its first stanza is, together with that of the initial stanzas of a series of other *sūkta*-s taken from

99. *ṚV.* 10.190.3.
100. *AVŚ.* 10.6.21.
101. 6.60.3.
102. *ṚV.* 10.128.7.
103. 9.5.1.35.
104. See Gonda, *Prajāpati and the year* (in the press, Amsterdam Academy).
105. 1.7.2.1.
106. On *TB.* 3.9.6.1 (*BŚ.* 15.29 : 233.19; *ĀpŚ.* 20.17.13; *KŚ.* 20.6.13) and the parallel texts see *Savayajñas*, p. 190 f.
107. 4.14.12 : 236.2; *TB.* 2.8.4.3.
108. 1.4.44 a (*AVŚ.* 7.17.4).
109. See pp. 120-121 above. For another hypothesis (transference from Agni to Prajāpati) see *Savayajñas*, p. 189 f.
110. 7.17.
111. 59.19.

AVŚ. VII—one[112] of which mentions Prajāpati and Dhātar co-operating in the generation of offsprings, and the other[113] Prajāpati and some other gods–recommended to a person, who, desiring all kinds of benefits, has with that end in view to worship Prajāpati. In a section devoted to the observances (*vrata*) relating to the study of the Veda[114] the author of *VaiG*.[115] enjoins the one who undertakes the Prajāpativrata[116] to pronounce the *mantra*-s beginning with *TS*.[117], *TĀ*[118] being a prayer addressed to *Sudasaspati* "the Lord of the abode", and the six Prajāpati *mantra*-s[119] ending with "may we be lords of possessions"; "We worship Prajāpati, the lord of possessions (*rayīnāṃ patim*) worthy of worship..., the first born one of *ṛta*..."; "Prajāpati, thou art the guardian of (the) deposited treasures (*nidhipāḥ*) who belongs to former time (*purāṇaḥ*), the father of the gods, the generator of creatures, the lord of the whole (movable) world (and its) protector..."; "Thine are these worlds (spheres in which to live safely, *lokāḥ*), the intermediate regions and the regions..., O Prajāpati, who causest everything to emanate (from thee).."; "Worship Prajāpati, the first of those who are worthy of worship..."; "He who disposes of (*īśe*) possessions,...the protector of cattle ..., Prajāpati, the first-born of *ṛta*; let the god of a thousand-fold presence be pleased with our oblation". It seems difficult to escape the conviction that the poet or compilator of this eulogy upon "the great creator god, the lord of the world, the first of those who are worthy of worship" wishes specially to emphasize the god's possession and disposal of property, of wealth. Does he also wish explicitly to state that in his opinion the ancient anonymous divine figure Nidhipā is no other than Prajāpati ?[120]

As stated above, the stanza of the *TS*.[121] accompanies the first of the

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112. 7.19.1.
113. 7.24.1.
114. See Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, p. 463 f.
115. 2.9.
116. See also *VaiDh*. 1.3.
117. 3 3.11 g (including *AVS*. 7.14.1-3. For a detailed survey of these *mantra*-s see note 1 on *VaiG*. 1.16-18 in W. Caland, *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtram*, translation, Calcutta 1929. p. 31; on p. 53 (ad *VaiG*. 2.9) read *TĀ*. 10.1.4 (*ṚV*. 1.18.6) instead of n. 10.
118. 10.1.4 (*ṚV*. 1.18.6).
119. *MS*. 4.14.1 : 215,9 ff.;) *TB*. 2.8.1.2 ff., viz. the Prajāpati stanza par excellence *ṚV*. 10.121.10. See J. Gonda, the ritual use of *ṚV*. 10.121.10. in *Ṛtam* 1983 (Vol. B. R. Saksena).
120. In the epic literature *Nidhipa* and *Nidhipati* are titles of Kubera (see E. Washburn Hopkins. *Epic mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 146).
121. 1.4.44.
122. 6.6.2.1.

samiṣṭayajus oblations. According to *TS.*[122] one propitiates with this rite "whatever is harsh (inauspicious, disagreeable, *krūram*) or broken off (out of due order, *viliṣṭam*) in the sacrifice, what one passes over, what one does not pass over (though one ought to have passed it over), what one does redundantly, what one does not do, all that one propitiates with them"[123]. In contrast to *ĀpS.*[124] *VaikhS.*[125] prescribes this stanza also explicitly to those who perform the *agnicayana* ritual. In book IX, which deals with *prāyaścitta*-s, *ĀpŚ.* uses this mantra also[126] in case the victim, after being slaughtered, appears to be pregnant.[127]

As is well known, potent formulae are regarded as a means of purification, as expiation for ominous events in the ritual; many of them originate in, or are also found, in the texts of the *Atharvaveda*.[128] Prajāpati is one of the gods who help the sacrificer to make good deficiencies in the sacrifice.[129]

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123. The text enjoins nine oblations; likewise *MŚ.* 2.5.4.16, whose *mantra* (see n. 6 above) contains nine names of gods. See also *ŚB.* 4.4.4.1 ff.; *MS.* 4.8.4. For nine (also in *prāyaścitta* offerings) see Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, p. 39 f. (with references).

124. 17.23 9.

125. 19.7 : 297.7.

126. 9.18.16.

127. See *KS.* 13.9 : 191.1; 13.10 : 191.22, where a second formula is prescribed with a view to propitiation in which the deities Bringer and Remover and a manifestation of Indra are requested to turn (the embryo) away from the four regions of the earth. Cf. also *BŚ.* 14.14 : 177.13. The text of the *KS.*, however, reads *sūktayaḥ*. ?

128. Gonda, *Vedic ritual*, p. 215; 289 ff.

129. *TS.* 3.4.1.1. See, e.g., *TB.* 3.7.9.7 used *ĀpŚ.* 9.16.7 and beginning "Prajāpati is Viśvakarman (the one who accomplishes or creates everything)..."; *TS.* 1.8.14 m (=*ṚV.* 10.121.10) used *ĀpŚ.* 9.20.1.

PULASTYA AS A DHARMAŚĀSTRA WRITER

Krishna Kanti Gopal & Lallanji Gopal

In his monumental work *History of Dharmaśāstra* P. V. Kane has utilised different forms of dharmaśāstra literature, even if they happen to be in the nature of manuscripts. On the basis of his vast study he has formulated some idea of many Smṛti texts no longer available in their original shape. The Smṛtis listed in Vol. I of kane's work include one under the name of Pulastya. Kane has pointed out a few quotations from Pulastya occurring in medieval commentaries and digests. These quotations clearly show that in ancient times there was a *Pulastyasmṛti*[1] which dealt with a number of topics generally covered in a *Smṛti* text.

There are many lists of dharmaśāstra authorities. The absence of the name of a particular writer in any one of these lists is not a sure argument for inferring that he belonged to a later date. This is only an *argumentum ex silentio*. The silence can be explained in many ways. It shows that the writer in question did not receive recognition in the circle connected with a particular list.

It is interesting to note how the name of Pulastya came to be included in the list of dharmaśāstra writers. The list of sixteen authors (*praṇetāraḥ*) of dharmaśāsttras, attributed variously to Gautama[2] and Śaṅkha-Likhita,[3] does not contain the name of Pulastya. Yājñavalkya's list of twenty expounders (*vaktāraḥ*) of dharmaśāstra-s[4] as also Parāśara's list of nineteen

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1. A *Pulastyasmṛti*, containing twenty-nine verses, has been included in the *Smṛti*-s published in the *Dharmaśāstrasaṅgraha* and *Smṛtisandarbha*. Our own study of this text will be published elsewhere.
2. Quoted by Aparārka, p. 7.
3. Quoted in *Vīramitrodaya*, *Paribhāṣāprakāśa*, p. 16.
4. I.4-5,

expounders[5] do not mention the name of Pulastya. Pulastya received recognition first at the hands of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya,[6] who mentions ten names (*dharmavaktāraḥ*) in addition to the nineteen originally listed by Yājñavalkya. But the name of Pulastya was not retained in later lists of Smṛtis, even though their number was increased to twenty-four[7] and thirty-six.[8] The authors of Upasmṛtis (*Upasmṛtividhāyaka*-s) listed in verses attributed to Aṅgiras,[9] include Pulastya's name.[10] The *Prayogapārijāta*[11] gives a long list of Smṛtis classified into three groups: eighteen principal *Smṛtikāra*-s, eighteen upasmṛtis and twenty-one 'other *Smṛtikartā*-s'. We find Pulastya occuring in the two categories of eighteen upasmṛtis and twenty-one 'other *Smṛtikartā*-s'- The presence of the name of Pulastya in two of the three lists in the *Prayogapārijāta* is an obvious mistake, unless we infer that there were two separate Smṛtis associated with the name of Pulastya. Nine out of the ten names, including that of Pulastya, occuring in the first verse, which is prefixed to the verses enumerating upasmṛtis, have been repeated in the *Prayogapārijāta* itself. Thus, Nārada, Pulaha, Gārgya, Pulastya, Kratu and Pitāmaha are included in the list of twenty-one 'other Smṛtis', whereas Jātūkarṇya (for Jātukarṇa), Baudhāyana and Viśvāmitra are found in the subsequent verses listing upasmṛti-s. It seems that Aṅgiras and the *Prayoga-pārijāta* by mistake prefixed Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya's list of ten additional Smṛtis to their lists of upasmṛtis.

The above analysis shows that Pulastya was accommodated as a Smṛti writer first by Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya and later by the author of the *Prayoga-pārijāta* in the list of 'other *Smṛti*-s', and that its inclusion in the list of upasmṛtis was a mistake on the part of Aṅgiras and the *Prayogapārijāta*.

If the occurrence of the name of a dharmaśāstra writer is an indication of the date of the composition of his text, it may be suggested that Pulastya

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5. I.12-15.
6. Quoted by Viśvarūpa on *Yājñavalkya*. I.4-5—
   Nāradaḥ Pulaho Gārgyaḥ Pulasty ḥ Śaunakaḥ Kratuḥ |
   Baudhāyano Jātukarṇo Viśvāmitraḥ Pitāmahḥ ||
7. Names of *dharmaśāstrakāra*-s considered in the *Caturviṃśatimata*.
8. There are two slightly varying lists attributed to Paiṭhinasi and the *Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa*. See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 303-4, f.n. 312-13.
9. Quoted in the *Smṛticandrikā* I, p. 1; *Hemādri, Dānakhaṇḍa*, p. 528; *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, p. 13. *Vīramitrodaya. Paribhāṣā-prakāśa*, p. 18, attributes these verses to the *Prayogapārijāta* and *Madanaratna*.
10. There are twenty-eight names in all. There were actually eighteen names. To these were prefixed the ten names as they occur in the verse attributed to Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya and quoted above.
11. *Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣāprakāśa*, p. 18.

belonged to a period after Yājñavalkya but before Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, Aṅgiras and the *Prayogapārijāta*. It is difficult to date precisely all these dharmaśāstra authors and texts. But the latest opinion of Kane on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* is that 'it was composed during the first two centuries of the Christian era or even a little earlier'.[12] The date of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, though highly relevant, is difficult to determine. Kane describes it as 'comparatively ancient' and places it earlier than A.D. 1000. The original text of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya is not available. All his quotations in later texts have not been collected and collated. Hence no definite date can be advanced on the basis of the internal evidence of the text.[13] But, as Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya is quoted among others by Jitendriya,[14] Viśvarūpa,[15] Vijñāneśvara[16] and Aparārka,[17] we can fix the upper limit for Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya. The date of Jitendriya is not known. Viśvarūpa being earlier than Aparārka and Vijñāneśvara, the dates of the later two will not change the position. From a due consideration of all relevant evidence Kane places Viśvarūpa about A.D. 800-825.[18] Hence Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya may not be later than A.D. 700. The name Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya presupposes the existence of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*. The smṛti ascribed to him has to be placed after the *Yālñavalkyasmṛti*.

The dates of Aṅgiras and the *Prayogapārijāta* have not been determined. But certainly they would be later than Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, whose one verse they seem to have borrowed.

Thus, we can suggest that the dharmaśāstra attributed to Pulastya was possibly composed after the second century and before the sixth century of the Christian era.

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12. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, part. I, p. 447.
13. A verse quoted by Aparārka on *Yājñavalkya S.* III.29-30 enjoins the same *prāyaścitta* for touching Cāṇḍālas, Pukkasas, Mlecchas, Bhillas and Pārasīkas :
    Cāṇḍāla-Pukkasa-Meleccha-Bhilla-Pārasīkadikam/
    Mahāpātakinaścaiva spṛṣṭvā snāyātsacailakam.//
    Mleccha here may not stand for any particular foreign people. Pārasīka may provide a clue, but we cannot be sure about the people actually denoted by the name and the period of their entry into India after which the verse is to be placed. The Achaemenids do not seem to be intended here. Possibly the reference is to the Indo-Parthians or more likely to the Indo-Sassanians, in which case Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya may belong to the sixth century or a little later.
14. Quoted by Jīmūtavāhana in the *Dāyabhāga*, 1829, p. 298.
15. On *Yājñavalkya*, I.4-5.
16. E.g., on *Yāj* III,1-2, 6, 19,
17. E.g., on *Yāj*, III.29-30,
18. *Op. cit.*, p. 564.

Kane has suggested the time-bracket fourth to seventh century for the *Pulastyasmṛti*.[19] He does not specify the evidence on which he bases his opinion. But evidently he relies on the fact that quotations from Pulastya occur in Viśvarūpa (*Bālakrīḍā*), Vijñāneśvara (*Mitākṣarā*), Aparārka, Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa (*Smṛticandrikā*) and Caṇḍeśvara (*Dānaratnākara*). Of these Viśvarūpa is the earliest. Identifying Viśvarūpa with Sureśvara, one of the four pupils of Śaṅkara, the great Advaita philosopher, Kane narrows down the time-bracket of A.D. 750-1000 to A.D. to 800-825.[20] Elsewhere he had suggested that Sureśvara's literary activity lies between A.D. 810 and 840.[21] A critical analysis of the internal testimony of all the passage attributed to Pulastya may help us in partially narrowing down the lower limit for Pulastya.[22] Considering the available evidence we may place Pulastya between A.D. 300 and 500.

Though Pulastya can be transformed into Pulaha, we find that in ancient tradition the two names were used to refer to two different persons. Manu[23] includes both Pulastya and Pulaha in the list of the ten sons of Prajāpati. In the *Mahābhārata* their names appear together at many places[24] among the mental progenies of Brahmā, the six powerful *maharṣi*-s, the seven Citra-Śikhaṇḍi *ṛṣi*-s, the eight *prakṛti*-s and the twenty-one Prajāpatis. Both are said to be present in Indra's assembly and sitting in Brahma's assembly to worship him. Both attended the birth celebrations of Arjuna and Skanda, both went to the *rākṣasa satra* of Parāśara, and both approached Bhīṣma when he was to leave his body. The difference between the two is clearly brought out by the other details mentioned about them. We have seen above that the list of twenty-one 'other *Smṛtis*', occurring in the *Prayogapārijāta*, contains the names of both Pulastya and Pulaha. Rākṣasa, Vānara, Kinnara and Yakṣa are said to be the sons of Pulastya.[25] From his half body he produced a son named Viśravā.[26] Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera) was born from his wife named Gau.[27] Though, there is no reference to any significant view or *Smṛti* injunction associated with Pulastya's name, in the *Vanaparva*[28] he

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19. *Ibid.*, p. 517.
20. *Op. cit.*, pp. 562-64.
21. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1928, pp. 289-93.
22. We are attempting it in another article.
23. I.35.
24. S. V. Sorensen, *Index of Proper Names in the Mahābhārata*, *s. v.* Pulastya and Pulaha,
25. *Mbh.*, *Ādi*, 66.7.
26. *Ibid.*, 274, 13-14.
27. *Ibid.*, *Vana* 274.12.
28. Chapters 82 to 85 (upto verse 111)

narrates to Bhīṣma the religious merits of different *tīrtha*-s. The *Nāradīya-purāṇa*[28a] records that the *Uttarabhāga* of the *Varāhapurāṇa*, in the form of interlocution between Pulastya and king Kuru, dealt with the *māhātmya* of all the *tīrtha*-s, the *dharma* in its entirety and Puṣkara. The extant *Varāha-purāṇa*[28b] shows that in its original form Pulastya spoke on *tīrtha*-s to Kururāja and the sages. A tradition recorded by the *Varāhapurāṇa*[28c] gives Pulastya an important place in the history of the rise and circulation of the *Purāṇasaṃhitā*. Brahmā learnt the *Saṃhitā* from the Omniscient and handed it to his son Pulastya. Subsequently it passed through Bhārgava Rāma, Ugra and Manu. The extant *Vāmanapurāṇa* is in the form of a narration by Pulastya to Nārada.

Kane has noted a prose passage from Pulastya which deals with procedure about black deer's skin (*kṛṣṇājinavidhi*).[29] This passage occurs in the *Dāna-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara.[30] This section in Pulastya was considered to be of some significance. The *Dānasāgara*[31] of Ballālasena quotes an aphorism of Pulastya dealing with the gift of black deer's skin (*kṛṣṇāji-nadāna*).[32] There is one more prose quotation from Pulastya in the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*,[33] which quotes an aphorism connected with the performing of *sandhyā* in the Gaṅgā.

The prose passages do not seem to have had a stray existence in the original text of the *Smṛti*. The introductory expression in the quotation recorded by the *Dānaratnākara* makes it clear that there was a full chapter (or at least a section of a chapter) on the procedure for making a gift of black deer's skin. Thus, prose passages would seem to have formed a significant part of the text named after Pulastya. The natural question will be : were there two texts under his name, a *dharmasūtra* and a *Smṛti*.[34] The

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28a. I.103.13-14a.

28b. 217.1-6.

28c. 112.64ff.

29. *Op. cit.*, p. 517, f.n. 609.

30. *Athātaḥ Kṛṣṇājinavidhiṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ.*
Kārtikyāṃ paurṇamāsyāṃ vaiśākhyāṃ ca candrasūryagrahaviṣuvayorvā kṛṣṇājinaṃ sakhuraṃ saśṛṅgamavraṇaṃ manoharam.

31. Page 48.

32. *Tathā kṛṣṇājinadāna Pulastyaḥ—Sarvaguṇaviśiṣṭaṃ dadāniti.*

33. Page 222—
Gaṅgāyāṃ śatasāhasrīti.

34. The fact that the *Prayogapārijāta* mentions Pulastya twice, once as an upasmṛti and a second time as one of the 'other smṛtis', would tend to support it. But, as we have pointed out above, this is a mistake on the part of the author.

general impression that the *dharmasūtra*-s, as contrasted with the *smṛti*-s, are mostly in the form of *sūtra*-s or prose aphorisms is a misleading argument. It is to be noted that S. C. Banerji,[35] who compiles a list of *dharmasūtra* writers known only through their quotations and collects the prose passages quoted in later texts, does not include Pulastya in his list. Either he did not notice the prose passages attributed to Pulastya, or else he rejected the possibility of a *Pulastya dharmasūtra*. We would be inclined to support the case of one *Pulastyasmṛti*, of which all the quotations including prose passages formed part. It is to be noted that though a large majority of the *Smṛti*-s are in verse, there are some which are in mixed prose and verse, whereas a few are entirely in prose.[36]. There is thus no inherent contradiction in attributing both the prose passages and the verses to one and the same *Pulastyasmṛti*.

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35. *Dharmasūtras : A Study*, pp. 237-344.
36. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

KUNTAKA'S CRITIQUE OF KĀLIDĀSA AS A MASTER OF *SUKUMĀRA* STYLE

D. K. Gupta

Although Sanskrit poetics is characterised by a rare richness of poetical theories or doctrines of literary criticism, yet at the same time it is, unfortunately enough, very poor in representing, in a real sense, the practical aspect of literary criticism which is hardly traceable, in a notable form, in the long range of works on poetical theory excepting in the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana and the *Vakroktijīvita* of Kuntaka. Of these two works also, the *Vakroktijīvita* represents this aspect of literary criticism in a more comprehensive form and with greater critical insight than the other work. Kuntaka, in his treatise, attempts, in his own characteristic way, a critical appreciation of a good number of classical writings with reference to the poetic elements propounded by him and makes a critical assessment of them in perspective.[1]

Of the classical writers of note, Kālidāsa enamours Kuntaka the most and naturally draws, therefore, his foremost attention.[2] He is represented in his treatise as the master *par excellence* of the *sukumāra* style, one of the

1. See K. Krishnamoorthy's ed. (Dharwad, 1977) of the *Vakroktijīvita* (=*VJ*), intro., pp. xxxv-xxxvi. As the learned editor rightly observes, "as a literary critic in the true sense of the term, Kuntaka stands unrivalled. He was a very sensitive critic with genuine literary taste. . .Kuntaka is indeed peerless in his aesthetic sensibility which animates the whole of his work and makes it full of interest to one and all interested in pure literary criticism." (p. xxxvi).
2. Kuntaka cites as many as ninety verses from Kālidāsa's works (excepting *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Ṛtusaṃhāra*) and discusses some of the episodes and descriptions contained in them as instances of his various forms of *vakratā* and of the *sukumāra* style.

three styles critically elaborated by him in the first chapter of his work.[3] The *sukumāra* or the delicate style, according to him, reveals itself in the work of a poet with a soft and gentle temperament endowed with a rich gift of poetic imagination (*pratibhā*), which finds its full expression in his poetry.[4] A work composed in this style, free from affectation, reminds one, as Kuntaka observes, of the supreme artistic creation of the universe by the Creator.[5] Whatever artistic turn (*vaicitrya* or *vakrokti*) is there in the work written in this style, it is the result of the poet's creative imagination alone.[6] Even the slightest amount of figurative beauty in it is entirely due to the poet's creative power; it is never externally imposed or laboriously created.[7] It thus positively conveys flashes of delicacy or gentle grace (*saukumārya*) which, in this context, is the same as *ābhijātya* or nobility that creates beauty of deep aesthetic appeal through its animated touch.[8] Kuntaka illustrates his point by quoting the following verse from Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, which depicts the summer season at Ayodhyā that provides a befitting setting for Kuśa's water-sport in the river Sarayū :[9]

प्रवृद्धतापो दिवसोऽतिमात्रमत्यर्थमेव क्षणदा च तन्वी ।
उभौ विरोधक्रियया विभिन्नौ जायापती सानुशयाविवास्ताम् ॥

> The day (during this season) became exceedingly hot and the night turned extremely slim (i.e. of smaller duration). The two, separated from each other through their conflicting actions, appeared like husband and wife filled with jealous anger.

As Kuntaka comments,[10] the ornamental beauty here, having a tinge of paronomasia, which is brought about by the poet's creative imagination alone and is not externally imposed, contributes to unique aesthetic charm. The words, *pravṛddha-tāpaḥ*, in masculine gender, for the day and *tanvī*, in

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3. *VJ*, I.24-58, *vṛtti* (pp. 40-73). For his concept of *mārga* or style and its three forms, cf. D. K. Gupta, "Concept of *Mārga* in Kuntaka", presented to the Classical Sanskrit Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, XXXI session, Jaipur, October, 1982.
4. *VJ*, I.24 *vṛtti* (p. 41).
5. *Ibid.*, I.27 (p. 43); *vṛtti* (p. 47).
6. *Ibid.*, I.28 (p. 43) :
7. *Ibid.*, I.28, *vṛtti* (p. 44).
8. *Ibid.*, *vṛtti* (p. 44).
9. Loc. cit.; see *Raghuvaṃśa* (in *Kālidāsagranthāvalī*; ed. R. P. Dwivedi, Varanasi, 1976), XVI.45.
10. *VJ*, I.28, *vṛtti* (pp. 45-45).

feminine gender, for the night, have been so used here as to bring out essentially the charming nature of the two. Though they do not directly signify any other shade of meaning, yet the poet's artistic skill has made them suggest the other meaning also, which, being quite in tune with the original meaning, delights the aesthetic mind. The other meaning is suggested by the artistic use of the words, *virodha-kriyā* and *vibhinna*, in the verse. With reference to the objects described, that is, day and night, their *virodha-kriyā* signifies absence of co-existence and their being *vibhinna* or separated from each other rests on their difference in nature. With reference to the standard of comparison or *upamāna*, that is, husband and wife, *virodha-kriyā* signifies their jealous quarrel and their being *vibhinna* or staying away from each other is occasioned by their feeling of anger. The two adverbs, *atimātram* and *atyartham* signify a high degree of the state of things in both the cases, and as such strike us as extremely charming. The charm of paronomasia which is generally secured with great effort has been brought about here without an effort, and hence deeply appeals our aesthetic sense.

Some of the other special features characterising this *mārga* have also been illustrated in Kuntaka's work by the verses from Kālidāsa's writing. One of such features of this *mārga* is the sprouting forth of fresh words and meanings by virtue of the poet's creative imagination capable of fresh invention.[11] The "word" in the context of poetry, as explained by Kuntaka elsewhere,[12] signifies that unique expression which alone can fully convey the poet's intended meaning out of a hundred alternatives before him, and the "meaning" is that alone which delights the aesthetic mind by its own refreshing natural beauty and adds force to the sentiment intended to be developed. Kālidāsa excels others in the cultivation of such "words" and "meanings". He commands the gift of unique expression, and as one of the instances of this gift in him Kuntaka cites the following verse from the *Kumārasambbava* :[13]

द्वयं गतं संप्रति शोचनीयतां समागमप्रार्थनया कपालिनः ।
कला च सा कान्तिमती कलावतस्त्वमस्य लोकस्य च नेत्रकौमुदी ।

By your craze for union with Śiva who puts on a string of skulls round his neck, now two have become the object of pity, namely, the shining digit of the moon and you—the shining moonlight for the eyes of the entire world.

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11. *Ibid.*, I.25, *vṛtti* (pp. 43-45).
12. *Ibid.*, I.9, *vṛtti* (pp. 14-15).
13. *Ibid.*, I.9, *vṛtti* (p. 15); cf. *Kumārasambhava* (in *Kālidāsagranthāvalī*), V.71 (v.l. *pinākinaḥ* for *kapālinaḥ*).

Commenting on the words used in the verse, the critic in Kuntaka observes[14] that though a number of other synonyms were possible to refer to the Lord Śiva, the poet has chosen here the word *Kapālin*, which signifies "one wearing skulls round his neck". This word, suggesting disgust appropriate to the context, endows the verse with artistic beauty of expression. Again, the words, *samprati* and *dvayam*, are extremely charming, since they implicitly convey a sense of ridicule that "while heretofore there was only one to be pitied for this indecent craving, now with your joining him two have become the object of pity for such craze." The word *prārthanā* has also been happily used; if it were a mere coincidence there would be no point in censuring the union, but "the asking" for it certainly invites public censure. The conjunctive particle *ca* used twice to equate the moon's digit to Pārvatī is very effective, suggesting as it does the excessive charm of both. The poet's preference for words *kalāvataḥ* and *kāntimatī* with possessive suffixes in respect of both is also a means of excellence. None of the above senses, thus, could be conveyed by replacing the words used by the poet by their synonyms.

As an example of aesthetically delightful meaning in Kālidāsa's poetry, Kuntaka cites the following verse from the *Meghadūta* :[15]

> भर्तुर्मित्रं प्रियमविधवे विद्धि मामम्बुवाहं
> तत्संदेशाद्धृदयनिहितादागतं त्वत्समीपम् ।
> यो वृन्दानि त्वरयति पथि श्राम्यतां प्रोषितानां
> मन्द्रस्निग्धैर्ध्वनिभिरबलावेणिमोक्षोत्सुकानि ।

> Know me, O fortunate lady, to be a bosom friend of your husband. I am a cloud, come to you with his message treasured up in my heart—a cloud that urges, by his deep and pleasant rumblings, the wearied travellers on the road, eager to loosen the braids of their pining beloveds, to hurry back home.

Commenting on the aesthetic charm in the meaning of the verse,[16] Kuntaka observes that it has, in the first place, a very significant vocative, *avidhave*, which infuses confidence in the mind of the Yakṣa's love. The qualifying word, *mitram*, points to the cloud-messenger's respectability and the epithet, *priyam*, indicates the intimacy of his friendship and inspires her

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14. *VJ*, I.9, *vṛtti* (pp. 15-16).
15. *Ibid.*, p. 18; cf. *Meghadūta* (in *Kālidāsagranthāvalī*), II.36.
16. *VJ*, I.9, *vṛtti* (pp. 18-19).

confidence so that she may entrust him with a message in reply. Having thus put her at ease, the messenger comes to the main subject of the message for her. The epithet, *hṛdayanihita,* for the message reveals his great care in preserving it. One might ask why some other person endowed with keen senses and talents was not entrusted with the task. The messenger, therefore, adds that he alone possesses special qualifications in this regard. He is by nature, "a carrier" of water, and carrying something is his speciality. He hastens the hosts of travellers sinking with fatigue on the road by his rumbling sounds to reach their beloveds. The plural throughout (in *proṣita* and *vṛnda*) brings out his repeated act of helping others. His "deep and pleasant" point to the pleasing words of the ideal messenger. The word *pathi* (on the road) shows how help is rendered by him even to those not related to him; thus it is implied that much more would be his sense of urgency with regard to a message entrusted to him by his bosom friend. The word *abalā* for the women emphasises how they are feeling dispirited owing to separation from their lovers, and the epithet, *abalāveṇimokṣotsuka,* for the latter displays their deep attachment to their beloveds. To sum up, the messenger means to emphasise that it is a self-chosen solemn mission with him to effect the joyous union of lovers that might have been torn apart by fate in spite of their deep love for each other. The beauty of thought created here by the poet constitutes the very essence of his poem named "Cloud-messenger", and is supremely delightful to the aesthetic mind.

Another special feature of the *sukumāra* style is the sparse and effortless and, consequentially, charming use of poetic figures.[17] The verse chosen to illustrate this feature is from Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava,* which describes the advent of the vernal season providing an effective excitant for Śiva's love for Pārvatī :[18]

बालेन्दुवक्राण्यविकासभावाद् बभुः पलाशान्यतिलोहितानि ।
सद्यो वसन्तेन समागतानां नखक्षतानीव वनस्थलीनाम् ॥

> The Palāśa flowers, not fully opened and hence curved like the crescent moon and exceedingly red, looked like the fresh nailimprints of the Spring (*Vasanta,* in masculine gender) as it were on the limbs of the Sylvan Lands (*Vanasthalī,* in feminine gender) during their first intimate union.

As Kuntaka elaborates,[19] the expressions, *bālendu-vakrāṇi, atilohitāni* and *sadyo*

17. *Ibid.*, I.25, *vṛtti* (pp. 43, 45).
18. *Ibid.*, p. 45; cf. *Kumārasambhava* III.29.
19. *VJ*, p. 45.

vasantena samāgatāni, have, in a delicate manner, been used just to present a simple description of natural state of things; still the delightful figure of speech (i.e. simile) involved in the words, *nakhakṣatāniva*, gets naturally related to them without the slightest strain on the reader's mind, and creates genuine aesthetic delight.

Again, the *sukumāra mārga* consists in giving prominence to the intrinsic or natural form of an object in preference to the external and artificial touch given to it by learning or technical skill (*vyutpatti*).[20] This feature has been illustrated by Kuntaka in the description of Daśaratha's hunting excursion in the vernal season to introduce the episode of the death of the ascetic boy, Śravaṇa, at his hands, contained in the *Raghuvaṃśa*.[21] The following verse, cited in particular by him in this context,[22] captures a side-glimpse of the hunting scene :

तस्य स्तनप्रणयिभिर्मुहुरेणशावैर्व्याहन्यमानहरिणीगमनं पुरस्तात् ।
आविर्बभूव कुशगर्भमुखं मृगाणां यूथं तदाग्रसरगर्वितकृष्णसारम् ।।

> Before him (Daśaratha) appeared a herd of deer with *kuśa* grass in their mouths, led by a proudly strutting spotted antelope. The female deer, in the herd, were frequently obstructed in their movement by their younglings who fondly clung to their udder for milk.

Kuntaka illustrates this particular feature also by the depiction, in the *Kumārasambhava*, of amorous actions of animal creatures, stimulated by the onset of the spring season in the grove where Śiva was practising austerities. He quotes, in particular, the following half-verse :[23]

शृङ्गेण च स्पर्शनिमीलिताक्षीं मृगीमकण्डूयत कृष्णसारः ।।

> The spotted antelope started gently tickling the doe with his horn, thus making her close her eyes in ecstasy at its pleasing touch.

An important feature of the *sukumāra* style is its capacity to create mental empathy in men of taste, expert in enjoying the essence of sentiments (*rasa*-s),

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20. *Ibid.*, I.26, *vṛtti* (pp. 43, 45-46).
21. IX.55-71.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 46; cf. *Raghuvaṃśa* IX.55.
23. *VJ*, p. 46; cf. *Kumārasambhava* III.36. The earlier half of the verse is मधु द्विरेफः कुसुमैकपात्रे पपौ प्रियां स्वामनुवर्तमानः । The verse has been quoted in some works on poetics as an instance of *śṛṅgāra-rasābhāsa*.

to make them imaginatively experience the poet's experience and identify these with their own.[24] Kuntaka illustrates this feature by some verses from the *Raghuvaṃśa*[25] reproducing words of Rāma to Sītā on his way back to Ayodhyā in the aerial car after regaining her. These verses, depicting the extreme agony once felt by Rāma during his separation from Sītā in place after place coming now to view again, are eminently capable of creating mental empathy in the readers of taste. One of these verses cited by Kuntaka is as follows :

पूर्वानुभूतं स्मरता च रात्रौ कम्पोतरं भीरु तवोपगूढम् ।
गुहाविसारीण्यतिवाहितानि मया कथंचिद् घनगर्जितानि ।।[26]

> At night I would remember, O Sītā, your past embrace accompained by tremors of fear (caused by the sudden thunder of clouds resounding in the caves), and with great difficulty could I endure the rumblings of clouds as they resounded long in the caves.

Again, this style is very pleasing by a kind of beauty which is ineffable and eludes the critic's power analysis.[27] Though Kuntaka has not illustrated his point by citing an instance, he appears to be referring here to the poetic beauty which would defy a clear-cut assessment in terms of sentiments, poetic figures etc., the known elements of poetic charm. We may have a number of such verses of Kālidāsa's composition cited in Kuntaka's work as would aptly illustrate this kind of poetic beauty. We may quote the following verse from the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*,[28] which represents Duṣyanta as so totally lost in his love's thought that he takes her painted figure to be the real Śakuntalā and addresses the bee portrayed near her face thus :

अक्लिष्टबालतरुपल्लवलोभनीयं पीतं मया सदयमेव रतोत्सवेषु ।
बिम्बाधरं स्पृशसि चेद् भ्रमर प्रियायास्त्वां कारयामि कमलोदरबन्धनस्थम् ।।

> O bee, if you dare to touch my darling's lip, as red as the *bimba* fruit and as charming as the fresh sprouts of soft plants, which I kissed but gently even in my festive amours, I shall put you into the prison of a lotus-bud.

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24. *VJ*, I.26, *vṛtti* (pp. 43, 46-47).
25. XIII.2-63.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47; cf. *Raghuvaṃśa* XIII.28.
27. *V. J.* I.27, *vṛtti* (pp. 43, 47).
28. *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (in *Kālidāsagranthāvalī*), VI.20; cited in *VJ*, IV.3-4, *vṛtti* (p. 251).

Duṣyanta's words here, as Kuntaka observes,[29] betray his sweet recollection with the deep impress of his darling and have a direct appeal to our aesthetic sensibility, though the verse in question may not be said to display any tangible figurative beauty.

The four *guṇa*-s or poetic excellences which, in their slightly varying form, constitute distinctive features of the three styles, are *mādhurya* (sweetness), *prasāda* (perspicuity), *lāvaṇya* (grace) and *ābhijātya* (nobility). Of these, *mādhurya*, as conceived with reference to *sukumāra mārga*, consists in the beauty both of word and meaning, artistic arrangement of vocables and evidance of a profusion of compounds.[30] Curiously enough, Kuntaka has not illustrated this *guṇa* by a verse from Kālidāsa, while he has invariably cited from the great poet in explaining the nature of the other three *guṇa*-s with reference to the *sukumāra* style. May be, the verse of an unknown source cited by Kuntaka to illustrate this *guṇa*[31] belonged to Kālidāsa and occurred in some lost work of his. In fact, Kālidāsa's poetry is distinctly characterised by *mādhurya* of the highest order, and any verse from his works may well be cited as an instance of this excellence. We give below a verse from the *Kumārasambhava*, quoted by Kuntaka in some other context, to illustrate this *guṇa* with reference to the delicate style[32] :

अङ्गुलीभिरिव केशसंचयं संनिगृह्य तिमिरं मरीचिभिः ।
कुड्मलीकृतसरोजलोचनं चुम्बतीव रजनीमुखं शशी ।।

The Moon, with his fingers in the form of rays, holds fast the dark braided hair of the Night and kisses her face, as it were, making her close her lotus-like eyes in ecstasy.

The second excellence, *prasāda*, in this style, signifies perspicuity which brings out the poet's intent without any effort on the part of the reader. It conveys the meaning in an instant, as it were, and addresses itself to *rasa*-s,

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29. *Ibid.*, p. 251.
30. *Ibid.*, I.30, *vṛtti* (p. 48).
31. The verse in question is :

    क्रीडारसेन रहसि स्मितपूर्वमिन्दोर्लेखां विकृष्य विनिवध्य च मूर्ध्नि गौर्या ।
    किं शोभिताहमनयेति शशाङ्कमौलेः पृष्टस्य पातु परिचुम्बनमुत्तरं वः ।।

    (Pulling out, in a sportive mood, the crescent of the moon-crested Śiva and putting it on her own head, Gaurī smiled and said : "Am I beautified by this ?" In reply, Śiva covered her face with kisses. May this scene protect you all).
32. *Kumārasambhava* VIII.63; cited in *VJ*, III.16 *vṛtti* (p. 16‾) as an instance of the blending of *rasavat alaṃkāra* with other figures of speech like mataphor.

sentiments, and *vakrokti*, an expression with artistic turn, i.e. a figurative expression.[33] The factors which bring about perspicuity in an expression are (i) absence of long, and not easily intelligible, compounds, (ii) direct meanings, and (iii) uninvoled constructions.[34] Kuntaka cites the following verse frome Kālidāsa to illustrate this excellence :

(1) हिमव्यपायाद् विशदाधराणामापाण्डुरीभूतमुखच्छवीनाम् ।
स्वेदोद्गमः किंपुरुषाङ्गनानां चक्रे पदं पत्रविशेषकेषु ॥[35]

As the snowy winter came to a close, the lips of the Kimpuruṣa damsels began to shine bright, the complexion of their face started glittering yellowish-white, and drops of perspiration made their first appearance on the painted designs on their faces.

Commenting on the figurative charm which this verse commands,[36] the critic in Kuntaka observes that the beauty of the face primarily caused by the various painted designs is further embellished, as it were, by the appearance of the pearl-like drops of perspiration.

(2) अनेन सार्धं विहराम्बुराशेस्तीरेषु तालीवनमर्मरेषु ।
द्वीपान्तरानीतलवङ्गपुष्पैरपाकृतस्वेदलवा मरुद्भिः ॥[37]

Indumatī, you may please agree to marry this king (of Kaliṅga) and sport in his company on the shores of the ocean rustling with groves of palmyra trees. May the winds, wafting the scent of cloves from remote islands, wipe away the drops of perspiration from your body (tired in amorous sport).

(3) बालेन्दुवक्राण्यविकासभावाद् बभुः पलाशान्यतिलोहितानि ।
सद्यो वसन्तेन समागतानां नखक्षतानीव वनस्थलीनाम् ॥[38]

(Already cited and explained above.)

The third *guṇa*, *lāvaṇya*, in this style, consists in the charm of syntax (*bandha-saundarya*) resulting from even a little beauty in respect of alliterative syllables and in the choice of diction.[39] It is, in effect, a graceful ease and

33. *V.J.* I.31, *vṛtti* (pp. 48-49).
34. *Ibid.*, p. 49 : अत्र पदानामसमस्तत्वं प्रसिद्धाभिधानत्वमव्यवहितसंबन्धत्वं समाससद्भावेऽपि गमकसमासयुक्तता च परमार्थः ।
35. *Ibid.*. p. 49: cf. *Kumārasambhava* III.33.
36. *VJ*, p. 49.
37. *Ibid.*, 49; cf. *Raghuvaṃśa* VI.57.
38. *VJ*, p. 49; cf. *Kumārasambhava* III.29, cited above as an instance of effortless and charming use of poetic figure.
39. *VJ*, I.32, *vṛtti* (pp. 49-50).

tenderness in words and meanings.[40] This excellence has been illustrated by Kuntaka by the following verses from the *Raghuvaṃśa* :

(1) स्नानार्द्रमुक्तेष्वनुधूपवासं विन्यस्तसायंतनमल्लिकेषु ।
कामो वसन्तात्ययमन्दवीर्यः केशेषु लेभे बलमङ्गनानाम् ॥[41]

Cupid, whose spirit diminished at the close of the spring season, found a new source of strength in the tresses of damsels, wet and let loose after their bath, richly scented by fumigation and decked with jasmine flowers fresh in the evening.

As Kuntaka observes,[42] the strikingness of beauty in the construction here cannot be explained in words and may just be felt by men of taste.

(2) [महेन्द्रमास्थाय महोक्षरूपं यः संयति प्राप्तपिनाकिलीलः ।]
चकार बाणैरसुराङ्गनानां गण्डस्थलीः प्रोषितपत्रलेखाः ॥[43]

[Introducing Aja to Indumatī, Sunandā says : "Here is the king Aja, who, having climbed on the mountain Mahendra as if on a great bull and hence commanding the lustrous appearance of Śiva,] deprived for ever the cheeks of the Asura queens of their ornamental paintings through the showers of his arrows (in the battle).

Here too, as Kuntaka observes,[44] the beauty in the case of syllables and in the choice of diction, which is responsible for the exquisite charm in syntax, is strikingly manifest.

The fourth excellence, *ābhijātya*, is the quality of being smooth on the ear and capable, as it were, of intimate embrace by thought and commanding the effect of spontaneous sparkle in poetry.[45] This excellence has been illustrated by Kuntaka by the following half-verse from the *Meghadūta* :[46]

ज्योतिर्लेखावलयि गलितं यस्य बर्हं भवानी
पुत्रप्रीत्या कुवलयदलप्रापि कर्णे करोति ।

the remaining part of the verse being :

40. *Ibid.*, p. 50 : शब्दार्थसौकुमार्यसुभगः संनिवेशमहिमा लावण्यरूपो गुणः कथ्यते ।
41. *Ibid.*, p. 50; cf. *Raghuvaṃśa* XVI.50.
42. *VJ*, p. 50.
43. *Idid.*, p. 50; cf. *Raghuvaṃśa* VI.72.
44. *VJ*, p. 50.
45. *Ibid.*, I.33, *vṛtti* (pp. 50-51).
46. *Ibid* , p. 51, cf. *Meghadūta* I.44.

धौतापाङ्गं हरशशिरुचा पावकैस्तं मयूरं
पश्चादद्रिग्रहणगुरुभिर्गर्जितैर्नर्तयेथाः ॥

[Thereafter, O Cloud, with your thunderings prolonged by their being echoed by the mountain-caves, you may make Skanda's that peacock dance, the outer corners of whose eyes are brightened by the lustre of Śiva's moon, and] whose moulted feather, bearing circles of streaks of starlight, Pārvatī puts on her ear, usually the seat of a blue lotus-petal, out of affection for her son.

As Kuntaka observes,[47] the half-verse commands the spontaneous sparkle owing to a smooth sensation on the ear, which may well be appreciated by men of taste.

The above examination of Kuntaka's treatment of the *sukumāra mārga*, with its characteristic features and excellences almost exclusively illustrated by the verses from Kālidāsa's works, makes it abundantly clear that Kuntaka viewed Kālidāsa as a poet with soft and gentle temperament and gifted with a delicate creative power, which, aided by an equipment in tune with it, directed the course of his poetic endeavours along the *sukumāra* or delicate path,[48] aptly likened by him to the grove of full-blown flowers.[49] and gave birth to the rich crop of his poetry of soft and tender appeal.[50] Kālidāsa's poetry, according to him, is eminently characterised by all the features and excellences which form ingredients of the *sukumāra* style.[51] Even though Kuntaka does not subscribe, in theory, to the idea of gradational assessment

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47. *VJ*, p. 51.
48. *Ibid.*, I.24, *vṛtti* (pp. 41-42); see, in particular, his observation on *kavi-svabhāva* or natural disposition of a poet on which, in the main, he bases his concept of *mārga* and formulates its three general categories, *viz.*, *sukumāra vicitra* and *madhyama*.
49. *Ibid.*, I.29.
50. Vide Bāṇabhaṭṭa's comment on appreciation of his poetry (in *Harṣacarita*, intro. verse 16) :

    निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।
    प्रीतिर्मधुरसान्द्रासु मञ्जरीष्विव जायते ॥

    Also see Daṇḍin (*Avantisundarīkathā*, intro., verse 15) :

    लिप्ता मधुद्रवेणासन् यस्य निर्विवशा गिरः ।
    तेनेदं वर्त्म वैदर्भं कालिदासेन शोधितम् ॥
51. See *VJ*, I.29, *vṛtti* (p. 43); I.52, *vṛtti*, (p. 72),

or categorisation of the three styles,[52] his predilection, in practice, for the *sukumāra mārga*, where *pratibhā* or the creative power of the poet reigns supreme with *vyutpatti* or learning and technical skill subordinating and attuning itself to the former, is more than evident. This is in perfect consonance with his genuine preponderance for Kālidāsa's poetry, typically exemplifying the *sukumāra* style, which, significantly enough, gets the largest representation in the wide range of the illustrative material embodied in his treatise.[53] Again, it may not be less significant to note that it is in Kuntaka's work, in the whole range of works on Sanskrit poetics, that Kālidāsa has been cited the most and in the maximum quantum and has received the greatest applause for his poetry of supreme aesthetic appeal. In fact, in Kuntaka's view, Kālidāsa's poetry is enshrined in a diction which is singularly adorned by *vakrokti* or artistic turn of speech and is happily fashioned in the *sukumāra* style, which has a general resemblance to the *mārga* or Vaidarbhī *rīti*, long associated, in literary tradition, with his name.[54]

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52. *Ibid.*, I.24, *vṛtti* (p. 41).
53. Kuntaka quotes from the works of Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Bhallaṭa, Bhāravi, Bhartṛmeṇṭha, Hāla, Māgha, Mayūra and Vākpatirāja among the poets; Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, Harṣadeva, Māyurāja, Rājaśekhara and Viśākhadatta among the dramatists and the prose-writer Bāṇabhaṭṭa, besides from the works of Kālidāsa (see fn. 2 above).
54. See Daṇḍin cited above, in fn. 48. Also cf. the anonymous sayings : (i) वैदर्भीरीतिसन्दर्भे कालिदासः प्रगल्भते । cited in *Kāmadhenu* comm. on *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* I.2.11. *vṛtti* ; (ii) वैदर्भी कविता स्वयं वृतवती श्रीकालिदासं वरम् ।

It may be pertinent to note here that Vāmana, in his *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* (I.2.11 *vṛtti*), quotes *Abhijñānaśākuntala* II.6, as an instance of *Vaidarbhī rīti*,

A NOTE ON THE PĀŚUPATA CONCEPT OF AHIṂSĀ*

Minoru Hara

For the past twenty years there have been appearing a series of important studies on the concept of *ahiṃsā* by eminent German Indologists. L. Alsdorf was the first who collected the relevant passages from the Brahmanical and Hindu literature in addition to those of Jains and Buddhists. He carefully analysed them and demonstrated that the movement of *ahiṃsā* did not particularly originate in Buddhism and Jainism as was usually believed, but as part of the pan–Indian religious development. He further traced the origin of *ahiṃsā* in pre-Aryan Indus civilization.[1] A few years later, quite in contrast to this hypothesis of Alsdorf, a Vedic scholar, H.-P. Schmidt attempted to trace the origin of *ahiṃsā* in the Vedic ritualism itself by means of amply documented Vedic textual materials, while elucidating the magico-religious ritualistic background from which the concept of *ahiṃsā* originated. Schmidt's study is an example of strict Vedic scholarship.[2] Ten years later, in 1978, A. Wezler published an exhaustive study on the word *vighasa* and put it in the context of a way of life of the forest-dwellers (*vānaprastha*). His work is an important contribution to the history of ancient Indian asceticism.[3] Recently, another German scholar, W. Halbfass, discussed in detail how Kumārila, the orthodox defender of the Vedic ritualistic tradition, managed to explain the relation between *ahiṃsā* and sacrificial merit (*dharma*) as it is ordained in the Vedic ritual tradition. We learn from his study how the orthodox Mīmāṃsaka condemned the Buddhists and Jains, who misused

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1. L. Alsdorf, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Vegetarismus und Rinderverehrung in Indien* (Wiesbaden 1962).
2. H.-P. Schmid, "The Origin of ahiṃsā", *Mélanges d' Indianisme à la mémoire de L Renou* (Paris, 1968), pp. 625-655,
3. A. Wezler, *Die wahren "Speiseresteesser"* (Skt. *vighasāśin*), (Wiesbaden 1978). Cf. also J. F. Sprockhoff, *Saṃnyāsa, Quellenstudien zur Askese im Hinduismus* (Wiesbaden 1976), pp. 4-5 and 131 ff.

and falsely universalized the concept of *ahiṃsā*, which was originally a Vedic concept comparable to *śānti* and *ariṣṭi* as has been elucidated by H. -P. Schmidt.[4]

These studies as listed above also made it clear that *ahiṃsā* does not necessarily imply vegetarianism, and that the custom of eating meat was prevalant in ancient Indian religions, not only in Brahmanism, but also in Buddhism and Jainism.[5] It was allowed for the mendicants to take meat, particularly when it was considered pure under certain conditions.[6]

It is in the light of these elaborate studies on *ahiṃsā* that the present writer here takes up the same problem and investigates how it is analysed in the treatises of the Pāśupata Śaivism, a mediaeval religious sect in India.

The Pāśupata Śaivism teaches non-injury (*ahiṃsā*) as one of the ten general commandments (*yama*). These Pāśupata *yama*-s, as enumerated by Kauṇḍinya in his commentary[7] on a *Pāśupata Sūtra*[8], are non-injury (*ahiṃsā*), chastity (*brahmacarya*), truthfulness (*satya*), avoidance of worldly affairs (*asaṃvyavahāra*), avoidance of theft (*asteya*), avoidance of anger (*akrodha*), obedience to one's master (*guru-śuśrūṣā*), purity (*śauca*),[9] moderation in eating (*āhāra-lāghava*) and mindfulness(*apramāda*). These ten items are ordinarily classified into two categories, sometimes *vrata* and *upavrata*,[10], and

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4. W. Halbfass, *Studies in Kumārila and Śaṅkara* (Reinbek 1983), pp. 1-26.
5. Cf. A. Wezler, *op. cit.*, p.81, note 242 (cum lit.)
6. Cf. Ch. Sh. Prasad, "Meat-Eating and the Rule of Tikoṭiparisuddha", *Studies in Pāli and Buddhism, A Memorial Volume in Honour of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap* (Delhi 1979), pp. 289-295, and D. S. Ruegg, "Ahiṃsā and Vegetarianism in the History of Buddhism", *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula* (London 1980) pp. 235-241. I regret the inability to refer to G. Spera, *Notes on Ahiṃsā* (Publicazione di "Indologica Taurinensia" XIII). Other recent studies on this subject are also listed in W. Halbfass, *op. cit.*, p. 19, note 2.
7. References to *Pāśupata Sūtra* (hereafter *PS.*) and its Commentary are to *Pāśupata Sūtras with Panchārthabhāshya of Kauṇḍinya*, edited by R. A. Sastri, in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 143 (Trivandrum, 1940).
8. 1.9.
9. The present writer dealt with this problem of the Pāśupata *śauca* in his paper to be published in *Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra Felicitation Volume* (Mysore).
10. Cf. *Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra* 2.10.18.2-3 as quoted in H.-P, Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 636-637.

sometimes also *yama* and *niyama*.[11] It is then a Pāśupata innovation[12] to have put these ten togther in a single category of *yama*,[13] while they established a new set of *niyama* (particular commandments), where the practices peculiar to the Pāśupata Śaivism such as bathing in ashes (*bhasma-snāna*), lying in ashes (*bhasma-śayana*), etc. are included. However, in order to make the point clear, it would be better for us to give here an English translation of Kauṇḍinya's Bhāṣya at the beginning of his *yama-prakaraṇa*.[14]

> (Question) Since the particular commandments (*niyama*) (such as bathing in ashes, etc.) have been stated above, a doubt arises. Only where there are general commandments (*yama*), are particular commandments (*niyama*) found, for these two form a pair. Accordingly, a doubt arises within us: what are the general commandments (*yama*) considered to be in this system ?
>
> (Answer) The general commandments, non-injury and the rest are well known. Thus, from another (sect comes the verse),
>
> > Non-injury, chastity, truthfulness, avoidance of worldly affairs, and avoidance of theft; these are known as the five general commandments. Avoidance of anger, obedience to one's master, purity,

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11. Cf. note 15 below. There are also different ways of classification into *yama* and *niyama*. For example,
    (a) *ahiṃsā-satyāsteya-brahmacaryāparigrahā yamāḥ* (*Yoga-sūtra* 2.30)
    śauca-saṃtoṣa-tapaḥ-svādhyāyeśvarapraṇidhānāni niyamāḥ (*Yoga-sūtra* 2.32)
    The same is found in *Māṭharavṛtti* and Gauḍapāda-bhāṣya ad *Sāṃkhya-kārikā* 23.
    (b) *Brahmacaryaṃ dayā kṣāntir dānaṃ satyam akalkatā|*
    ahiṃsāsteya-mādhurye damaś ceti yamāḥ smṛtāḥ||
    snānaṃ maunopavāsejyā-svādhyāyopasthanigrahāḥ|
    niyamo guruśuśrūṣā śaucākrodhāpramādatā|| (*Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 3.312-313)
    (c) There is also classification of these items into *vrata* and *niyama*.
    asteyaṃ brahmacaryaṃ ca alobhas tyāga eva ca|
    vratāni pañca bhikṣūṇām ahiṃsā paramā tv iha|| (24)
    akrodho guruśuśrūṣā śaucam āhāralāghavam|
    nityaṃ svādhyāya ity ete niyamā parikīrtitāḥ|| (*Liṅga Purāṇa* 1.89.25)
    Cf. also L. Sternbach, *Mahāsubhāṣita-saṃgraha* II (Hoshiarpur 1976), p. 905 (Nos. 4089 ff).
12. Cf. *PS*. p. 15. lines 16 ff. (*evaṃ . . . asya brāhmaṇasya pūrva-siddhā niyamā niyamaiḥ pratiṣidhyante|kīlaka-pratikīlakavat purāṇodaka-navodakavac ca*), and p. 8, lines 11 ff. (*pūrvāśrama-niyama-pratiṣedhārtham atyāśrama-niyama-prasiddhyartham ca vidhiḥ prathamaṃ vyākhyāyate*).
13. For the ten *yama*-s, cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, 3.312 as quoted above in note 11 b.
14. *PS*. p. 15, line 19—p. 16, line 8.

moderation in eating and mindfulness; these are known as the five particular commandments.[15]

However, we do not (accept the commandments: *yama* and *niyama*) in this way. Why? Because it is obvious that particular commandments come to an end. In our system particular commandments are limited in respect to time. General commandments (on the other hand,) do not come to an end before one's death. Why? Because (if they did, one would be liable to) the sin of injury, etc. Accordingly, all ten of these beginning with non-injury should be considered general commandments.

After the general survey on *yama*-s, Kauṇḍinya proceeds to give specific definitions of each item one after another. *Ahiṃsā* comes first in this series. Here Kauṇḍinya, as is always the case with other argumentation, first resorts to scriptural reference in order to authorize his statement. In the case of *ahiṃsā*, he refers to *kṛtānnam*.[16] Below is given what he says in this context.[17]

(Question) How (is it known that *ahiṃsā* is established in your system)?

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15. It is not an easy task to trace wherefrom this particular verse is quoted by Kauṇḍinya. The closest parallels can be seen in the commentaries to the *Sāṃkhya kārikā* 23.

ahiṃsā satyam asteyam akalkatā brahmacaryam iti pañca yamāḥ
akrodho guruśuśrūṣā śaucam āhāralāghavam apramāda iti pañca niyamāḥ
(*Yuktidīpikā*, R. Ch. Pandeya, ed , p. 95, lines 2-3).
ahiṃsāsteyaṃ brahmacaryaṃ satyam avyavahāra iti yamāḥ
akrodho guruśuśrūṣā śaucam āhāralāghavam apramāda iti niyamāḥ
(*Sāṃkhya-saptati-vṛtti*, ed., by E. A. Solomon, p. 38, lines 17-19).
ahiṃsā brahmacaryaṃ ca satyam avyavahāratā/
asteyam iti pañcaite yamāḥ samparikīrtitāḥ//
akrodho guruśuśrūṣā śaucam āhāralāgharam/
apramādaś ca pañcaite niyamāḥ parikīrtitāḥ//
(*Sāṃkhyavṛtti*, ed. by E. A. Solomon, p. 43, line 14—p. 44, line 1)

Cf. also the Chinese translation of *Svarṇa-saptati* (Taisho 54, p. 1250c-p. 1251a). I owe this Sāṃkhya reference to my pupil, Mr. K. Funatsu. One may also refer to *Manv-artha-muktāvalī* ad *Manusmṛti* 4.204 (Kashi Sanskrit Series 114, p. 222) which reads,

ahiṃsa satya-vacanam brahmacaryam akalkatā/
asteyam iti pañcaite yamā vai parikīrtitāḥ//
akrodho guruśuśrūṣā śaucam āhāralāghavam/
apramādaś ca satatam pañcaite niyamāḥ smṛtāḥ//

16. *PS.* 4.7.
17. *PS.* p. 16, line 19—p. 17, line 2.

> (Answer) From the mention of "food prepared by others (*kṛtopadeśāt*), for the *Sūtra* says *kṛtam*[18] ("one should eat only food prepared by others."[19]) From the permission of food prepared by others and the prohibition of food which is not prepared by others, we see that all forms of injury (*ahiṃsā*) are forbidden in the system.[19]

More important than this passing reference to *kṛtānnam*[20] is Kauṇḍinya's commentary on the *Sūtra* itself. The text reads as follows.[21]

> (Question) How is he (the aspirant in the second stage) to live as he wanders in the world ? Can he eat any kind of food ?
> (Answer) No, for the scripture says,
>
> > He should take food which has been prepared and which is left over (*kṛtānnam utsṛṣṭam upādadita*).[22]
>
> Here, from the mention of "prepared" (*kṛta*) we may understand that those (foods) which are not prepared (*akṛta*) such as seeds (*bīta*),[23] (sugar-)cane (*khāṇḍa*), (raw) fruits (*phala*), etc. are forbidden. (In the course of his various stages) the aspirant should eat food given as alms, left-overs, and food acquired by chance, each according to the rule, and all of them should be prepared (by others), whether they be food that is cut off (*bhinna*) or food that has sprouted (*udbhinna*),[24] etc. From the mention of "prepared" (*kṛta*) it is understood that unprepared food (*akṛta*) is forbidden, and from the prohibition of unprepared food, we see that all forms of injury (*hiṃsā*) are forbidden in the system.[25]

Here in *kṛtānna*, the word *kṛta* (made) means the food prepared, or cooked[26] by others. By its being prepared, that is, being cooked by others, one is

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18. *PS.* 4.7.
19. Almost the same sentence is repeated in *PS.* p. 97, lines 18-20. Cf. note 25 below.
20. *PS.* 4.7.
21. *PS.* p. 97, lines 14-20.
22. *PS.* 4.7.
23. For this seed (*bīja*), one may also refer to the definition of *a-ja* (*vigatāṅkura-śaktikam yava-bījam trivarṣastham ajam*) as given in L. Alsdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
24. One may compare this *bhinna* with (*a-*) *viprayukta* in *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*, 3.20 (*nāviprayuktam oṣadhi-vanaspatīnām aṅgam upādadīta*), as given in H.-P. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 637-638. Further, *ud-bhinna* here may mean "fallen from a branch spontaneously".
25. This passage is almost the same as *PS.* p. 17, lines 1-3 (cf. note 19 above).
26. For concept of *cooked*, cf. *Manusmṛti* 6.17 (*agnipakvāśano . . . kālapakvabhuj . . .*).

assured that there is no life in what he eats. The prohibition against eating raw food[27] (*akṛta*) is comparable to the widely spread prohibition against crushing seeds. Even when the food has contained life before it was cooked, the Pāśupata ascetics are immune from *hiṃsā*, simply because they have nothing to do with the process of cooking which is business of others.

The same egoistic immunity[28] from injury (*hiṃsā*) with no regard to others is seen also in the case of the Pāśupata practice of taking meat (*māṃsa*). As has been evinced by the studies of the German scholars, mendicants in ancient India, both Brahmanical and Jain-Buddhist, were allowed to take meat, if the animal in question had been already killed by others, especially by the beast of prey (*baiṣka*).[29] In the case of the Pāśupata ascetics, meat is permitted as long as it is accrued to his receptacle (*pātrāgata*) in the form of alms (*bhaikṣya*)[30]. Below is given an English translation of a *Pāśupata Sūtra*[31] together with the relevant portion of Kauṇḍinya's commentary.[32]

> (Question) In the rule for Brahmin students, wine, meat and salt are forbidden.[33] So are these things, wine, meat, etc., absolutely bad (in your system) ?
>
> (Answer) No, for the scripture says,
>
> Or meat which is not defiled by salt (*māṃsam aduṣyaṃ lavaṇena vā*).[34] Here the word meat (*māṃsa*) is well known, like the word alms (*bhaikṣya*). Meat of buffalos, pigs, etc., whatever one may receive is what is meant, so long as (one obtains it) without injury (*hiṃsā*) or theft (*steya*).
>
> . . .

In what follows Kauṇḍinya twisted intentionally the meaning of the *PS.*[35] with the consequence that meat is forbidden in the Pāśupata Śaivism, but

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27. For the raw-meat (*āmaka-māṃsa*) and *āma-gandha*, cf. D. S. Ruegg, *op. cit.*, p. 240 (Appendix and note 5).
28. Cf. L. Alsdorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.
29. Cf. L. Alsdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 21 (note 3), H.-P. Schmidt, *op. cit*, p. 639 and A. Wezler, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 ff.
30. *Pāśupata-sūtra* 5.14-15 (*bhaikṣyam pātrāgatam*).
31. *a Pāśupata-sūtra*
32. *PS.* p. 119, lines 7-11.
33. Cf. *Manusmṛti* 2.177. For a further reference, G. Bühler's note ad loc. (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 25, p. 62 notes).
34. *PS.* 5.16.
35. 5.16.

it is clear that the *PS.* originally allows all kinds of meat[36] for the ascetic, provided it were put by others in his alms-bowl with no apprehension of committing injury or theft.[37]

However, *kṛta* (Pāli *kata*, Pkt. *kaḍa*: made, prepared, cooked, and killed)[38] seems to be further specified in the Pāśupata treatises by *para-kṛta* (made by others). In Kauṇḍinya's Bhāṣya we find this compound *para-kṛta* three times:[39] first in connection with *bhasman* (ashes, with which the ascetics besmear their bodies); second with *nirmālya* (a garland taken from an image of the God and to be worn by the ascetics); and last with *āyatana* (a temple where the ascetics dwell). Below we shall investigate these contexts of *para-kṛta* one after another, but, for the sake of convenience, we shall begin with *nirmālya*, then *āyatana* and finally *bhasman*.

In his commentary on *PS. nirmālya*[40], Kauṇḍinya says as follows.[41]

> Here, the prefix *niṣ-* has the sense of released (that which is taken away). *Mālya* (garland) means an aggregation of flowers. This garland must be made by some one else (*para-kṛta*), placed on the image of God, the Cause (*kāraṇa*), and taken therefrom, must contain no object of value (*niṣparigraha*) and should consist of day, or night-blooming lotuses, etc. It is to be worn in order to increase one's faith (*bhaktivivṛddhi*) and in order to manifest the sign of one's sect (*liṅgābhivyakti*).

We note here that *nirmālya* which the Pāśupata ascetics wear as their sectarian mark (*liṅga*) must be originally made by others and placed on the God's image by them. The Pāśupata ascetics must take it as a thing which has been abandoned by others, because the act of wearing *nirmālya* is indicative of their non-possession (*niṣparigraha*). Here it is to be noted that

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36. We have another passage of Kauṇḍinya referring to meat: *tac(=annam) dviyoni, indrābhiṣiktam indriyābhiṣiktam ca/tatrendrābhiṣiktam vrihi-yavādyam/indriyābhiṣiktam tu māṃsam* (p. 98, lines 1-2).
37. This may refer to *uddissa katam* ("eigens für. . . geötet"), or *paṭicca-kammam* ("Tötung um seinetwillen"). Cf. L. Alsdorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff. and p. 15 (*uddesiya*) and Ch. Sh. Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
38. May one be tempted to derive *kṛta* or *kata* from *kṛt-* (tear asunder) beside the ordinary *kṛ-* (make)?
39. In *Ratnaṭīkā* (Gaekwad Oriental Series 15) we meet this only once in the context of *nirmālya* (p. 12, line 15: *vicārya kāraṇa-nirmālyaṃ niṣparigrahaṃ paraṃ kṛtaṃ gṛhītvā* . . ., Here we must read *para-kṛtam* for *paraṃ kṛtam*).
40. 1.5.
41. *PS.* p. 11, lines 7-10.

the process of making a garland is entrusted to somebody else and the Pāśupata ascetics use it as a finished product.

Next, we proceed to Kauṇḍinya's explanation of *PS*.[42] (*āyatana-vāsi*: "dwelling at a temple"), which is very short.[43]

> The word *vāsi* means "he should dwell" at this temple which has been built by others (*tasmin para-kṛta āyatane vastavyam*).

Here we are not informed of the details of the Pāśupata temple as such, but ascetics seem to have taken advantage of a temple which was originally built by others (*para-kṛta*) and later abandoned, as is the case with *nirmālya*. Although we are often told that injury to living beings (*hiṃsā*) is involved in agriculture—hence also the warning to compassionate people not to engage themselves in this work[44]—it is strange that we scarcely meet with a similar account concerning architecture. Yet, it can be easily imagined that in constructing a temple (*āyatana*), people are bound to hurt living beings. The possibility of *hiṃsā* in building is almost equal to, or even more than in cultivating the soil. We, therefore, find an instruction here for the Pāśupata ascetics not to build a temple, but to dwell in a temple which has been already built by others (*para-kṛta*).

The last, yet most important reference to *para-kṛta* is found in connection with ashes, the use of which is often considered as a characteristic feature of the Pāśupata Śaivism. The text of Kauṇḍinya's Bhāṣya on a *PS*.[45] (*tri-ṣavaṇam bhasmanā snāyita*: one must bathe three times with ashes) reads as follows.[46]

> Here ashes are the beautiful substance which is produced by contact of fire with fuel. The ashes must be made by others (than the Pāśupata ascetics), must be a derivative of the element earth (*pārthiva*), must have served their use (*bhukta*), and must be bright. As in the case of obtaining alms (*bhaikṣya*) one should take the ashes from a village, etc.,

42. 1.7.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 12, lines 17-18.
44. Cf. L. Alsdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 31 and H.-P. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 632. Cf. also *Buddhacarita* 5.5.
45. 1.2.
46. *PS*. p. 8, lines 20-23.

> because they are necessary for the rite of bathing, lying and supplementary bathing, because the Pāśupata is forbidden to keep them in possession (*niṣparigraha*), and because of his vow of non-injury (*ahiṃsā*).

As is clearly mentioned in the text, the ashes are remnant of a substance burnt, but we are convinced that the act of burning necessarily involves injury to living beings (*hiṃsā*). Here again, it is to be noted, the process of making ashes, that is, the act of burning a substance, is entrusted to somebody else than the Pāśupata ascetics, and the latter only collect the ashes, the result of burning, from villages like alms. The ashes they obtain, thus, contain no living beings; hence the use of ashes becomes an indication that the Pāśupata ascetics are immune from *hiṃsā*.

All these passages containing the expressions *kṛta-* and *parakṛta-* are instructive in characterizing the Pāśupata concept of *ahiṃsā*. Though the Pāśupata Śaivism expounds *ahiṃsā* like other religious systems in India, allotting to it the first position in their list of ten general commandments (*yama*), it is remarkable that the Pāśupata-s tried to remain immune from injury (*ahiṃsā*) by entrusting the process of injury (*hiṃsā*) to somebody else. This particular phase is observed throughout all the three necessary activities in life, namely, obtaining something to eat (*anna*), something to wear (*nirmālya* and *bhasman*), and somewhere to live (*āyatana*). That is to say, the food they take, inclusive of meat (*māṃsa*), is that cooked (*kṛta*) beforehand by others. The garland they wear is originally made by others, and the ashes they collect for their rites are obtained from others like alms. The temple where they dwell is first constructed by others and later abandoned. Yet, it should be noted, the process of cooking food, the process of weaving a garland, and the process of making ashes, that is, burning —processes all being liable to cause injury (*hiṃsā*)—all these are entrusted to others. Thus, the Pāśupata ascetics advocate non-injury (*ahiṃsā*) while taking advantage of the results of other people's labour, which may involve injury (*hiṃsā*).[47] One cannot help having an impression that the Pāśupata *ahiṃsā* is not an altruistic concept, but rather an egoistic movement of avoiding injury, or more precisely, eliminating the danger of injury, or more

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47. For this interaction between *hiṃsā* and *ahiṃsā* (*pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*, monk and layman), compare also J. C. Heesterman's review of the book of Alsdorf (*Indo-Iranian Journal* 9, 1966, pp. 148-149). I owe this reference to Professor J. W. de Jong.

precisely, eliminating the danger of injuring living beings. But one should not be too surprised by this egoistic tinge attached to the Pāśupata[48] concept of *ahiṃsā*, if he is reminded of the fact that *ahiṃsā* was basically a concept which took its shape in the magico-religious atmosphere of Vedic ritualism.[49]

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48. Cf. M. Hara, "Transfer of Merit", *Adyar Library Bulletin* 31-32 (V. Raghavan Volume 1967-68) p. 411.
49. Cf. L. Alsdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ("*ahiṃsā* hat ursprünglich mit Ethik in unserem Sinne nichts zu tun, sondern ist ein magisch-ritualistisches Tabu auf das Leben . . ."),

SOME ABBREVIATED COMPOUNDS IN PĀLI

O. v. Hinüber

The well known story of the Buddhist Elder Śroṇa Koṭiviṃśa or Soṇa Kolivisa, as he is called in Pāli, has been treated more than once e. g. by H. Bechert[1] and by E. Waldschmidt.[2] The verses attributed to Soṇa in the *Theragāthā* have been translated and commented on thoroughly by K. R. Norman[3]. Since the time of the oldest extant commentaries, the *aṭṭhakathā*, Norman seems to be the first to pay attention to the grammatical problems of verse 640[4] :

> *nekkhamme adhimuttassa pavivekañ ca cetaso*
> *abyāpajjhādhimuttassa upādānakkhayassa ca*
> *.........sammā cittaṃ vimuccati*

"Of one who is intent upon going forth, and upon mental seclusion, who is intent upon non-harming, and upon the annihilation of grasping .. . the mind is wholly released" (Norman).

The same verse occurs also in the *Aṅguttaranikāya*[5], and in the *Vinayapiṭaka*[6] with the variant reding *nekkhammaṃ* instead of *nekkhamme* as found in the *Theragāthā*.

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1. Bruchstücke buddhistischer Verssammlungen aus Zentralasiatischen Sanskrithandschriften I. Die Anavataptagāthā und dia Sthaviragāthā (*Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden* VI). Berlin 1961. p. 116-129 and by E. Waldschmidt.
2. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferung vom Sthavira Śroṇa Koṭiviṃśa. In : *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la Mémoire de Louis Renou*. Paris 1968 p. 773-787.
3. The Elders' Verses I : *Theragāthā*. London 1969.
4. All Pāli texts are quoted from the editions published by the Pali Text Society, London by volume, page, line or verse.
5. III. 378. 25* f.
6. I. 184. 37* f.

Although translators such as H. Oldenberg and T. W. Rhys Davids,[7] I. B. Horner[8] or E. M. Hare[9] did not misunderstand the meaning of this verse, it may be worth while to have a closer look at the construction, as it is difficult to see how *upādānakkhayassa* fits into the sentence. These difficulties were felt by the old commentators already, who assumed a *vibhattivipallāsa*, a substitution of one case by another : *catunnam pi upādānānaṃ khayatthe arahatte adhimuttassa. bhummatthe hi etaṃ sāmivacanaṃ* "intent upon annihilation of the four graspings, upon the state of an *arahat*; the genitive is used in the sense of a locative" says Dhanapāla in his *Paramatthadipanī*[10]. The *Samantapāsādikā*[11] on the *Vinayapiṭaka* and the *Manorathapūraṇī* on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, both attributed to Buddhaghoṣa, have *upayogatthe sāmivācanaṃ* "the genitive is used in the sense of the accusative". Thus the different commentaries reflect the different readings as found in the texts : *nekkhamme* goes with *bhumatthe* while *nekkhammaṃ* corresponds to *upayogatthe*.

The commentators usually resort to a *vibhattivipallāsa* if they prove to be unable to cope with a certain syntactical problem. As *adhimutta* may be construed with locative or with the accusative in Pāli, we should expect to find either case. Therefore, Norman tries to explain *upādānakkhayassa* as an original locative corrupted in course of the text tradition. Pointing out that there was a locative ending in *-assi* in the Eastern dialect, the earliest language of Buddhism, which has been recast into a Western dialect, which we are used to call Pāli[13], Norman tentatively explains this form as "the writing of the genitive as a mistake for the locative". For normally locatives in *-assi* have been recognized as such and consequently they were changed into *-amhi* or *-asmiṃ* by the redactors. Locatives in *-assa* on the other hand have not been traced so far in Pāli. Only in the northwest there are some traces of a locative ending in *-as(s)a* in the Aśokan inscriptions and in the

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7. *Vinaya Texts* II p. 12 (1882)
8. *The Book of Discipline* IV p. 244 (1951)
9. *The Book of Gradual Sayings* III p. 269 (1934)
10. V. 271. 11ff. on the *Theragāthā*.
11. 1083.4
12. III. 393.2
13. The Problems connected with the original language of Buddhism have discussed in : Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung. *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*. Ed. by H. Bechert. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Dritte Folge Nr. 117. Göttingen 1980.

Gāndhārī Dhammapada, which are explained as assimilated forms in the weak position of declensional endings.[14]

Although mistakes such as a genitive where we expect a locative seem to occur very rarely in Pāli as in *yassa c'uggate suriye*[15] (commentary: *yassa cuggate ti yamhi uggate*,[16] because of *yassa c'uggacchamānassa*[17], it seems to be somewhat strange that there should be rather many repetitions of the same mistake, where a syntactical explanation can also be found: *subhāsitassa* etc.[18] "one should train oneself in well-spoken utterance" (Norman) with the commentary *Sāratthapakāsinī*[19] *subhāsitam sikkheyya* and with the *Theragāthā* commentary[20] accordingly. Still further examples of the same type may be added to those collected by Norman already: *kissa tvaṃ imesaṃ gacchasi*[21] "why do you not go among these (men)" (Horner) and *yā tvaṃ vasasi jiṇṇassa*[22] "if you live with an old man" with the commentary *jārajiṇṇassa gehe*.

Now such a rather impressive accumulation of the same mistake may point into the direction, as seen by J. Bloch[23] about fifty years ago that the problem may be solved by the help of syntax. There is indeed a very marked tendency, which can be observed as early as in the Vedic prose[24], to extend the range of the genetive at the cost of other cases. This tendency persists and even gains momentum in Middle Indo-Aryan. Considering this development the comments by Brough on the *Gāndhārī Dharmapada* quoted above may need some modification. The same may hold good for the

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14. J. Brough : The *Gāndhārī Dhammapada* (London Oriental Series Volume 7). London 1962 p. 102 f. *53.
15. *Dīghanikāya* III. V.196, 23*
16. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* III. 963. 32.
17. *DN*.III. 196.21* (?)
18. *Theragāthā* 239=*Saṃyuttanikāya* I. 46, 13. In the Sanskrit parallel, too, there is a genitive : *Subhāṣitasya Śikṣeta* etc. *Udānavarga*. 23.1.
19. I.104.6
20. II.95. 5ff.
21. *Vinayapiṭaka* II.138.,27f.
22. *Jātaka* VI. 522, 9*
23. Le traitement du groupe sanskrit sifflante+m et la désinence du locatif en moyen-indien. Mémoirs de la Société de Lingistique. 34. 1929. p. 261-270, esp. p. 268f.— For the inscriptional evidence M. A. Mehendale: Aśokan Inscriptions in India. A linguistic study together with an exhaustive bibliography. Bombay 1943. p. 49f.
24. The relevant material has been collected by H. Oertel : Zu den Kasusvariationen der vedischen Prosa. 3 Parts. Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Abteilung. Jahrgang 1937 Heft 8; 1938 Heft 6; 1939 Heft 6. München 1937, 1938, 1939.

strange genitive *rukhamulasya*[25] against *rukkhamūlasmiṃ*[26] explained by Brough as "clearly an attempt at a learned spelling which has gone astray": This again, could be a genitive replacing the locative[27].

Returning to *upādānakkhayassa* in the *Theragāthā*, this can be explained as a genitive substituting a locative and depending on *-adhimuttassa*. Still it is possible to find an explanation of this form, which might be far more convincing. Recently J. Gonda collected a rich material on "Abbreviated and inverted nominal compounds in Sanskrit"[28]. Among other examples he drew the attention to the type *dṛṣṭapūrvā atha vā śrutā*[29] for .. *śrutapurvā*. In the same way *upādānakkhayassa* is the shortened form of *upādānakkhayādhimuttassa*. That this explanation is indeed most probable can be further corroborated by the prose passage preceding the verse quoted from both texts[30]: *nekkhammādhimutto, pavivekādhimutto, avyāpajjhādhimutto, upādānakkhayādhimutto* etc.[31] Thus the abbreviated compound *upādānakkhayassa* proves to be exactly equivalent to *śrutā* found in the *Mahābhārata* example.

The queer *upetaṃ* in the *Suttanipāta*[32]

yaṃ samaṇo bahu bhāsati upetaṃ atthasaṃhitaṃ[32].

is also to be explained as an abbreviated compound for *atthupetaṃ* : "when a *samaṇa* speaks much that is full of, provided with good sense". This agrees with the interpretation given in the commentary[33] *atthupetaṃ dhammupetaṃ ca hitena ca saṃhitaṃ*[34]. A further example of this type is found in the *Vinayapiṭaka*[35] *kimattho tvaṃ bhikkhū ti tāvākāliko ahaṃ bhgavā ti* "monk, of what were

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25. *Gāndhārī Dhammapada* 38
26. *Dhammapada* 395
27. In my Studien zur Kasussyntx des Pāli, besonders des *Vinaya-Piṭaka*. Münchner Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft. Beihefte. Nene Folge 2. München 1968 p. 228 I treated *Vinayapiṭaka* III. 138, 27f. and *Jātaka* VI. 552, 6. The interpretation given there has to be reconsidered in the light of this evidence.
28. In: *Pratidānam*. Indian, Iranian and Indo-European Studies presented to F. B. J. Kuiper. The Hague 1968 p. 221-246, esp. p. 228=J. Gonda: *Selected Studies*. Leiden 1975. IV p. 43-68.
29. *Mahābhārata* III. 50.13 (*Nalopākhyāna*).
30. *Vinayapiṭaka* I.183.30ff. and *Aṅguttaranikāya* III.376.20ff.
31. The Sanskrit parallel to this verse edited by Waldschmidt in Mélanges Renou p. 781 referred to above, differs from the Pāli,
32. 722.
33. *Paramatthajotikā*. II.500.13.
34. Cf. also my articles *upādānakkhaya* and *upeta* in the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*.
35. III.65.24f.

you thinking? —I (took it) for the time being, lord" (Horner). Here, *tāvakāliko* is an abbreviated compound for *tāvakālikacitto* as seen by the *Samantapāsādikā*[36] already.

Finally, K. R. Norman (letter of 22.10.1979) drew my attention to *cetovimuttihīnā te atho paññāvimuttiyā*[37] where *paññvimuttihānā* has been abbreviated.

Once this possibility of finding abbreviated compounds in Middle Indo-Aryan has been recognized, further examples certainly will turn up and add to our regrettably scanty knowledge on Middle Indo-Aryan nominal composition.[38]

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36. 388.13. The explanation as given in my "*Studien*" (above note 27) p. 282 f. has to be modified.
37. *Suttanipāta* 725.
38. G. V. Davane: *Nominal Composition in Middle Indo-Aryan*. Poona 1965 is hardly more than the attempt to collect some basic facts.

MALLINĀTHA'S COMMENTARY *SAÑJĪVANĪ* ON *KUMĀRASAMBHAVA* CANTO VIII

(Miss) S. S. Janaki

I. The authenticity or otherwise of the 8th. canto of the *Kumārasambhava* (*K.S.*) has been discussed by writers dealing with Sanskrit Literature. Scholars in the early years of the 20th. century like Jacobi, Weber, Winternitz, Harichand, De and Das Gupta have accepted the 8th. canto as a genuine composition of Kālidāsa. During the last two decades or more, however, off and on, there have been conflicting views regarding the extent and genuine nature of the *K.S.* For example, Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya[1] and Dr. Surya Kanta[2] have argued for considering all the 17 cantos to be the real work of Kālidāsa. Quite recently, Dr. Gautam Patel[3] has expressed the view that the 8th. canto is spurious and that the "original poem of Kālidāsa ended with VII.63 with a most suggestive *Arthāntaranyāsa*".

In the context of the authenticity of canto VIII the relevant comments by authoritative commentators are indeed valuable. Undoubtedly the commentators on the *K.S.* have reacted to the frank love-descriptions of the divine parents. Although the number of commentaries is not directly related to the problem of authenticity, it may be of interest to note that according to the Vol. IV of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (*N.C.C.*) (Madras University) only seven of a total of 65 commentaries extend to or include canto VIII. They are :—

1. C. *Prakāśikā* by Aruṇagirinātha (ptd.)
2. C. *Dipikā* by Dakṣiṇāvarta[4] (not ptd.)

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1. *J.A.S.B. Letters.* XX.ii. 1954. pp. 313-36.
2. Ed. K. S., Sahitya Akademi, 1962.
3. A.I.O.C. XXXI. Jaipur, 1982.
4. *N.C.C.* Vol. VIII on p. 303 refers to Mallinātha's mention of Dakṣiṇāvarta. On p. 302, however, the entry against Dakṣiṇāvarta—"13th. Century, *later than* Mallinātha"—is obviously a printing error.

3. C. *Vivaraṇa* by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita (ptd.)
4. C. *Dīpikā* by Kavi Nārāyaṇa (not ptd.)
5. C. *Sañjīvanī* by Mallinātha (ptd.) and of Sītārāma.
6. C. *Pañjikā* by Vallabhadeva (not ptd.)
7. C. *Śiśuhitaiṣiṇī* by Vātsa Vyāsa (not ptd.)

In a recent paper presented at the seminar in Ujjain in 1983, on "Unresolved problems on Kālidāsa" the present writer has dealt with in detail the elaborate comments of Aruṇagiri and Nārāyaṇa (who follows the former very closely) on the authenticity of canto VIII, the symbolism and purpose of Kālidāsa's delineation of love between the divine parents.[5] In this Paper I want to critically present the commentary of M. on canto VIII.

II. In the first instance, it has to be noted that some scholars seem to doubt M's *Sañjivani* (*S.*) on the *K. S.* extending to the eighth canto. A definitive evidence on this matter is the commentator Sītārāma who also says at the beginning of his own commentary *Sañjivani* that he is composing the commentary from the 8th. canto onwards as M. commented only on the first seven cantos.

टीका सप्तसु मल्लिनाथकृतिना सञ्जीविनी-संज्ञिका
या सर्गेषु कुमारसम्भवमहाकाव्यस्य चक्रे पुरा ।
सैवैतद्व्यवशिष्टदिक्प्रमित–तत्सर्गेषु विद्वन्मुदे
सीतारामकवीश्वरेण हि यथाप्रज्ञं समापूर्यते ।।

Consequently in the N. S. Press edition of the text we have the *S.* of M. for cantos 1 to 7, followed by that of Sītārāma for 8 to 17; in the Appendix is given the commentary of M. on canto 8.

Again, the commentary of M. on the 8th. canto as available in the printed editions is not free form defects and lacunae. Even the introductory verses to canto 8 are corrupt in many mss. and printed texts. Only the recently brought out edition at Madras (1982), edition with Tamil translation and notes by Sri Venkataraghavachari contain the ten prefatory verses almost correctly. Besides these ten introductory verses the *S.* carries useful comments on the 91 verses in canto 8. The prefatory verses are problematic and ambiguous, and, therefore, dealt with later in this paper.

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5. Being printed in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 1934.

III. The *S.* on canto 8 follows the same pattern that M adopts in his other commentaries. In the introductory *pratīka*-s and the commentary itself, the commentator makes it clear that the 8th. canto proceeds on a well-arranged plan in delineating the change of the mental attitude of Pārvatī in matters of love. The coyish *Mugdhā* at the beginning of the canto is seen at the end as a matured lady. Thus vv. 1-12 describe the *Mugdhā-vasthā* and the hurried *Saṃkṣipta* (or *Saṅklipta*) type of *Sambhoga*, 13-4 are on her *madhyama-avasthā*, 15-9 on her *pragalbha-avasthā*, 20-46, the couple's enjoyments in beautiful surroundings at Meru, Mandara, Nandana garden, Gandhamādana, Malaya etc. (*uddīpana-vibhāva*-s), and in the background of such descriptions Pārvatī's behavioural aspects like vanity (*māna*) and anger are delineated. The culmination of her mental development and involvement in matters of love is reached in v.89 which deals with varied types of dalliance and *upacāra*-s.

While commenting on these verses the commentator explains the problems of grammar, meaning, figures of speech etc. wherever necessary and with authoritative citations. Some of the sources cited are anonymous; and of the known authorities we have on lexical problems Amara, Keśava, Yādava, Viśva, Śabdārṇava and Halāyaudha; Gonarda, Kālidāsa (and *Mālavikāgnimitra*), Patañjali (*bhāṣyakāra*), *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, *Ratirahasya*, Vāmana (author of *Kāśikā*), and *Harivaṃśa*. From the mode of commentary and the treatment of the subject in these instances, there is nothing to disprove M's authorship.

IV. *SANJĪVANĪ* and *R.A.S.* : There are references to Siṃhabhūpāla and his *R.A.S.*, anonymously and in name, in the ten prefatory verses and in the course of the commentary. We shall deal with the latter first :

1. The commentary quotes Bhūpāla in the verse चुम्बनेष्वधरदानं etc. on the *Saṃkliṣṭa* type of union. अयं लज्जासाध्वसाभ्यां सङ्कुचितोपचारत्वात्सङ्क्लिष्ट-सम्भोगः । तदुक्तं भूपालेन—

युवानौ यत्र सङ्क्षिप्तसाध्वसव्रीडयादिभिः ।
उपचारान्निषेवन्ते स सङ्क्लिष्ट इतीरितः ॥

This definition of *Saṃkliṣṭa* is *R.A.S.*[6]

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6. II.222-3.

2. A second reference is in verse 15, भावसूचितमदृष्टविप्रियं etc. which, according to *S.*, deals with the gradual growth of love in Pārvatī, from the state of *Mugdhā* to *Pragalbhā*. While explaining especially the fourth foot of the verse :

तयोः प्रेम रूढमितरेतराश्रयम्—

the commentary says that the *'Premā'* between Śiva and Pārvatī during the few days after marriage, now developed into *"Anurāga"*, as a sprout gradually does into a ripe fruit.

प्रेमपदाभिलष्याङ्कुरावस्था भवतीत्यर्थः । रूढमभूत्—क्रमेणानुरागपदाभिलष्यां प्राप्तमित्यर्थः ॥

In this explanation the commentary uses the terms *Premā* and *Anurāga* in a special sense and in support of this statement, quotes Bhūpāla—

तदेतत्सर्वं स्फुटीकृतं भूपालेन— 'अङ्कुर - पल्लव - कलिका - प्रसून - फलभागियम्' इत्यादिना ।

The verse *Aṅkura-pallava* etc. is *R.A.S.*[7] in which Siṃhabhūpāla refers to the growth of love through the states of *Aṅkura*, *Pallava*, *Kalikā*, *Prasūna*, *Phala*, and *Bhogabhāk*. The love in these six stages is respectively designated *Premā*, *Māna*, *Praṇaya*, *Sneha*, *Rāga* and *Anurāga*.

The commentary also adds that Bhūpāla gives a detailed treatment to these six types of love, *Māna* etc. and that those interested may refer to the original text itself.

एका रतिरेव स्थायीभूता रसीभवति तस्याश्चाङ्कुरावस्थाभेदोपपत्तौ सा प्रेमादिपदैरभिलष्यत इत्यर्थः । स प्रेमा भेदरहितं यूनोर्यद्भावबन्धनम् । भावे रती राग एव स्वसंवेद्यदशाप्राप्तयावदाश्रयश्चित्तवृत्तिश्चेदनुरागः । इति मानादिलक्षणं विस्तरभयान्न लिख्यत इत्याकर एव दृष्टव्यम् ।

This eleborate treatment is found in *R.A.S.*[8]

There are two other citations in the *S.* on *K.S.* One of them is given under the 6th. verse as from *Ratirahasya*: another occurs as anonymous in the 18th. verse. I have been able to trace them both in the printed *R.A.S.*

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7. II.109.
8. II.109-92, (pp. 149-55, T.S.S. ed.).

3. In 8.6 Kālidāsa describes the bashful Pārvatī, as shaking her head in answer to a query from Śiva. In this context the commentary explains Pārvatī's behaviour as being called technically *Vihṛta*, a *Śṛṅgāra-anubhāva*. He also gives the definition of *Vihṛta* as from *Ratirahasya*.

तदुक्तं रतिरहस्ये—

ईर्ष्यामानातिलज्जाभ्यां न दत्तं योग्यमुत्तरम् ।
क्रियया व्यज्यते यत्र विहृतं तदुदीरितम् ॥

This quotation is, however, found in *R.A.S.*[9]

4. In *K.S.*[10] the commentary gives an anonymous definition of the *Śṛṅgāra-Anubhāva, Kuṭṭamita*.

अत्राधरपीडनात्सुखेऽपि दुःखवदुपचारात् कुट्टिमानुभाव उक्तः । तदुक्तम्—

केशाधरादिसङ्ग्रहणे मोदमानापि मानसे ।
दुःखितेव बहिः कुप्येदेतत्कुट्टिमं हि यत् ॥

This citation is found in found in *R.A.S.*[11]

Now these *R.A.S.* quotations can be seen along with the matter contained in the prefatory verses of *S.* to canto 8.

V. INTRODUCTORY VERSES OF *S.* :—The first of these is an invocation to the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva.

शिवाय जगतामस्तु शिवयोः प्रेम तादृशम् ।
येनान्योन्यस्य शरीरार्धमन्योन्यस्मै समर्पितम् ॥

A verse of this nature does not occur at the beginning of M's commentary on the other *sarga*-s of *K.S.* Nor is this practice followed by M. in his commentary on other works.

The next three verses (2-4) are on the two types of *Śṛṅgāra, Sambhoga* and *Vipralambha*, their sub-types based on the preliminary stage of love (*pūrvānurāga*), pride (*māna*), exile (*pravāsa*), and *karuṇa*: as also the stages of *pūrvānurāga*, from the first meeting of lovers and exchange of loving glances

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9. I.207-8 (p. 56. T.S.S. ed.).
10. 8.18.
11. I.205.

(चक्षुःप्रीत्याद्यवस्था) to the culminating point of the lovers being united with the strong bond of love. As an instance to the point the verse cites the love between Śiva and Pārvatī.

सम्भोगो विप्रलम्भश्च द्विधा शृङ्गार इष्यते ।
विप्रलम्भश्चतुर्धात्र वर्ण्यते रसकोविदैः ॥
पूर्वानुराग - मानाख्य - प्रवास - करुणात्मना ।
प्रागसङ्गतयोर्यूनोराद्यः स्यादुत्तरे त्रयः ॥
स्युः प्राक्सङ्गतयोरेव तत्र पूर्वानुरञ्जनम् ।
चक्षुःप्रीत्याद्यवस्थाभिः प्ररूढं शिवयोर्मिथः ॥

These three verses are exactly the same, as the following ones occurring in the *R.A.S.*[12] and the prose passage following V.172[13]—

स विप्रलम्भः सम्भोग इति द्वेधा निगद्यते ।
अयुक्तयोस्तरुणयोर्योऽनुरागः परस्परम् ॥
अभीष्टालिङ्गनादीनामनवाप्तौ प्रकृष्यते ।
स विप्रलम्भो विज्ञेयः स चतुर्धा निगद्यते ॥
पूर्वानुरागमानौ च प्रवासकरुणाविति ।

अत्रायमर्थः— नायिकानायकयोः प्रागसङ्गतयोः सङ्गतवियुक्तयोर्वा स्वोचितभावैश्चोपजायमानः × × × × उत्पद्यमानैर्व्यभिचारिभिरनुभावैश्च प्रकृष्यमाणो विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार इत्याख्यायते ।

Verses 5,6 are on the discontinuity of love between Śiva aud Pārvatī on account of the burning of Kāma, the resuscitation of love by the efforts of the seven sages, and it being heightened in the 8th. canto.

विच्छिन्नं कामदाहेन प्रापय्य परमां दशाम् ।
तावत्सप्तर्षिसंवादप्रमुखैः साधनैः पुनः ॥
अथ सम्भोगशृङ्गारमनयोः समरागयोः ।
कुमारसम्भवफलं सर्गेऽस्मिन्नाह सम्प्रति ॥

Verse 7 reverts to the topic of *Śṛṅgāra*, as falling under four types—technically called *Saṁkṣipta* or *Saṃklipta*, *Saṃkīrṇa*, *Sampanna* and *Samṛddhimān*.

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12. II.170-2,
13. pp. 175-6, T.S.S. ed.

सोऽपि सङ्क्लिष्ट-सङ्कीर्ण-सम्पन्नाश्च समृद्धिमान् ।
इति भेदाश्चतुर्धोक्ताः चतुर्णां च वियोगिनाम् ॥

This may be compared with *R.A.S.*[14]

संक्षिप्तः सङ्कीर्णः सम्पन्नतरः समृद्धिमानिति ते ।
पूर्वानुराग-मान-प्रवास-करुणानुसम्भवाः क्रमतः ॥

The seventh introductory verse needs some more careful analysis to show its ambiguous and incorrect nature. The verse starts with *So'pi*, and this *saḥ* refers to *Sambhoga Śṛṅgāra* referred to in the previous 6th. verse, first *pāda*, as *atha Sambhoga–Śṛṅgāram*. The first two *pāda*-s of verse 7 mention the four varieties to these very four classes (namely *Saṅkṣipta*, *Saṅkīrṇa*, *Sampanna* and *Samṛddhimān*) as occurring under the condition of separation too (*Caturṇāṃ ca viyoginām*).

However, this statement is wrong as close study of the concerned context in *R.A.S.* will show. While defining, classifying and illustrating *Sambhoga Śṛṅgāra*, Siṃhabhūpāla says that *Sambhoga* can happen between lovers who have not been united before, or who are reunited after separation. When such lovers meet under ideal conditions of mental attitudes and inciting circumstances the ideal love blossoms forth and results in *Sambhoga*. So here the emphasis is on *Sambhoga* after separation, and not the condition of *Vipralambha* itself.

अत्रायमर्थः— प्रागसङ्गतयोः सङ्गतवियुक्तयोर्वा नायिकानायकयोः परस्परसमागमे प्रागुत्पन्ना तदानीन्तना वा रतिः प्रेप्सितालिङ्गनादीनां प्राप्तौ सत्याम् उपजायमानैर्हर्षादिभिः संसृज्यमाना चन्द्रोदयादिभिरुद्दीपिता स्मितादिभिर्व्यज्यमाना प्राप्तप्रकर्षा सम्भोगश्शृङ्गार इत्याख्यायते । स च वक्ष्यमाणक्रमेण चतुर्विधः ।

Moreover, while introducing the four types of union that can occur Siṃhabhūpāla makes it clear that they are associated with lovers under four distinct circumstances. *Samkṣipta* (or *Saṃklipta*) is the first union that is consummated of two well-disposed lovers who have come close due to various reasons. The other three, namely *Saṁkirṇa*, *Sampanna*, and *Samṛddhi* are cases of r e u n i o n of lovers who have had separation respectively due to their vanity or pride, exile or death or one of the couple. (See above *R.A.S.* verse).

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14. II.221 cd, 222 ab.
15. *R.A.S.* II.220-25 T.S.S. ed. pp. 190-3.

From the above discussion it is clear that the words *Caturṇām ca viyoginām* in the 7th introductory verse of *S.* on 8th. canto are incongrous with the idea contained in the *R.A.S.*

Verses 8 and 9, refer to the well-known three categories of heroines, *Mugdhā*, *Madhyā* and *Pragalbhā*. Now Pārvatī is a typical *Mugdhā*, and that the first 11 verses in 8th. canto delineate the mental states of the uninitiated lovers before the actual union.

तत्रावस्थाभेदेन शृङ्गारे नायिकास्त्रिधा ।
मुग्धा मध्या प्रगल्भा च तत्र ह्रीसाध्वसाविलाम् ॥
मुग्धावस्थां समाश्रित्य देव्याः प्रथमसङ्गमे ।
आदावेकादशश्लोक्या ब्रूते पूर्वानुरागिणोः ॥

The 10th. verse reverts again to the *Saṃkliṣṭa* type of *Sambhoga*, saying that in the *K.S.* verse, *Cumbaneṣvadhara* etc.[16] he is going to give the definition of *Saṃkliṣṭa*.

सङ्क्लिष्टं नाम सम्भोगशृङ्गारं शिवयोः कविः ।
चुम्बनेष्वधरेत्यादौ लक्षणं त्वस्य वक्ष्यते ॥

Of course, later under the 8th. verse in canto 8 the *S.* explains how it illustrates the *Saṃkliṣṭa* type of dalliance according to Siṃhabhūpāla. (See above Section IV).

स्त्रीगतध्साध्वसात् संक्षिप्तो यथा—चुम्बनेष्वधरदानवर्जितम् इति ।

It is noteworthy that the *R.A.S.*[17] also cites this same *K.S.* verse as exemplifying *Saṃkliṣṭa*, *Saṃkṣipta*, due to the shyness of the lady.

VI. CONCLUSION :—Now we may consider the upshot of the above study of M.'s on the 8th. canto of *K.S.*

1. In the commentary on the 94 verses of the canto there is no evidence to disprove M.'s authorship. However, it may be added that the commentator's references to *R.A.S.* are noteworthy. It is not that M.'s citations from Siṃhabhūpāla do not occur in his accepted commentaries of the *Mahākāvya*-s. In fact, his son Kumārasvāmin too does quote from Bhūpāla who was a protege or Devarāya (1422-26 A.D.) But it may not be wrong to say that as evident in the above analysis, the commentary is too much

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16. V.8.
17. II, p. 191 T.S.S. ed.

based on the *R.A.S.* on the technicalities of *Śṛṅgāra* as elaborated in the 8th. canto.

2. As far as the introductory verses of the commentary are concerned, they are all corrupt. The N.S. Press edition has only five verses from *Atha Śṛṅgāram ubhayoḥ'*, etc. The India Office Ms. (No. 3764) contains only the commentary *Sañjīvanī* of M. on the 8th. canto alone. This Ms. also has, according to Keith,[18] only five verses, as in the N.S. edition. Keith also notes here—"It breaks off with the comment on V. 83......At the end of the Ms. a modern hand has added six leaves containing Mallināthaʼs commentary on VII. 82-95 (with the colophon of the 7th. *Sarga*) as if it were a continuation of the older part of the Ms." From these evidences it is not certain whether these verses formed part of the original commentary. Even if they did, we do not know their exact number.

The latest Madras edition (1982) containing in full all the 10 verses, has the sub-heading *Avatarika* for them. So much about the confusion prevalent in the actual number of the prefatory verses. As far as the content is concerned, it was seen above that the verses are mostly from *R.A.S.* with no schematic arrangement; one of these verses even goes against the view expressed in the *R.A.S.* These characteristics and flaws make clear that the introductory verses are definitely not from the pen of M.

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18. P. 1419, 10, Descriptive Catalogue.

MĀYĀ: A STUDY IN SEMANTICS*

S. G. Kantawala

A language is a social institution and it can be looked upon as made of several subsystems which may be classed as central and peripheral. It is the latter that includes the semantic system and the phonetic system.[1] There are various episodes in the internal history of a language and "any change in the meanings of grammatical forms"[2] is known as the semantic change. "In dealing with the change of meaning we study a linguistic form (*e. g.* a word) as it moves out of old, and into new total utterance surroundings, that is, meanings..... Semantic change is something attributed to a linguistic form of a given shape."[3] It may also be noted that "a great many linguistic forms have more than one meaning."[4] One can relate the meanings of an item historically the way in which they arise and develop......The meanings also differ in their time-span. Some of them are found throughout the period surveyed while others are used over shorter periods of time becoming obsolete at some time"[5]. It is in this context that it is proposed in this paper to analyse and discuss the semantic vicissitudes of the vocable *māyā*.

The vocable *māyā* is a well-known one in the history of the Sanskrit language and literature and is traceable to the *ṚV* wherein it occurs about ninety

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1. The central subsystems are: (1) grammatical, (2) phonological and (3) morphophonemic. [*vide* Hockett Charles, F., *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, 1973 (2nd Indian Reprint), Delhi, pp. 137, 3808].
2. Hocket Charles F., *ibid.*, p. 381.
3. Hoenigwald Henry M., Change : Analogical and Semantic, *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. XVI, November, 1955 (Chatterjee Jubilee Volume), p. 236.
4. Robert A. Hall Jr, *Introductory Linguistics*, (Delhi, 1969), p. 230.
5. Ghatage A. M., Mehendale M. A., & Devasthali, G. V., *Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles*, Specimen Fascicule, Poona, 1973, p. 15.

times. The following are the different senses it signifies in the *ṚV*: creative power, thaumaturgy, power of working miracles, wonders, mysterious or supernatural power of gods and demons; wiles, tricks, tactics, sorcery, witchcraft, magic.[6]

According to the *Nighaṇṭu*[7] it means *prajñā*, "intelligence, resolve". In a famous *ṚV*. verse cited by Vedāntic writers. *viz. Indro māyā́bhiḥ pururūpa iyate*[8] the vocable *māyā* is taken by Sāyaṇa as a synonym of *jñāna*, 'superior knowledge' and is rendered as *ātmīyaiḥ saṅkalpaiḥ*.

In the *ṚV* Varuṇa is also associated with *māyā* which is his unique power and "the fundamental conception underlying this word *māyā*", as R. N. Dandekar puts, "is that of a secret mysterious power possessed by good as well as evil beings and the capacity to achieve miracles which are incomprehensive from the points of view of normal beings......[9] In the *Atharvaveda* the vocable *māyā* is used to denote mysterious, magic element, leading to "sorcery, magic", but "the basic idea is mysterious power of intelligence".[10] In the *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad* the *māyā* is said to be *prakṛti* and Maheśvara is *māyin*.

The *Bhagavadgītā* uses it in the sense of creative power, power of delusion possessed by God or the occult power of the Lord, whereas "the ordinary (non-philosophical) Epic *māyā* is a trick of delusion"[11]. According to Gauḍapāda *māyā* in addition to self and mind "is responsible for the manifestation of the word,"[12] *i. e.* it is "a principle of creation"[13].

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6. Rajwade, V. K. Asurasya Māyā in the *Ṛgveda*, *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Vol. I., pp. xii-xiii; for details *vide*, *ibid.*, pp. ix-xiii; Interpretation of Vedic words II, *ABORI*, Vol. II, No. 1 (1920-21, July, 1920), pp. 109-133; Parab B. A., *The Miraculous and Mysterious in the Vedic Literature*, pp. 62ff.; Velankar, H.D., *Ṛksūktaśatī*, Select Glossary, p. 336; Macdonell, A. A., *A Vedic Reader for Students*, Vocabulary, p. 243. In *ṚV* 10.54.2 V. K. Rajwade finds the sense of "illusion", (*ibid.*, p. 115).
7. 3.9.
8. *ṚV* 6.47. 18*c*.
9. Dandekar, R. N., *Vedic Mythological Tracts*, Delhi, 1979, p. 56; for etymology *vide ibid.*, p. 56.
10. *Cf.* Solomon, Esther. A., *Avidyā : A Problem of Truth and Reality*, Ahmedabad, 1969, pp. 15-17.
11. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, p. 138.
12. Mahadevan T. M. P., *Gauḍapāda : A Study in Early Advaita*, Madras, 1954, p. 150.
13. *op. cit.*, p. 150.

In the system of the Śaṅkara–Vedānta it is described as *'sadasad-anirvacaniyā'* and according to Śaṅkara it "is a power of Īśvara"[14] and he describes Brahman as *Mahāmāyam*[15] and regards *māyā*, *avidyā*. *akṣara etc.* to "signify a causal potency which cannot be decided as distinct or non-distinct from Brahman"[16] and it also further signifies "illusion, unreality"[17].

In the Vallabha-Vedānta it stands to signify the capacity of the Lord to become everything (*Sarvabhavanasāmarthya*) *i. e.* it is the power of the Lord[18]. En passant it may be noted that Vallabha's concept of *māyā* is primarily based on the original sense—"creative genius" — of the word *māyā* in the *Ṛgveda* and has been influenced by the later literature upto Purāṇas".[19]

According to Rāmānuja, Śrīkaṇṭha, Nimbārka and Śrīkara the vocable *māyā* signifies "wonder, miracle", whereas according to Madhva it signifies "mental impressions of a soul utilised by the will of the Lord". According to Vijñānabhikṣu it is the "power of God" and according to Baladeva of the Caitanya-school it is the "will of Lord", whereas according to Pandit Āryamuni of the Āryasamāja–school it is the "power of knowledge"[20].

Māyā is regarded in other schools of Vedānta as an equivalent of Prakṛti dependent on God or identical with him as his *śakti*. In later times *māyā* and *avidyā* come to be regarded as equivalents.[21]

Māyā in Jainism is one of the *Kaśāya*-s (passions) and signifies deceit or perverted intelligence.[22] *Māyā* in Buddhism is used in the sense of 'illusion, unreal experience'.[23]

According to the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* it signifies imaginary appearance.[24]

The vocable *māyā* occurs also in the Purāṇas; for example in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (*MP*) Kṛṣṇa's *māyā* is said to be impenetrable and takes to-

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14. Soloman, E. A., *ibid.*, p. 236.
15. *Cf.* the Śaṅkarabhāṣya on the *Brahmasūtra* 2.1.37.
16. Solomon, E. A., *op. cit.*, pp. 235-236.
17. Bhatt, G. H., *The Concept of Māyā in the Śuddhādvaita-Vedānta, Shri Vallabhacharya and His Doctorines* (edited by K. K. Shastri, Baroda, 1967), p. 29.
18. *ibid.*, p. 29.
19. *ibid.*, p. 31.
20. *ibid.*, p. 29.
21. *Vide* Solomon, E. A., *op. cit.*, p. 535.
22. *op. cit.*, p. 95.
23. *op. cit.*, p. 152.
24. *op. cit.*, p. 180.

gether the world by the *dhārya-dhāraka-bhāva*. Janārdana is said to be surrounded by the veil of his own *māyā*[26]. The Lord is said to be born in every age by his *māyā*[27]. People in the world are said to be surrounded by the veil of Lord's *māyā*[28]. In some places Viṣṇu is associated with his *yoga-māyā*[29] with which he deludes the people[30]. Rati describes Śiva as *māyāgahanāśraya*[31] and this reminds his Upaniṣadic epithet *māyin*[32]. Mārkaṇḍeya expresses his wish for knowing exactly the nature of his (*i. e.* Lord's) *māyā* to the Lord lying on the waters[33]. In all these passages the vocable *māyā* means the occult power of the Lord.

In the context of the political theory as expounded in the *Matsya-purāṇa* the *māyā* (witchcraft) figures as one of the seven expedients[34]. In this expedient various tricks are employed by an aggressor against an enemy to hoodwink him. This is a baser kind of diplomacy and characterised by cunningness and intrigue[35]. In the *Matsya-purāṇa* we find that many a demon projected and utilised *māyā* in various battles and wars.

The aforegoing survey and analysis of the semantic episodes of the vocable *māyā* tend to show that the Vedic polysemic word *māyā* has travelled in different directions with a particular nuance only or with another nuance also in a particular department of literature. Hence the various meanings of the vocable *māyā* that we find in philosophical texts and other literature are mainly more or less derived from its Vedic connotation. In the context of the political theory there is a definite expansion of meaning *i. e.* from magic to a technical concept and practice of a politieal expedient.

The semantic change may be shown in terms of environments thus :—

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25. *MP*. 246 8.
26. *Ibid*,. 245.75.
27. *Ibib*,. 154.181.
28. *Ibid*,. 275.78.
29. In the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* the *yoga-māyā* is Kṛṣṇa's power and it is always at his command. For details *vide* Bhattacharya, S., *The Philosophy of the Śrimad-Bhāgavata*, Shantiniketan, 1960. pp. 50ff.
30. *MP*. 47.11.
31. *Ibid*,. 154.261.
32. *Śvetāśvatara–Upaniṣad* 4.10.
33. *MP*. 167.48.
34. The seven expedients are : (1) *sāma*, (2) *bheda*, (3) *dāna*, (4) *daṇḍa*, (5) *upekṣā*, (6) *māyā* and (7) *indrajāla*. For details *vide* Kantawala, S. G., *Cultural History from the Matsya-Purāṇa*, pp. 116ff.
35. For details *vide* Kantawala, S. G., *op. cit*., p. 119.

(A)

Vedic Texts	Philosophical Texts	Political Texts
Power of the God, intelligence creative power; magic	Creative or other power of God/Brahman/Creative Principle intelligence	expedient

(B) **Vedic to Philosophical texts :**

morpheme	Form moving through environments *māyā* moves into *avidyā*.

Here the utterance-environment (meaning) which used to be filled (expressed) by *māyā* is now filled (expressed) by *avidyā*.

(i) Vedic Texts · Philosophical Texts · Religious Texts

[illegible]

(ii) [illegible] Philosophical Texts

[illegible]

VEDIC RITUALISTIC STUDIES :
A retrospect, and prospect*

C. G. Kashikar

The Veda cannot be truly understood unless adequate attention is paid, among other things, to the rituals prescribed and described therein. While speaking about Vedic Saṃhitā-s, it is customary to distinguish between the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* on the one hand, and the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda* on the other. This distinction is justified in general on chronological grounds. The distinction is made also on ritualistic grounds. While the latter two Saṃhitā-s were compiled with the ritualistic purpose in view, the former two were compiled with some other motive, even though most of their *mantra*-s have been traditionally employed for ritualistic purpose. Even then the employment cannot be said to be purely arbitrary. The *Ṛgveda* cannot be said to be a pure and simple collection of religious prayers. Certain kinds of rituals, older and less defined than those in the *Yajurveda*, did prevail in the period when the Ṛgvedic *mantra*-s were composed. A close study of Ṛgvedic *mantra*-s seems to indicate more correspondance between certain *mantra*-s and their ritualistic employment prescribed in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras belonging to the *Ṛgveda*.

The relationship, which generally prevails between the Ṛgvedic *mantra*-s and ritual, is also said to be existing between the Atharvanic *mantra*-s and the ritual. As a matter of fact, most of the Atharvanic *mantra*-s were really composed for being employed in those rituals in which they have been prescribed according to *Kauśikasūtra* or *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*. It is, however, to be observed that while the Ṛgvedic *mantra*-s must have been mostly prescribed in the sacrificial rituals, the Atharvanic *mantra*-s were intended and prescribed for the various magical and domestic rites. The character of the

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Atharvaveda is thus different from that of the other three Vedas. That Veda is, therefore, regarded as the Veda of the masses.

The purpose of the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda* is different from that of the *Ṛgveda* and also of the *Atharvaveda*. The formulae and some of the verses of the *Yajurveda* were composed and compiled with the sole intention of being employed in the sacrificial rituals. Some of the verses borrowed mainly from the *Ṛgveda* seem to have been secondarily employed for ritualistic purposes. The *Sāmaveda-mantra*-s were all borrowed from the *Ṛgveda* and arranged for specific ritualistic purposes. The Brāhmaṇa-portions of the *Yajurveda* often intermixed with the *mantra*-portions and sometimes existing in a detached portion form the direct contemporary evidence for the ritualistic motive behind the compilation of the *Yajurveda-mantra*-s. The *Sāmaveda*-Brāhmaṇas also form the unmistakable authority for the ritualistic employment of the *Sāmaveda-mantra*-s arranged in book-form. This speaks for the special character of the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda* which is entirely different from that of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*.

Even though the Brāhmaṇas are helpful to a large extent in understanding the rituals to be performed to the accompaniment of the *mantra*-s, they do not adequately explain any ritual in a comprehensive and orderly manner. Their purpose is a wider one. They omit certain rites and take up only such injunctive parts which they wanted to glorify by laying down certain myths and legends which came down by tradition. They also dilatetd upon the things which were prohibited. It was difficult to go in for the performance of any ritual merely by relying on the Brāhmaṇa injunctions. The necessity of some other means was, therefore, felt by those who had to undertake the responsibility of performing as officiating priests some sacrificial ritual intended to be performed by a sacrificer. This gave rise to the composition of a Śrautasūtra following the tradition of the Vedic recension concerned. In course of time, different traditions of a single Vedic recension arose in different localities and different periods of time. It was natural that in changing circumstances and under the influence of neighbouring Vedic recensions, the ritual traditions should more or less drift from each other and even from the mother-recension.

While the sacrificial rites were directly reflected in the Vedic texts, there were also the domestic rites which were to be performed by each householder for himself and his family-members and which were reflected in the Vedic texts at least in part. These rites also came by tradition, and like the *śrauta* tradition, different traditions of the domestic rites were formed. These also had to be recorded in literary form which is met with in the Gṛhya-Sūtras,

There came into being another class of Sūtra-texts, namely the Dharmasūtras which recorded the laws and customs of the society. Besides these, there are other types of Sūtras laying down the *Prāyaścitta*-s and *Pitṛmedha*. The *Pravarasūtra* presents a collection of the Pravara-names required to be uttered in certain rites. The Śulbasūtras lay down the rules for preparing the various sacrificial places, altars etc. The Pariśiṣṭa Sūtras form a special class of Sūtras which bear the character of a supplement to or modification of topics relating to the original Sūtra-text introduced at a more or less later date. There are Paribhāṣā-sections in many Sūtra-texts which form the collections of general rules to be remembered while interpreting the Sūtra-texts. Beside the Sūtra-texts, there are the commentaries of the Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras and also the manuals which render significant help in understanding the complicated rituals prescribed in the original texts. The Vedic rituals are being studied along modern scientific lines for the last hundred years. A survey of the Vedic ritualistic literature has been made by Max Müller, Weber, Macdonell, Winternitz and other surveys in their history of Sanskrit literature. The most uptodate and detailed survey has been made by J. Gonda in his *History of Indian Literature*.

Some of the recent studies may, however, be recorded here.

Mention must be made of the new editions with or without commentaries of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras of the *Sāmaveda* published by B. R. Sharma. Rare Vedic texts are being made available by the publishers of Delhi through the efforts of Pandit Radheshyam Shastri of Bhivani. Dr. R. N. Dandekar has presented the remaining portion of the English version of the *Śrautakośa* Vol. II, thus completing the *Agniṣṭoma*. Asko Parpola has so far published the translation of chapters I and II of the *Lāṭyāyana* and *Drāhyāyaṇa* Śrautasūtras together with Agniswamin's *Bhāṣya*. Klaus Mylius has translated in German the first three chapters of the *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra*. A very important contribution is made by M. Witzel who has published the *Kāṭhaka-Āraṇyaka* critically edited for the first time together with a German translation. P. D. Navathe has rendered *Agnihotra of the Kaṭha Śākhā* into English. Bodewitz has translated a part of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* and parts of the Agnihotra-Portion of the Brahmaṇas. Keśava's *Paddhati* of the *Kauśikasūtra* has been published for the first time by Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth of Pune. R. P. Kulkarni has published the Marathi translation of the four Śulbasūtras with notes[2], and has also presented the *Geometry in the Śulbasūtras*.[3]

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1. Poona University, 1980.
2. Bombay 1978.
3. Pune, 1983.

Some important projects in ritualistic field are in different stages of progress. B. R. Sharma is publishing for the first time the complete *Drāhyāyaṇa Śrautasūtra* together with Dhanvin's Bhāṣya. A. Parpola has long ago announced the preparation of his edition of the complete text of *Jaiminīya Śrautasūtra*. M. Witzel proposes to publish for the first time the *Vādhūlasūtra* which is one of the oldest Sūtras and is of a specific character. The preparation of a new edition of the *Kauśikasūtra* of *Atharvaveda* has been announced by Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth of Pune. A critical edition of *Hautrika* that is, the *Kātyāyana Hautra Pariśiṣṭa* together with Karka's commentary and an English translation which is prepared by myself and which is to be published by the same institution is in press. In connection with the performance of the *Agnicayana Atirātra* in 1975 F. Stall proposes to publish a volume of studies of *Agnicayana* Mr. Brian K. Smith of Chicago is preparing a critical edition of the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* together with its supplements.

At present when serious Vedic research work is being carried on by a limited number of scholars in India and abroad, one cannot expect a large number of persons dedicating themselves to the ritualistic aspect of Vedic studies. In spite of the projects being carried on at present as mentioned above, there are certain important manuscripts which need to be critically edited. In this connection, mention must first be made of the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* a part of which was published long ago by Caland. The text is a major Vedic text which is significant from both the philological and ritualistic points of view. The Kāṇva recension which is traditionally known as the *Prathama Śākhā* has not received as much attention of scholars as the Mādhyandina recension. Even the manuals of sacrificial and domestic rites belonging to the Kāṇva recension deserve a careful and comparative study. The *Vārāha Pariśiṣṭa*-s, also known as *Maitrāyaṇīya Pariśiṣṭa*-s, are an important group of ritualistic texts. They need to be published for detailed information of the *Maitrāyaṇīya* rituals. The *Śukla Yajurveda* is provided with as many as eighteen *Pariśiṣṭa*-s dealing with the literature and rituals of the *Yajurveda*. Out of these, fifteen are available in print, The three available in manuscript form are the *Hautrika*, *Yajñapārśve* and *Nigamāḥ*. As already mentioned the *Hautrika* together with Karka's *Bhāṣya* and an English translation is edited by me and is in press. The remaining two are yet to be published. I have published a note on the *Yajñapārśve* in a paper[4]. The English trans-

4. cf. "Yajnapārsve (an unpublished Pariśiṣṭa of the Śukla Yajurveda School") *Ludwik Sternbach Felicitation volume*, Part I, pp 135-142, Lucknow 1979.

lation of *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* done by H. C. Patyal[5] needs to be published.

Even though some of the rare Kalpasūtra texts are being reprinted, they can serve a limited purpose. Much research work has been done after these were first published. Most of the Kalpasūtras have also become available in course of time. New critical editions of most of the Kalpasūtras revised in the light of the newly available materials and a comparative study are, therefore, a great necessity.

A thorough comprehension of any ritual as it existed at a particular period is a real problem. We have the *mantra*-s, the Brāhmaṇa, the Kalpasūtra, the commentaries and the manuals belonging to different Vedic schools and composed in different periods of time. If we think of the character of any of the types of the above-mentioned literature, it will be evident that a full and decisive understanding of any ritual that existed in a specific period is next to impossible. Different traditions with regard to minor details might have existed in different places as is evident from the different opinions expressed in the above-mentioned types of literature.[6] As regards the commentaries and manuals composed in different periods, it has been suggested that a study of the rituals described in various commentaries and rituals of various Vedic schools composed in a particular period may be helpful in defining the general trends of modifications in the rituals which existed in that period. Such a study involving religio-sociological interpretation of Vedic rites would be worth trying.[7]

It is a matter of gratification that the old tradition of performing Vedic sacrifices persists even to a small extent in India, particularly in southern parts. The tradition as found in the *mantra*-s, Brāhmaṇas and also in the Śrautasūtras is still being followed as faithfully as possible. Witnessing such performances is very helpful in understanding the Vedic ritualistic religion. It is, therefore, essential to see that the tradition is maintained at least to a small extent.[8]

One of the important problems of Vedic rituals on which unanimity of opinions is not reached so far is the identification of the Vedic Soma plant. Different opinions have been expressed in this regard. I will take up for

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5. Ph. D. dissertation Poona University.
6. cf. "The obscure in the Vedic sacrificial rituals", *Saṃskṛta-Vimarśoḥ*, Vol. III parts 1 and 2, pp. 125-130, Delhi, 1975.
7. cf. J. Gonda, *The ritual Sūtra*-s, P. 652, Wiesbaden 197/.
8. cf. C. G. Kashikar and A. Parpola, "Śrauta traditions in recent times" *Agnicayana*, eidited by F. Stall, Berkley 1983.

discussion here only one view which has been put forward not very long ago and which has assumed some importance. R. Wasson has advocated the view that Soma was a mushroom known as *Amanita muscaria*. In spite of strong oppposition raised along scientific lines, this view is being stressed again and again in the west. Much has been written against this proposition in the West as also in India. I need not repeat here those arguments. I concur with those who hold that Soma was some species of *Ephedra* which even at present grows in mountainous regions in Kashmir, Pakistan and Iran. The description of Soma given in the *Ṛgveda*, *Atharvaveda* and *Yajurveda* perfectly agrees with the *Ephedra*, not at all with *Amanita muscaria* which did not and does not grow in those regions where Iranians and Vedic Aryans lived. One or two monographs advocating the *Ephedra* view mainly on botanical grounds are expected to come out from scholars of Botany from Pakistan. However, the task of exhaustively collecting in a monograph all possible arguments on botanical literary and ritualistic grounds in favour of the *Ephedra* plant needs to be undertaken.

An important line of the study of the Vedic ritual is their interpretation from religious, anthropological and philosophical points of view. Much work has been done in this regard by western scholars, and the tradition still continues to a certain extent. Indiah scholarship would do well to take up this line of study. Care needs, however, to be taken to see that the conclusions thus arrived at are drawn scientifically and with a correct understanding of the relevant literature and with rituals. Sometimes attempts are made to interpret the religious and cultural history of India by exploiting data of varied nature, namely, literary, ritualistic, archaeological and even non-Vedic. Such attempts are sometimes likely to be based on incorrect interpretation of Vedic and other sources. The conclusion arrived at by such studies would naturally be misleading.[10] One has to take care of not being carried away by such conclusions.[11]

Let me conclude by quoting a passage from Gonda's *Ritual Sūtra*-s in which he draws attention towards the lines of study of the Sūtras which need to be taken up. "Among the many subjects for research are, besides some

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9. cf. F. Stall, "The Ignorant Brahmin of the Agnicayana", *ABORI* Diamond Jubilee Volume, pp 337-348, Pune 1978, C. G. Kashikar, "Agnicayana the piling up of Svayamātṛṇṇā" *ABORI*, Vol. LX, Parts i-iv, pp 215-228, Pune, 1979.
10. cf. H. S. Converse, "The Agnicayana rite: Indigenous origin?" *History of Religions* Vol. 14, No. 1 pp. 81-95, Chicago 1974.
11. cf. C. G. Kashikar" Agnicayana : Extension of Vedic Aryan Rituals" *ABORI*, vol. LXII, Parts i-iv. pp. 121-133, Pune 1981.

new editions and translations of those Sūtra works that have not yet been rendered into English, a study of the interrelation of their absolute and relative chronology, an examination of the commentaries, the secondary literature and the citations from Sūtra-texts met with in other works, reinterpretations and refashionings of Sūtras and Vedic rituals, their survival in Hinduism and the blend of elements of Sūtra literature with the āgamic cults.[12]

12. P. 661.

THE CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURES OF '*DHVANI*' IN ĀNANDAVARDHANA'S *DHVANYĀLOKA*

K. Krishnamoorthy

Ānandavardhana's primary objective in his *locus classicus* of Sanskrit Poetics, viz. the *Dhvanyāloka* (C. 850 A. D.) was to provide a philosophical acceptable theory of the essence of poetry as envisaged by men of taste.

Literary theorists prior to him had offered valuable insights about different aspects of beauty in literature. They had also lighted upon the truth that all poetic expression is a kind of deviation (*vakrokti*) from the mode of normal social discourse. But they set out analysing the deviant ways of communication as so many modes of *alaṅkāra*-s instead of offering any theory underlying the nature of all poetic language. Their analysis of the linguistic structure of poetry (*racanā* or *rīti* or *saṅghaṭanā*) went a little deeper in as much as it brought them to the issue of a poetic qualities (*guṇa*-s) arising for the first time in the creative use of language, to communicate emotional feeling-shades. But they could not establish any inherent relation between an emotional shade and a poetic quality, as they ended up their analysis with the superficial view that qualities were imbedded in the structure itself of the phonetic-cum-semantic complex which is poetic language.

Though "*rasa*" established by Bharata as the essence of drama was admitted as important in poetry by literary theorists, they could just accomodate it as one of their '*alaṅkāra*-s' or '*guṇa*-s' only; they could not assign it any paramount status higher than *alaṅkāra*-s and *guṇa*-s.

It is indeed true that there was a philosophy of linguistic usage postulated by the early literary theorists; but it was a philosophy common to poetic as well as scientific and scriptural use of language. Hence the *Ālaṅkārika* could adopt without any demur the conclusion of the *Tārkika* and the *Mīmāṃsaka* that Linguistic discourse had just two distinguishable levels of meaning

—(1) primary (*mukhya*), sanctioned by convention and (2) secondary (*amukhya* or *gauṇa*), arising from the variant motivations of a speaker or writer to use language loosely in order to achieve special emphasis of his point. The first is the referential use of language; while the second may be regarded as the metaphorical use in a broad sense, to include not only transference of meaning (*upacāra*) based on similarity (*sādṛśya*), but also on relations other than similarity which we might broadly term 'metonomy'. The first is the direct use of language called *abhidhā*, while the second is the indirect use of language, termed *lakṣaṇā* which includes metaphorical transference (*gauṇī*) as well as other types of semantic compression. This two-fold theory of semantics is common to all Indian thinkers, including literary theorists, up to the time of Ānandavardhana.

The literary theorists were thus constrained to hold beauty as an objective quality instanced in poetry by the configuration of *alaṅkāra*-s and *guṇa*-s; and any learned man who could identify them was qualified to appreciate poetry, and to explain his appreciation in terms of the *alaṅkāra*-s and *guṇa*-s noticed by him. Recognition of *guṇa*-s and *alaṅkāra*-s by virtue of proper training was all that was expected of a critic; and this was something which could be acquired by one and all. Thus literary taste was not any unique innate endowment like a poet's creative genius, but an acquisition anyone could attain with industry.

In Ānandavardhana's deeper analysis of the aesthetic problem, all these ideas of his predecessors were crude and superficial which failed to touch the inmost secret of poetic appeal or "*rasa*". Appreciation of *rasa* was all too rare; and was open to only the privileged few, gifted with a refined sensibility by birth. These he called by the name '*sa-hṛdaya*-s' or 'those with kindred hearts' because they could respond fully to the heart-throbs of a poet which found expression in his poetry. Other names for "*sahṛdaya*" are "*rasika*" and "*rasajña*." One who is blind to the aesthetic experience of "*rasa*" in poetry is no literary critic, however learned he might be in the diverse branches of learning. In this new approach of Ānandavardhana, we see for the first time poetry valued as an art, and not as a unique supplement of science. To understand poetry means to understand its "*rasa*."

With this shift in emphasis regarding the "soul" of poetry as "*rasa*", objective beauty of poetry became but a means subserving the end of "*rasa*"; and when such exterior beauty in poetry attracted attention towards itself and did not lead one up to the beauty of "*rasa*," we have only instances of non-poetry (*a-kāvya*), which arrest our attention by their exterior fripperies,

It is like a painting which excites us by its glaring colours, though it lacks in the vital essence of life represented. Hence it is also called "*citra-kāvya.*"

In poetry proper or true poetry, Ānandavardhana realised fully of the vital amination provided by the emotional content described—in all its variety including states of mind, (*citta-vṛtti* or *bhāva*) abiding and shifting (*sthāyi* and *sañcāri*), their rise (*udaya*) and calming down (*praśama*), their semblance (*ābhāsa*) as well as commixture (*śabalatā*). This rich poetic theme is significantly termed by him "*rasādi*" instead of the single word "*rasa.*"

What we have to note in the conceptual background of Ānandavardhana's theory of "*dhvani*" in this basic acceptance of all the earlier theorisings in India not only about linguistic discourse in general, but also about the aesthetic categories of *alaṅkāra*, *guṇa* and *rīti*, and most importantly, the findings of Bharata on the seminal nature of '*rasādi*' in dramatic as well as poetic subject-matter; the end-value or *prayojana* of which is nothing but the aesthetic rapture of the man of taste.

Unfortunately, many modern writers are misled by the technical terms used by ancient writers, since they are more often than not polysemous. '*Artha*' may mean a 'thing,' a 'meaning' or an 'end-value.' When "*rasa*" in general is said to be "*kāvyārtha,*" it does not mean either a thing or a meaning, but only 'aesthetic rapture', the end value. When a particular variety of "*rasa*" is mentioned, it means only the theme or subject-matter, these nuances of intended meaning in the *Dhvanyāloka* are often missed by writers who adhere to interpretational catchwords.

Ānandavardhana subjected all the streams of thought in the diverse disciplines to a re-appraisal, and integrated them in a wonderful synthesis to serve as the basis for the structuring of his new theory of poetry which was at once most integral penetrative and perceptive. The name for this new theory is "*Dhvani*" and it has at least five dimensions—all geared to the hard core of "*rasa.*" While the writers before Ānandavardhana were more or less deductive in their approach, Ānandavardhana was inductive. He found that the old categories of aesthetics could not explain the entire beauty of vast epics like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. At the most, they could highlight some external beauties of thought and expression; but they could not touch the essence. Hence he had to put the horse before the cart, before stating his theory.

Since "*rasa*" in its abounding richness can be found only in a whole work, we have to be satisfied with even dim flashes of it when we take

single verses as examples of "*rasa.*" Ānandavardhana does not commit the mistake of picking and choosing some verses as instances of '*rasa*', since that would mean others in a work would not be good instances of '*rasa.*' The truth is that every analysable part, however microscopic, must have its relation positively pointing to '*rasa.*' That is why, we might say that all positive illustrations in the *Dhvanyāloka* are all examples of different manifestations of '*rasa*', otherwise they would cease to be poetry and the theory would not be universally valid.

But for practical purposes of understanding, one must start with some example. By universal concensus, *śṛṅgāra* or love in its two aspects of 'union' and separation, is the *rasa par excellence.* Bhaṭṭendurāja, the teacher-poet of Abhinavagupta has composed two self-contained poetic genus (*muktaka*-s) to help understand the nature of "*rasa*" as constituting the essence of poetry. He describes how when Krishna in the Brindāvana stepped into youth, all the youthful Gopikās therein were so much fascinated and drawn to him that they betrayed tell-tale indications—physical and psychical. In technical language we have in the verse only a description of the *vibhāva*-s or determinant and *anubhāva*-s or consequents of the abiding emotion (*sthāyībhāva*) of *rati* or love. Even the word love is not stated. But a man of taste will rise into raptures by imagining with the poet the depth of love which has possessed the personalities of the Gopīs towards Krishna. The drift of the stanza is:

> Their eyes have all lost the quality of steadiness, concerned all the time to snatch his site in stealth. Their bodies are getting thinner day by day, even like the stalk of a lotus, cut down and left withering in the sun. Their cheeks have become paler than the blades of dry grass. Such is the state to which the entire community of Gopī-maidens is reduced even as Krishna stepped into youth.

For one who cannot respond to the intensity of love in this stanza, it cannot have any poetic value. There is no recognizable figure of speech beyond two common-place similes; nor any highly striking poetic quality. But a man of taste would hail it as a poetic gem embodying the '*rasa*' of *śṛṅgāra* or love.

The second illustration offered by Bhaṭṭendurāja also relates to the life of Krishna. After all his love-affairs in Brindāvana, he departs to Dwārakā permanently. How much the pangs of separation are felt by the Gopīs, represented by Rādhā, is the subject of the second verse. Even a small reed which remains bent by the touch of Krishna's playful hand during water-

sports is enough to excite the pangs of Rādhā to such a pitch that she cannot but burst into tearful song. And the song is so piteous that it makes even the aquatic animals in the deep waters of Jumna to start crying.

Here again the *rasa* of love-in-separation evoked in the *rasika* is entirely suggested by the *vibhāva*-s and *anubhāva*-s—here Rādhā and her sight of a reed associated with the intimacies of Krishna—and not stated in any prosaic way. Though the word *utkaṇṭhayā* occurs in the verse, it only names the emotion of deep pangs otherwise suggested and is not itself responsible for evoking that feeling in the reader.

With these examples, we see how the only poet's way to make "*rasa*" felt by a critic is by describing its associates and corrolaries, and not in any way stating it. Ānandavardhana shows at length how neither the primary denotative function of language (*Abhidhā*) nor the secondary figurative function of language (*lakṣaṇā*) are adequate to serve the purpose of evoking *rasa* which is the *sine qua non* of poetry. He also considers the other possibilities that might be suggested to explain this—viz., (1) the power of speaker's purport or intent (*tātparya*) communicable in a sentence, (2) the meaning arrived at inferentially (*anumāna*), and (3) implication logically involved (*arthāpatti*)—and finds them all equally deficient in explaining the aesthetic value of *rasa* in poetry since they are all concerned with non-poetic linguistic discourse. Enjoyment of '*rasa*' is no intellectual process, but a spurt of emotional response—ecstatic in nature.

This review of the explanations of poetic or aesthetic value by earlier theorists leads Ānandavardhana to propose his own original explanation *per se*, viz. "*Dhvani*." And its acceptance in principle by all later writers in Indian poetics is an index of its soundness.

As hinted earlier, "*Dhvani*" is a term with a vast spectrum of meaning. When it refers to '*rasa*' in the singular as what is suggested by a poem, (*vyaṅgya*), it means the aesthetic value or joy of the tasteful and sensitive reader. When it refers to *rasa*-s or '*rasādi*-s' in the plural, it means the emotion-feeling content described in the poem. What it refers to the suggestive items (*vyañjaka*) in a stanza like syllable, word, affix, sentence, passage, whole work etc. it invites us to shift our attention from the suggested to the suggestive element. Again, the surface meaning (*vācya*) of a poem may itself, in its turn, become suggestive of another. This possibility makes *vyañjaka* two-fold, viz. (i) sound and (ii) sense. Thirdly, *Dhvani* can also mean the process (*vyāpāra*) of suggestion evidenced in all good poetry. Finally, the poem which is a summation of all these can also be termed

Dhvani, which then signifies that it is a poem of the highest order or excellence. These multiple significations of *dhvani*—which are classified as five—are all basic to proper understanding of poetry, both from the end of the critic.

We saw that in its final significance, *Dhvani* involves value-judgement. This is indeed an essential aspect of Ānandavardhana's new poetics. In earlier poetics, we have no clear-cut aesthetic norms or guidelines to judge a poem as good or bad, better or best. Their doctrine of *doṣa* or blemish is either logical or grammatical or ethical, but not aesthetic, strictly speaking.

Ānandavardhana takes pains to show that the evocation of '*rasa*' might even set aside rules of logic, grammar and ethics and yet be valuable. At the worst, a *rasa* might be reduced into a *rasābhāsa* when (ethical) impropriety is involved. If Rāma's love for Sītā might instance *śṛṅgāra-rasa* in the hands of a good poet, Rāvana's passion for Sītā would instance *śṛṅgāra-rasābhāsa*, but both are equally aesthetic to the *rasika* at the time of enjoying the poem; it is only at a later stage that he might dismiss it as inappropriate and hence ridiculous.

The five-dimensional '*Dhvani*' theory is essentially required to show how the poet has succeeded in arranging all his material with the whole and sole purport of inducing *rasa* or *rasādi*-s in his reader. In the nature of things, poetry does utilize the two ordinary functions of linguistic usage but does not stop at that level; it converts them into a jumping off ground, as it were, for the play of *dhvani* or infinite suggestion. The suggested *rasādi*-s may vary from one *rasika* to another depending on his sensibility and taste; though there is a modicum of commonness in aesthetic value. On the other hand, the paraphrasable meaning of a poem is invariably one and the same to all readers--*rasika*-s and *arasika*-s alike. So the latter is the body (*śarīra*) of poetry, with all its embellishments of *alaṅkāra* and *guṇa*; it can never be its soul or *ātman*. Only *dhvani* of '*rasa*' or '*rasādi*-s' can be the soul of poetry.

Once it is accepted that suggested content alone is the soul of poetry, in the presence of stated content, the aesthetic process of *dhvani* can be stretched a little further to explain the beauty of folk-poetry, proverbs, jokes and so forth wherein the suggested content may not be '*rasa*' or '*rasādi*' strictly; but something more prosaic. This is the province of *vastu-dhvani*. When a beloved's "no" means "yes" to the lover, we have an example of *vastu-dhvani*. If a poet so uses language that his simile is not openly stated but suggested in a devious way, it becomes another class of *dhvani*, known as *alaṅkāra-dhvani*.

Thus suggested content can assume the three-fold form of *rasa, vastu* and *alaṅkāra*, though the pride of place in poetry belongs to the first only, viz. *rasa*. It is by extending its connotation that *dhvani* becomes a principle capable of explaining other possible forms of beauty also in a poem, though they are not as powerful or seminal as *rasa*.

The simultaneous admission of both stated and suggested meanings in a poem involves the problem of literary judgement or aesthetic rating. It is the business of the *rasika* to distinguish both and to decide in each given instance, which of the two is more beautiful. In case, the suggested is more beautiful than the stated, it is a pure example of *Dhvani*-poetry. Contrariwise, if the stated is more beautiful than the suggested, it is an instance of subordinated suggestion or *guṇi-bhūta-vyaṅgya-kāvya*. But it should not be forgotten that the second also is beautiful in its own way, though the way is not identical with the beauty of the *dhvani-kāvya*. Thus the *raison-d'etre* of beauty in both these types of poetry is the presence of the principle of *dhvani* only—predominantly in the former, and subordinately in the latter. Thus all the poems regarded as beautiful by *alaṅkāra* theorists will be admitted as beautiful by Ānandavardhana also by showing that they are having subordinated suggestion. A sound philosophy of poetic beauty is thus arrived at. It can be summed up in an aphoristic form : "*Kāvyasyātmā dhvaniḥ.*"

It should not be mistaken that '*dhvani*' is a kind of poem different in kind from that of the '*guṇibhūta*'. Ānandavardhana makes it very clear that not only in a poem as a whole, but a part of a poem, or even a verse or its part—these two varieties of *dhvani* and *guṇi-bhūta-vyaṅgya* can co-exist. It is this which makes the theory fool-proof; and even the worst critics of Ānandavardhana—Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Mahimabhaṭṭa, to cite only two—had to agree on the fundamental philosophy that '*rasa*' alone is the soul of poety and they could only suggest a different nomenclature like *bhāvakatva*, *bhojakatva* and *anumiti* to the term *Dhvani* employed by Ānandavardhana in deference to the great grammarian-philopher, Bhartṛhari.

The *Dhvani* theory is a sound aesthetic principle to explain beauty not only in poetry whose raw-material is language, but also other arts like music, painting and sculpture. No other aesthetic theory in India is as comprehensive as *Dhvani*. I have desisted from citations at length, as I have written extensively on this subject.

CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE DATE OF THE GRAMMARIAN PATAÑJALI

S. D. Laddu

Introductory :

There has been recently a revival in studies on Patañjali's date, and in the beginning the chief participants were E. Frauwallner[1] and D. C. Sircar.[2] But the latest contribution on this is from S. D. Joshi[3], who favours placing Patañjali round 85 B. C. The present paper seeks to offer one more piece of evidence which is based on a passage from the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali with a new interpretation.

1. There is a *prima facie* suggestion made through two *(Pūrva-pakṣa-) Vārttika*(*Vt*)-s on Pāṇini's Sūtra, *vartamāne laṭ*[4], that this Sūtra stating the condition for the use of *laṭ* should also include references to non-cessation and eternality of an activity which is begun, and two reasons are produced therein in defence of the suggestion.[5] These are, however, refuted by Kātyāyana through two (*Siddhānta-pakṣa-*) *Vt*-s immediately.[6] The second of the reasons

1. "Sprachtheorie und Philosophie im Mahābhāṣyam des Patañjali", *WZKSO* (1960) 4.108.n.11.
2. *Studies in the Yugapurāṇa and other Texts*, 1974 Ch. II, pp. 17-21.
3. (*a*) in *Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar as an Indologist*: *A Symposium*, ed. R. N. Dandekar, 1976, pp. 113-42: p. 134;
   (*b*) in *Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya* : *Anabhihitāhnika*, ed. S. D. Joshi and J. A. F. Roodbergen, 1976, Introduction, p. XXV.
4. *P*. 3.2.123.
5. (1) प्रवृत्तस्याविरामे शिष्या भवन्त्यवर्तमानत्वात् । १
   (2) नित्यप्रवृत्ते च कालाविभागात् । २
6. (1) न्याय्या त्वारम्भापवर्गात् । ३
   अस्ति च मुक्तसंशये विरामः ।४
   (2) सन्ति च कालविभागाः । ५

earlier suggested (in *Vt* 2) for such a modification was : absence of distinguishability (*Kāla-avibhāga*) of the Present in contrast with the Past or the Future, in such usages as cf. *tiṣṭhanti parvatāḥ* and *sravanti nadyaḥ*. This was later rebutted (in *Vt* 5) by an assertion of the actual existence of such distinguishability. In defence it was stated that usages like *tiṣṭhanti parvatāḥ*, *sthāsyanti p.* and *tasthuḥ p.* do convey distinctions in time. Not only that : in everyone of these three usages, the respective time for the '*parvata*-s' is related to the time of the activity in the Present, Future or Past on the part of the 'kings'. Patajñali's passage in question on the *Vt santi ca kālavibhāgāḥ*[7] runs as follows :

"सन्ति खल्वपि कालविभागाः । 'तिष्ठन्ति पर्वताः ।' 'स्थास्यन्ति पर्वताः ।' 'तस्थुः पर्वता' इति । किं शक्यन्त एते शब्दाः प्रयोक्तुमित्यतः सन्ति कालविभागाः । नावश्यं प्रयोगादेव । इह भूतभविष्यद्वर्तमानानां राज्ञां याः क्रियास्तास्तिष्ठतेरधिकरणम् । इह तावत् 'तिष्ठन्ति पर्वता' इति संप्रति ये राजानस्तेषां याः क्रियास्तासु वर्तमानासु । 'स्थास्यन्ति पर्वता' इतीत उत्तरं ये राजानो भविष्यन्ति तेषां याः क्रियास्तासु भविष्यन्तीषु । 'तस्थुः पर्वता' इतीह ये राजानो बभूवुस्तेषां याः क्रियास्तासु भूतासु ।"[8]

Thus, an identical explanation is given thrice for the existence of the '*parvata*-s' over three times, with reference to the corresponding activities of the 'kings' over the three times. (It may be noted that another usage which had illustrated the *prima facie* view, regarding *nadyaḥ* "rivers", is absent here in the explanation).

2. Now, objects like a mountain, a river, the sun and the moon are favourites of Sanskrit writers as symbols standing for Eternality.[9] The question that nevertheless arises in the present context is the sudden association of '*parvata*-s' with kings, and this over all the three points of time, for which there is no simple or easy, and yet convincing, explanation forthcoming. The commentators Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa do not throw any light on this. Under these circumstances, may it be suspected, that there is a hidden reference here to some 'Parvata-s' who were actually known to Patañjali as being the kings, or better, as members or the Dynasty of kings, bearing that name ? If that could be proved to be so, then the *Mahābhāṣya* passage in

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7. 3.2.123.5.
8. *Mahābhāṣya* II.123.17-22.
9. Cf. यावत् स्थास्यन्ति गिरयः सरितश्च महीतले ।
तावद्रामायणकथा लोकेषु प्रचरिष्यति ॥
(v. l. तावद्रामकथा लोके सर्वतः प्रचरिष्यति) ॥
Mahābhārata, Bālakāṇḍa : 1.2.35.

question may turn out to be yet one more "Index Fossil" of our grammarians.[10]

2. 1. The *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta tells us of one Parvataka who was a powerful Himālayan king and who died through contact with a *viṣakanyā* which was in fact sent by Minister Rākṣasa with the object of killing Candragupta.[11] He cannot be thought of in our lines here, first for his name containing addition of the suffix-*ka*, and secondly for his being not known ruling over a long period covering three stretches of time.

2. 2. The ancient city of Kauśāmbī (whieh has been accepted to be in the vicinity of Patañjali's native place[12]) was at one time a "capital of a local family of rulers".[13] Die-struck coins were issued from there by Bṛhatsvātimitra, and these coins which reveal the name of Parvata among others can be "assigned to the middle of the first century B. C."[14] As even petty Rulers are usually referred to very highly by the subjects, it is not unlikely that this royal family of Parvata-s was mentioned by Patañjali as being in a contemporary and nearby line of Rulers over a long period.

3. Acceptance of this would lower by a small margin the latest suggestion on dating Patañjali, to the middle of the first century B. C. rather than to around 85 B. C.

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10. A term used by H. Scharfe, "A Second Index Fossil" of Sanskrit Grammarians", *JAOS* (1976) 274-77.
11. See (*i*) Radha Kumud Mookerji, Ch. IV, p. 57 from R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar (Ed.) *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II : *The Age of the Imperial Unity*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1960.
(*ii*) Siddheshwarshastri Chitrav, *Bharatavarshiya Madhyayugin Charitrakosh*, 1937, p. 510a.
12. Vide H. Scharfe at fn. 10.
13. R. C. Majumdar, Ch. X, p. 174 from R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar (Ed.) at fn. 11.
14. R. C. Majumdar, *ibid.*, (fn. 13).

हिन्दी की सहायक क्रियाएँ और 'होना' के खंड

रमेश चंद्र महरोत्रा

(क)

हिंदी की सहायक क्रियाओं के छह प्रकार गिनाए जा सकते हैं। उनसे से तीन वे हैं, जिन्हें अन्य क्रियाओं से संयुक्त करके क्रिया के मूल अर्थ में वैशिष्ट्य लाने के लिए प्रयुक्त किया जाता है; और अन्य तीन वे हैं, जिनका कार्य व्याकरणिक रहता है, अर्थात् जिनका प्रयोग क्रिया के किसी काल, वाच्य, और वृत्ति को स्पष्ट करने के लिए होता है।

उपर्युक्त प्रथम वर्ग की, अर्थात् मुख्य क्रिया में जुड़ कर अर्थ-वैशिष्ट्य लाने वाली, सहायक क्रियाओं में पहली वे हैं, जो मुख्य क्रिया की भाँति भी प्रयुक्त हो सकती हैं। इनके उदाहरण हैं—'खा डालना' में 'डालना', 'डाल देना' में 'देना', 'जा बैठना' में 'बैठना' और 'सो जाना' में 'जाना'।

प्रथम वर्ग के दूसरे प्रकार की सहायक क्रिया 'चुकना' है, जो मुख्य क्रिया की भाँति केवल धातु-रूप में और निषेधात्मक वाक्य में प्रयुक्त हो सकती है, जैसे 'चुक जाना' में और 'नहीं चुकना' में। इसके अलावा यह सदा सहायक रहती है, जैसे 'सो चुकना' में।

प्रथम वर्ग के तीसरे प्रकार की सहायक क्रिया 'सकना' है, जो सर्वदा सहायक रहती है, जैसे 'पी सकना' में।

द्वितीय वर्ग की, अर्थात् मुख्य क्रिया में जुड़कर व्याकरणिक अन्तर प्रस्तुत करने वाली, सहायक क्रियाओं में पहली 'जाना' है, जिसका व्यवहार स्वतंत्र रूप में नहीं होता है। इसके उदाहरण हैं—'दिया जाना' में 'जाना' (कर्म वाच्य में) और 'सोया जाना' में 'जाना' (भाव वाच्य में)। 'जाना' सहायक क्रिया के अर्थ-वैशिष्ट्य उत्पन्न करने वाले तथा व्याकरणिक सम्बन्ध

स्पष्ट करने वाले प्रकारों के भेद क्रमशः 'भाग जाना' ('भाग पड़ना', 'भाग चुकना', 'भाग सकना' के समकक्ष) तथा 'भाग जाना' ('जाना' के समकक्ष यहाँ कुछ नहीं रखा जा सकता) उदाहरणों में देखा जा सकता है ।]

द्वितीय वर्ग के दूसरे प्रकार की सहायक क्रियाएँ 'थ्' और 'ह्' धातुओं से बनने वाली हैं, जिनका व्यवहार स्वतंत्र रूप में भी होता है, जैसे 'था' और 'है' । (इन दोनों को 'होना' का क्रमशः भूतकालिक और वर्तमानकालिक रूप कहने की रूढि है ।)

द्वितीय वर्ग के तीसरे प्रकार की सहायक क्रिया 'हो' धातु से सम्बद्ध है । इससे बनने वाले रूप (१) स्वतन्त्र होकर भी व्यवहृत होते हैं, जैसे 'ऐसा हुआ' और 'वैसा होता' में 'हुआ' और 'होता'; तथा मुख्य क्रिया की भाँति भी प्रयुक्त होते हैं, जैसे 'हुआ होता' और 'होता होगा' में 'हुआ' और 'होता' है । (२) 'होगा' का प्रयोग मुख्य क्रिया की भाँति नहीं होता है । (३) 'होकर' स्वतन्त्र होकर प्रयुक्त नहीं होता है । (इन रूपों को भी 'होना' के रूप कहने की रूढ़ि है ।)

(ख)

ऊपर बताए गए छह प्रकारों में से आगे केवल पाँचवें और छठे प्रकारों, अर्थात् 'थ्', 'ह्', और 'हो' धातुओं से बनी सहायक क्रियाओं के निश्चयार्थक रूपों पर विचार किया जाएगा ।

'थ्' और 'ह्' से बने रूपों में कालविषयक रूप-रचना नहीं होती, क्योंकि इनमें भूतकाल और वर्तमान काल का भेदक भाव स्वयं धातु से ही व्यक्त होता है । 'थ्' का अर्थ है 'भूत सत्ताबोधक' और 'ह्' का अर्थ है 'वर्तमान सत्ताबोधक' । (यदि इन दोनों को 'सत्ताबोधक' अर्थ वाली एक ही धातु के उपरूप माना गया, तो इनसे बने भूतकालिक और वर्तमानकालिक रूपों में कालविषयक रूप-रचना के लिए सर्वत्र शून्य के अतिरिक्त कुछ नहीं बचेगा । और तब भूत और वर्तमान के भेद का द्योतन नहीं हो सकेगा ।) 'थ्' की रूप रचना, लिंग और वचन के लिए होती है और 'ह्' की पुरुष और वचन के लिए । ['(to) be' की रूप-रचना में भी तीन धातुओं का सहयोग स्वीकार किया गया है । पहली से 'were, was' रूप बनते हैं, दूसरी से 'are, am, is' बनते हैं, और तीसरी से 'be, being, been' बनते हैं । इनमें से पहली के मूल में भूतकाल है और दूसरी के मूल में वर्तमान काल ।] भविष्य निश्चयार्थक के लिए हिंदी में 'हो' धातु के रूप चलते हैं । इस धातु का अर्थ है 'घटनाबोधक' । भविष्य के रूपों में यह धातु क्रमशः पुरुष, वचन, भविष्य और लिंग के रूपसाधक प्रत्यय लेती है ।

इन तीन धातुओं की विभिन्न रूपसिद्ध स्थितियाँ, निश्चयार्थक रूपों के माध्यम से, खंडीकरण करके कोष्ठक में एक-एक उदाहरण के साथ निम्नानुसार दिखाई जा सकती हैं—

भूत निश्चयार्थक

थ् 'भूत सत्ताबोधक' + लिंग-प्रत्यय ± वचन-प्रत्यय (थीं)

वर्तमान निश्चयार्थक

ह् 'वर्तमान सत्ताबोधक' + पुरुष-प्रत्यय ± वचन-प्रत्यय (हैं)

भविष्य निश्चयार्थक

हो 'घटनाबोधक' + पुरुष-प्रत्यय ± वचन-प्रत्यय + भविष्य-प्रत्यय + लिंग-प्रत्यय (होंगी)

इस प्रकार, हिंदी की तथाकथित 'होना' सहायक क्रिया के निश्चयार्थक रूपो में तीन काल दो धातुओं ('थ्' और 'ह्') और एक रूपसाधक प्रत्यय ('—ग्') द्वारा व्यक्त होते हैं।

(ग)

उपर्युक्त तीन धातुओं का विकासात्मक सम्बन्ध संस्कृत की क्रमशः स्था, अस् (अस्ति), और भू (भवति) धातुओं से माना जाता है। इनके सर्वथा पृथक् अस्तित्व को निम्नलिखित तुलनाओं से भी स्पष्ट किया जा सकता है—

था, थे, थी, थीं ('थ्'+प्रत्यय)
हुआ, हुए, हुई, हुईं ('हो' मूल रूप का 'हु' संरूप+प्रत्यय)
हूँ ('ह्'+प्रत्यय)
होऊँ ('हो'+प्रत्यय)

आवृत्ति-गणना के प्रमाण से 'होना' अपने विविध रूपों के साथ हिंदी का सबसे अधिक व्यवहृत होने वाला शब्द है[1]। इसकी रूप-रचना तथा प्रयोग का विश्लेषण भी सबसे अधिक उलझन भरा है। यही कारण है कि इसके (वस्तुतः 'इनके', क्योंकि यह एक शब्द नहीं, दो शब्द हैं, नामशः, वर्तमान अस्तित्ववाची 'होना' तथा घटनावाची 'होना'—क्रमशः 'है–हूँ–हो–हैं' तथा 'होता—होगा—होकर—हुआ' से सम्बद्ध) बारे में विद्वान् अभी तक लोगों को परेशान किए हुए हैं (व्यर्थ ही)। कोई कहता है कि 'थ्', 'ह्', और 'हो' तीनों की तह में एक ही धातु है; कोई कहता है कि 'थ्' अलग है और 'ह्' और 'हो' एक हैं; तथा कोई कहता है कि 'थ्' और 'ह्' एक हैं और 'हो' अलग है।

यमुना काचरू लिखती हैं कि सहायक क्रिया 'हो' काल, वचन और लिंग तथा पुरुष के लिए चिह्नित होती है। 'था', 'है', 'हो' आदि सभी में 'हो' विद्यमान है, जिस पर कालवाची प्रत्यय जोड़े गए हैं।[2]

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१. देखिए, केंद्रीय हिंदी संस्थान, **हिंदी की आधारभूत शब्दावली**, केंद्रीय हिंदी संस्थान, आगरा, १९६७ और कैलाश चंद्र भाटिया, **हिंदी की बेसिक शब्दावली**, अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम यूनीवर्सिटी, १९६८।

२. देखिए, उनकी पुस्तक **एन इंट्रोडक्शन टु हिंदी सिंटैक्स**, यूनीवर्सिटी ऑव इलिनॉय, १९६६, पृष्ठ ८६–८८, ९१।

धर्मपाल गाँधी ने भी अपने लेख "हिंदी की विशेष क्रिया : होना" में एक ही धातु 'हो' से सब कुछ सिद्ध करने की चेष्ठा की है।[३]

सुधा कालरा ने लिखा है कि 'थ्' और 'ह्' अलग हैं तथा 'होकर, होते, हुए' आदि रूप 'ह्' से निष्पन्न है। दूसरी ओर, उन्होंने 'थ्' और 'ह्' के रूपों को 'स्थितिसूचक' बताते हुए 'हो' के रूपों को 'विकारसूचक' लिखकर उन्हें अलग कर दिया है।[४]

कैलाश चंद्र अग्रवाल ने 'होना' को उसके विविध रूपों सहित एक तथा 'था' को दूसरी सहायक क्रिया माना है।[५]

किशोरी दास वाजपेयी का मत है कि हिंदी की 'है' क्रिया 'हो' में प्रत्यय लगाने से नहीं बनी है, वह स्वतन्त्र शब्द है। वे 'ह' और 'हो' को पृथक् धातुएँ सिद्ध करते हुए लिखते हैं कि भविष्यत् काल का प्रत्यय 'हो' से जुड़ता है, 'ह' से नहीं—'होगा, होंगे, होगी'। लेकिन उन्होंने 'थ' को 'ह' से सम्बद्ध रखा है।[६]

मुरारी लाल उप्रैति ने भी /थ/ और /ह/ को एक, स्थितिसूचक या सत्तार्थक, और /हो/ को अलग, दशासूचक या विकारसूचक या विकारदर्शक, लिखा है।[७]

कामता प्रसाद गुरु एवं बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त ने भी 'होना' (स्थितिदर्शक) से 'था' और 'हूँ' को सम्बद्ध किया है तथा 'होना' (विकारदर्शक) से 'होऊँ, होऊँगा, होता' को जोड़ा है।[८]

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३. देखिए, **भाषा त्रैमासिक : हिंदी भाषा विज्ञान अंक**, केंद्रीय हिंदी निदेशालय, नई दिल्ली, १९७३, पृष्ठ २३४।

४. देखिए, उन की पुस्तक **हिंदी वाक्य विन्यास**, लोक भारती प्रकाशन, इलाहाबाद, १९७१, पृष्ठ १५३ और १४१।

५. देखिए, उन की पुस्तक **आधुनिक हिंदी व्याकरण**, रंजन प्रकाशन, आगरा, १९७१, पृष्ठ ६७।

६. देखिए, उन की पुस्तक **हिंदी शब्दानुशासन**, नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, काशी, १९५९, पृष्ठ ३८, ३९५–९६।

७. देखिए, उनकी पुस्तक **हिंदी में प्रत्यय-विचार**, विनोद पुस्तक मन्दिर, आगरा, १९६४, पृष्ठ २५८।

८. देखिए, उनकी पुस्तकें, क्रमशः, **हिंदी व्याकरण**, नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, वाराणसी, संवत् २०३२, पृष्ठ १९३ एवं **हिंदी क्रिया : स्वरूप और विश्लेषण**, आनन्द पुस्तक भवन, वाराणसी, १९७०, पृष्ठ २०२।

THE SUCCESSORS OF YAŚODHARMAN-VISHṆUVARDHANA IN CENTRAL INDIA

V. V. Mirashi

Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana is well known in ancient Indian history as the vanquisher of the mighty Hūṇa Chief Mihirakula. Until recently very little was known about him. Nilakanta Sastri says, "Yaśodharman of Mālwā stands alone without any predecessor or successor."[1] He was believed to have risen and fallen suddenly like a meteor.[2] But now as many as seven ancestors of Yaśodharman have become known from an inscription recently discovered at Risthal in the Mandasor District of Madhya Pradesh. His feudatories hailed from the Brahmaputra and the Himālayas in the north to the Mahendra mountain and the Western Sea in the south.[3] As a result of his conquests, the Mālava (Vikrama) era spread far and wide in North India.

Nothing is, however, known about his successors. Recently some inscriptions of this period have come to notice from which we can form an idea about the rulers of Central India who rose to power after Yaśodharman. In 1979 a large but fragmentary stone inscription was found while digging for the foundation of a building for the weavers of Mandasor. It mentions the following kings in its preserved portion[4].—[Ya]jñadeva, Vīrasoma, Bhāskaravarman and Kumāravarman. The purpose of the inscription was evidently to register the performance of some charitable work such as the construction of a tank at Mandasor. The verse describing Bhāskaravarman is imperfectly preserved, but it seems to have described his victory over an illustrious

1. Nilakant Sastri, *History of India*, Part I, p. 137.
2. R. C. Majumdar, *History and Culture of the Indian People* Vol. III, p. 89.
3. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings* etc., *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 154.
4. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXXII, Nos. 1-2, pp. 70ff.

king of the Aulikara family. It is well known that Aulikara was the name of the family of Yaśodharman. Bhāskaravarman thus seems to have defeated a successor of Yaśodharman and ousted him from the Mandasor—Ujjain region. The name of his family does not occur in the preserved portion of this Mandasor inscription. This family may have first been feudatory to the Aulikaras and may have been ruling somewhere in Central India, but later, after Yaśodharman's death, it seems to have grown powerful and ousted his successor from the Mandasor-Ujjain region.

The name of this family is not known. Its Mandasor record is not dated, but a clue to its approximate date is provided by the statement in it that Kumāravarman, the son of Bhāskaravarman, defeated and killed in battle 'a son of Kṛishṇa.'[5] This Kṛishṇa is evidently the Kaṭachchuri (or Early Kalachuri) king Kṛishṇarāja who was ruling over the neighbouring country of Anūpa (modern Nemāḍ and Indore districts in Central India). Kṛishṇarāja flourished in *circa* A. D. 530-570.[6] This son of Kṛishṇa was evidently the Kaṭachchuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa (A. D. 570-600). It is noteworthy in this connection that Śaṅkaragaṇa's Ābhoṇa plates dated in the Ābhīra year 347 (A. D. 597) were issued from his camp at Ujjayinī[7] which, as we have seen, was probably the capital of Kumāravarman. He evidently had defeated the ruler of Ujjayinī before issuing the copper-plate grant from there in A. D. 597. Some years later he again invaded Mālwā, but suffered a disastrous defeat and lost his life in fighting. This event may be dated approximately in A. D. 600. Kumāravarman may be referred to the period A. D. 590-605. We do not know how long his family continued to rule in Mālwā. His father Bhāskaravarman, who defeated an Aulikara king, was probably a successor of Yasodharman. He may, therefore, be referred to the period A. D. 560-590.

Another family which also was dating its records in the Mālava or Vikrama Saṃvat has become known from the grant of Vishṇusheṇa published by D. C. Sircar.[8] It is dated in the year 649, which must be referred to the Mālava Saṃvat. It corresponds to A. D. 592. The family to which Vishṇusheṇa belonged is not named in it. Sircar supposes that it was the Maitraka family ruling over Kāṭhiāwāḍ, but this is not likely; for the

5. See Verse 12 of the Mandasor Inscription—तं कृष्णसूनुरतिवीर्यमदेन मत्तो *etc.*

6. He conquered Western Mahārāshṭra from the Traikūṭakas, See Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, Vol. 1. p. 177.

7. *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 41.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 161 ff.

Maitrakas dated their records not in the Mālava but in the Gupta era. Vishṇusheṇa was probably ruling over some territory bordering Mālwā on the west. We have no further information about this family.

At the end of Vishṇusheṇa's grant there is an endorsement of King Avanti confirming the orders of Vishṇusheṇa. It is dated in the year 357 of an unspecified era. This date probably refers to the Ābhira era and corresponds to A. D. 607. From the wording of the endorsement it appears that Avanti was probably a feudatory of some emperor. As he uses the Ābhira era, his suzerain must have been the contemporary Kaṭachchuri king Buddharāja (A.D. 600-620). Avanti seems to have joined him in his campaign in Central India and made the endorsement after he occupied the territory previously ruled by Vishṇusheṇa.

Besides these three families of Kumāravarman, Vishṇusheṇa and Avanti, there was one other, which has become known from Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*. It was ruling over the Mālava country. It was named Gupta. Bāṇa describes Harsha's father Prabhākaravardhana as an axe cutting the creeper in the form of the royal fortune of the ruler of the Mālava country.[9] Prabhākaravardhana defeated him and made him pay a heavy tribute. He also made him send his two sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta to his court as hostages. A third member of this family named Devagupta, who was probably their brother, was completely vanquished by Rājyavardhana,[10] the elder son of Prabhākaravardhana. Where this family was ruling is not known. It was probably in occupation of Eastern Mālwā. We have no further information about it.

These four families were ruling over the different parts of the Mālava country and the surrounding territory after the death of Yośodharman—Vishṇuvardhana.

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9. See मालवलक्ष्मीलतापरशुः in the *Harṣacarita, uchchhvāsa* IV.

10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 208 ff.

TECHNICAL TERMS RELATED TO MACHINES (*YANTRA*-S) IN *SAMARĀṄGAṆA-SŪTRADHĀRA*: MODERN EXPOSITION AND EQUIVALENTS

Satya Deva Misra

INTRODUCTION :

The *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra* of King Bhoja is a treasury of technical knowledge. The *Yantra-vidhāna* chapter of this magnum-opus furnishes enough evidence of the author's fertile imagination and keen insight into the field of mechanical engineering of medieval times. King Bhoja in this chapter defines a machine, states its basic elements, enumerates its qualities, tells the various types of machines and gives the design and art of making a few machines.

In the course of the above discussion, Bhoja has suggested many concepts and ideas and has used numerous technical terms which are relevant even to the present world of science and technology. The purpose of this paper is to present a scientific and comparative analysis of these ideas and concepts and expose the technical terms to the modern mind.

1. DEFINITION OF MACHINE :

According to Bhoja, a machine is one which controls the voluntary operating elements and channalizes them to do some useful work.[1]

Or

It is a device or mechnical contrivance, intellectually produced, which controls the naturally operating elements.[2]

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1. *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra*, 31.3.
2. *Ibid.*, 31.4.

Both the definitions suggest that a machine utilizes the voluntarily or naturally available elements and its energy as of blowing wind or of falling water (natural water falls) and puts it to work. In the first case, the wind mill (a machine) is rotated by the wind and then its rotational speed and power could be used for running a flour mill or any other device. In the second case, the pelton wheel (a machine) is also rotated by the falling water (by the kinetic energy of water) which afterwards can be used to run an electric generator for producing electricity.

THE MODERN DEFINITIONS OF A MACHINE :

A machine is a mechanism or collection of mechanisms which converts energy into work.[3]

(Example—A Lathe Machine)

Or

A machine is a device, usually consisting of several mechanisms, which transmit force from the source of power to the resistance to be overcome.[4]

(Example—An Internal Combustion Engine)

Or

A machine is a combination of mechanisms designed to transform energy into the required form and thus to do useful work.[5]

(Example– A Steam Locomotive or A Diesel Locomotive).

In fact the definitions given by Bhoja are basically similar to the modern definitions because they all tend to suggest that a machine is a device which converts elements or energy into work.

It may, however, be pointed out that Bhoja has not expressed his views on the efficiency of the machines, which, according to the modern concepts, is always less than 100%, because some energy and power is lost in the machine itself due to the presence of friction between its moving elements. But it may be added that Bhoja did take care of this while giving the qualities of a machine.

2. SOURCES OF ENERGY OR POWER OF MACHINES :

According to Bhoja, there are five sources[6] of energy. They are :

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3. *Applied Kinemetic* by A. J. Ramous; Prentice Hall Inc.
4. *Mechanics and Dynamics of Machinery* by Hamilton H. Mabie & Fred W. Ocvirk, Wiley International Edn.
5. *Fundamentals of Engg. Mechanics* by L. Levinson, Mir Publishers, Moscow.
6. *Samarāṅgaṇa–Sūtradhāra*, 31.5.

1. Earth (*Pṛthvi*), 2. Air (*Vāyu*), 3. Fire (*Agni*), 4. Water (*Jala*) and 5. Space (*Viyat*).

Of these, the first four constitute the elements of machine, whereas the last one is only a support of the machine.

Mythologically, these five are also the elements which constitute any material in this universe. For example, a metal is made of (1) Earth i.e. metal itself, (2) and (4) Dissolved Gases i.e. the Air, Nitrogen, Oxygen and Hydrogen, (3) Internal Energy—i.e. the form of Fire (Atomic Energy) and (5) A Shape, it occupies space.

Modern sources of energy are as follows :

1. Water—Its kinetic and potential energy.
2. Heat—Produced by combustion of fuels or by electricity.
3. Wind—Its kinetic energy.
4. Sun—Its radiated heat and light energy.
5. The Earth—Its mineral wealth used as fuels and materials for fission to produce energy.

When compared, we find that the sources of energy envisaged by Bhoja are more basic in nature.

3. KINDS OF MACHINES AND MACHINES :

Bhoja has mentioned the following types of machines :

(a) Self Driven (*svayaṃ-vāhaka*)
(b) Once Driven—keep moving for some time (*sakṛt-prerya*)
(c) Driven by invisible source of power (Internal Energy) (*antarita-vāhya*)
(d) Driven from external source of energy (*adūrataḥ vāhya*).

Of these four, that which is self driven is considered the best.[7]

Here are the respective examples of the machines mentioned by Bhoja :

(i) A man, a torch, a fully automatic machine
(ii) A semi-automatic toy, a clock, Internal combustion engine
(iii) A torch cell
(iv) A steam engine

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7. *Ibid.*, 31.10-11.

Even the modern world would agree to this classification of machines, as we do have :

(i) Machines manually operated
(ii) Semi-automatic machines
(iii) Automatic machines
(iv) Internal combustion engines
(v) External combustion engines

and, top of all, the computers and robots which substitute human labour and can also think and decide to a limited extent, but do not match the human brain and cannot be taken as ideally automatic.

The mention of mechanised male and female servants, female dancing figures, and soldiers in the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*, gives an evidence of automatic (self-driven) machines, and the practicability of the concept, yet the concept of complete automation or self-driven machine is more of imagination, not only in the times of Bhoja but in the present age which has merely enhanced the degree of automation, with its advanced knowledge of science and technology.

MOTION IN MACHINES :

Bhoja mentions the following motions in his *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* :

1. Self-propelled (*sviyā gati*)
2. Externally propelled (*vāhakāśritā*)[8]

While describing *Yantra*-s, he has pointed out that by using mechanical devices and basic energy sources, it is possible to produce mechanized human and animal figures. In view of our present achievements in automation—computers and robots, cassette players and vedio players heading towards replacement of human beings—Bhoja's description of mechanized figures seems to be practical and cannot be discarded as a sheer imagination.

4. BASIC ELEMENTS OF A MACHINE (COMPONENTS OF A MACHINE) :

Bhoja seems to have indicated the following as components of a machine :[9]

1. Tape, wire and chord.
2. Weights for applying pressure,

8. *Ibid.*, 31.13.
9. *Ibid.*, 31.25 and ff.

3. Wheel.
4. Levers and nails.

Our present day list consists of the following components of a machine :

Levers, Pulleys, Gears, Belts, Chains, Screws, Inclined Planes and Wedges, Cams, Nuts and Bolts, Nails, Rollers and Pins, Wires, Springs and Rubber Bands etc.

It may be noted that all the items mentioned in both the lists are r i g i d b o d i e s. Thus the modern concept that "Machine consists of rigid bodies, connected together by temporary, semi-permanent, and permanent, joints", is quite similar to that propounded by Bhoja, except that our present list contains more number of elements which are the varied forms of rigid bodies given by Bhoja.

5. QUALITIES OF A WELL-DESIGNED MACHINE :

Bhoja mentions as follows :

(i) It should consist of right type, size and shape of elements.
(ii) It should have all the elements firmly and correctly joined together.
(iii) It should have a neat layout and construction.
(iv) It should have a good finish and pleasing appearance.
(v) It should consume minimum power to run it.
(vi) It should have a hidden source of power.
(vii) It should be noiseless, except in those machines which are meant to produce sound.
(viii) It should have rhythmic and smooth motion.
(ix) It should run without any obstruction or interruption.
(x) It should fulfil its function.
(xi) It should be automatic as far as possible.
(xii) It should look unique and wonderful in its action.
(xiii) It should function as controlled and desired.
(xiv) It should be as small as possible consistent with the functional requirements.
(xv) It should be versatile in function and flexible in operation.
(xvi) It should be amenable to easy handling, running and maintenance.
(xvii) It should be strong and durable.
(xviii) It should have minimum power losses in it (due to friction etc.). I

(xix) It should be usable in all environments and places without difficulty.

(xx) It should be capable of being run by any available source of power.

(xxi) It should have versimilitude (i.e. in case of figures, machines should look real).[10]

Besides these qualities of a machine, Bhoja has given a religious and mythological aspect of design and construction and utility of machines. He observes that machines are the principal sources of comfort, pleasure, ease, grandeur and prosperity of human society. Therefore, the act of design and construction of machines is a religious act of immense benefit to the society (*Dharma-kārya*). Not only this, the man, in bringing the machines to reality, pleases the gods, as they find the representation of their powers through these machines. The pleased gods shower greater benevolence on mankind in general and the designer of the machines in particular.[11]

6. ROLE OF FUNCTIONS OF MACHINES (*YANTRA-KARMA*) :

According to Bhoja, machines have the following functions :

1. Actions (*kriyā*)
2. Time (*kāla*).
3. Sound (*śabda*).
4. Sense of touch and feel (*rūpa-sparśa*).[12]

1. (a) Action connotes machines which process basic elements into finished goods of utility and services to the mankind.
   e.g. Components of domestic utility, Components of machine, The public transport vehicles.

   (b) It also connotes machines which enhance or add to the physical capability of man.
   e.g. A power hammer, A loud speaker.

2. Time connotes machines which measure or give time.
   e.g. Watches and Clocks.

3. Sound connotes (a) Musical instruments (b) Instruments to produce certain calls—like, Sirens, Bells. (c) Instruments to demoralise the listener.

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10. *Ibid.*, 31.45-50.
11. *Ibid.*, 31.17-21.
12. *Ibid.*, 31.50-52.

4. Sensing by touch or feel connotes machines like Stethoscope, Optical Pyrometers, photocells etc.

King Bhoja has shown here his keen insight into the basic actions of machines. It may, however, be added that the present actions are more varied and the machines have been classified not only on the basis of actions but on the basis of different criteria (which are not very far from action in one way or the other). They are :

(i)	Metal cutting machines— (based on action)	1. Lathe machine 2. Milling machine
(ii)	Automatic Metal cutting machines (based on degree of automation)	1. Swiss Automat 2. Turret Lathe
(iii)	Special purpose metal cutting machine (based on special function)	1. Crank shaft grinding machine 2. Jig borer
(iv)	Stitching machines (based on function)	For cloth and leather
(v)	Tea and coffee machines (based on end use)	
(vi)	Guns and Rifles (on the basis of function)	Fire Arms
(vii)	Welding machines (on the basis of end use)	Joining
(viii)	X-Ray machines (based on its power source and output or end product) and so on.	

The sub-classification of the above basic functions given by Bhoja bears the stamp of his fertile and creative thinking. Just in two verses[13] he sub-divides Action, Time and Sound as follows :

Action : (a) To rise and go up
(b) To fall or dive or move
(c) To move in an oblique path
(d) To move back
(e) To move forward
(f) To move in front
(g) To move side-ways, right and left
(h) To run

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13. *Ibid.*, 31.53-54.

(i) To slide
(j) To fall under own weight

Time—Measure of Time :
(a) A moment, An instant, A period of 48 minutes.
(b) A measure of time or duration variedly computed e.g. 1 minute, 48 seconds and 8 seconds.

Sound : (a) Strange and uncommon
(b) Pleasing and pleasant
(c) Sex-exciting
(d) Terrifying and annoying

7. IMPORTANCE OF MACHINES :

Machines are important assets of human being. Being produced by fertile imagination and ingenuity, the machines, according to Bhoja, fulfil various desires of mankind.[14] He tells for example (i) A machine that transports a sleeping man from the ground floor to the fifth floor of a building[15] (ii) Machines which produce fire in water and water in fire,[16] (iii) Machanized singing and dancing dolls etc.[17] (iv) A machine that can turn unreal into real or a real into unreal[18] and (v) Mechanized female figures and animal figures, like those of monkeys, birds and elephants.[19]

8. *YANTRA ŚĀSTRA* (MECHANICAL ENGINEERING) :

An engineer who creates machines has been called '*Sūtradhāra*' by Bhoja.[20] According to him, an enginner is one : (i) who is traditionally skilled, (ii) who has acquired education from his *Guru*, (iii) who is intelligent, diligent and aware of his task, (iv) who is thorough and deep in his field and (v) who has an open mind and has keen aptitude for his profession and is strongly devoted to his field.[21] Only such an enginner can create a machine which brings wonder, satisfaction, recreation and happiness, fame and name to the creator, fulfils the work required and thus becomes an

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14. *Ibid.*, 31.65-67.
15. *Ibid.*, 31.65.
16. *Ibid.*, 31.67.
17. *Ibid.*, 31.73.
18. *Ibid.*, 31.68.
19. *Ibid.*, 31.71-79.
20. *Ibid.*, 31.86.
21. *Ibid.*, 31.87.

instrument to remove misery and a source of bringing prosperity and wealth.[22]

It may be observed that our present requirements of an engineer and his created machine are in no way different except that they are more exciting in some directions like accuracy, finish, reliability etc. Such a creator is, no doubt, a person who is loved by all in these times also.

Today due to the accumulation of vast knowledge of Mechanical Engineering and the ever increasingly exacting demands of modern machines, it will be difficult to draw a clear cut line of demarcation between what a Mechanical Engineer should know and what he should not know. In fact, the Mechanical Engineer at present is supposed to know more and more of other disciplines to enable him to create a machine successfully which may be readily acceptable to the society. However, to be brief, the modern Mechanical Engineer should know :

(i) Materials and their properties.
(ii) Mechanics of deformable bodies.
(iii) Manufacturing processes for making components and machines.
(iv) Kinematics and Dynamics of machines, and
(v) Drawing and design procedures.

Besides these, the other factors that affect the design of a machine may be listed as :

(i) Human behaviour and response to machine
(ii) Cost
(iii) Scope and life of the machine, and
(iv) Resistance to change by the society.

8. VARITIES OF MACHINES :

Bhoja has described certain machines as follows :

1. Sound Machine (*Dhvani Yantra*) :

   (i) Musical Instruments actuated by air, and
   (ii) A bed that can produce musical and exciting sound while sleeping on it.

2. Wooden Machine—Small (*Laghudārumayavihaṅga Yantra*) :

   A small wooden bird which can fly in the sky using the hot gases

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22. *Ibid.*, 31.88.

produced from mercury by heating the mercury in the stomach of the bird.

3. Wooden Machine—Large (*Alaghudāruvimāna Yantra*) :
   A large wooden machine which can fly. Both the wooden machines are based on the same principles and give an inkling of modern aeroplanes.

4. Iron Machine (*Āyasa Yantra*)
   A machine made of iron parts joined together firmly. This machine is said to produce loud and terrifying sound by the hot gases produced from heated mercury placed in it. It could have been an instrument to demoralise the enemy in wars.

5. Wooden Robots :
   A human figure made of wood with all the limbs of human being. The joints of the limbs with body were so designed and operated by chords and wires that the Robot could perform functions like : (a) giving a betel (*tāmbūla*) to his master, (b) watering the garden plants, (c) saluting a person, and (d) to play musical instruments and many other functions desired.[23]

Today Robots are realities, though very uncommon and costly, but the existence of such a machine in those times must have been a real wonder, exhibiting the engineering skill and its accomplishment.

6. Wooden Soldiers—capable of wielding arms at will.[24]
7. Water Machines (*Jala Yantra*-s).

While describing different varities of water machines[25], Bhoja has made the following points :

1. The water could be raised to a height above the ground level, and stored into reservoirs for giving a high potential energy to water. The water from the reservoir is then brought down through channels and pipes or tubes (a) to water the plants in the garden (b) to run the fountain-heads of various shapes, like a female figure, an animal or bird figure and many others, (c) to run a wheel, and (d) to allow the water to fall in the form of rains.

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23. *Ibid.*, 31.101-105.
24. *Ibid.*, 31.106-108.
25. *Idid.*, 31.109-111.

2. The water can be taken out from a well or pond and brought to a higher level, indicating that something like a water pump must have been made for this purpose.

3. The water could be carried from one place to another through hidden channels or tunnels. This throws the light on the engineering skill of making tunnels for transporting water in large quantities over a larger distance, which could not have been done through small tubes or pipes.

CONCLUSION :

The manufacturing details of making machines are not available in the text, but the concepts and ideas to make such machines are really marvellous and thought-provoking.

ABOUT THE SANSKRIT THEATRE

Juan Miguel de Mora

In this second half of the 20th century, already far advanced, specialized criticism labours on, inquiring, investigating and seeking the correct way of analysing theatre, which is neither literature nor poetry but rather a distinct and autonomous art having its own characteristics. For the most common of errors regarding dramatic art, frequently made not only by philologists and orientalists but also by an important number of specialized theatre critics the world over, is that of analysing theatre as though it were literature or poetry. This amounts to considering the whole on the basis of only one of its parts. One could recall here the old Indian tale of the blind men who described an elephant according to the part of him each had touched and felt. The elephant, however, is not only his tail, or his trunk, or his foot, or his tusks, but rather the combination of all those elements, the whole in the diversity of its details.

To consider the theatre as literature and to analyse and treat it as such amounts to wanting to explain and describe the Red Fort by touching only on its foundations and without mentioning the rest. The theatre is a whole, a unity in diversity, which constitutes art.

Humanity's oldest and most complete treatise on dramaturgy, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, considers poetry as a part of drama, only that, also establishing recitation, characters, actors, music, sets, costumes, make-up, different types of plot and many other elements as its parts. For all those reasons, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is a treatise on dramaturgy and not on poetics or literature. The Indians of antiquity knew, at a theoretic level, that theatre is not only literature, and they did so almost two millennia before the West became conscious of the same fact.

But that Indian knowledge was not reflected in the critical works, which from Pūrṇasarasvatī, Jagaddhara, Ghanaśyāma and others onwards, were of a literary, philological or religious nature, but not of a properly dramatic one. And the same happened regarding Western scholars, from MacDonell to Glasenapp, Gawroński and others, including the author of the greatest work on Sanskrit drama, Sylvain Lévi. One cannot blame them when even today, the most outstanding specialized dramatic criticism in the world is still looking for a way of categorically defining dramatic criticism which is not literary criticism.

Nevertheless, great classical Sanskrit dramatist, Bhavabhūti, who knew perfectly well (regardless of the fact that he was himself a great poet) that theatre is neither poetry nor literature. He demonstrates this, for example, in the prologue of the *Mahāvīracarita* when he specifies that actors of a high level must express heroism with delicate shadings, different in each character. The author of the *Mālatīmādhava* knew perfectly well that poetry and literature were only the foundations of his theatre, but that the building only existed when the play was performed, that is, when it became dramatic art.

Thus, we have the fact that the criticism which studies Sanskrit theatre has always dealt with what modern semiology calls text "A", that is, what the author wrote, forgetting or omitting the possibilities and projections which is the staging and which converts what is written into theatre, the theatrical performance, the work of the actors, the interpretation of the situations and the shadings which can, with the same words and identical situations, create the most diverse emotions (*rasa*-s). All this a theatrologist finds upon reading a drama.

Contemporary theatre has amply demonstrated the world over—including India—that the staging—text "B"—is so important that it can modify the sense and the interpretation of the literary text (whether classical or modern) without changing a single word. And just as in India, Ben Johnson's "Volpone" has been staged with Indian costumes, atmosphere and characters, one could think—from a purely theatrical point of views—of the convenience of staging Sanskrit classics in modern and different versions in which, without modifying the texts or the poetry of the authors, projections and possibilities different from those present until now are sought. But this subject is, for the moment, beyond the scope of this paper.

The difference between judging theatre as poetry and literature and studying it, as it is a different art, is far more important than it appears to

be. The merits of the *śloka*-s or of the *kāvya* in prose are one thing—very important and respectable indeed—but the staging of play, its theatrical performance, is another. And that difference is necessary in order to study classical Sanskrit theatre as dramatic art and not as poetry or literature.

For example, one of the elements which has been most studied and commented theatrically—and we are conscious of the apparent pleonasm—in the West regarding Shakespeare's drama is that part of "*Hamlet*" in which a "play within a play" is performed. In Shakepeare's Play, the intention of the character Hamlet is to make the person guilty of his father's murder give himself away when he sees the scene of the murder performed :

> That guilty creatures sitting at a play,
> Have by the very cunning of the scene
> Been struck so to the soul that presently
> They have proclaim'd malefactions . . .

Leaving aside the peculiarities of *Hamlet's* plot, what the Prince of Denmark tries to do is to show the King the crime he committed in a scenic way in order to influence him and make him give himself away. Or stated another way, the *garbha-nāṭaka* (or *garbhāṅka*, the play within a play) is not an isolated episode, unrelated to the main plot, as is the case with the Indian tales which fit inside other tales. Let us say, for example, as in the *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśatikā*, where there is no direct relation between the tales told by the *vetāla* and the story of King Trivikramasena (which contains them all) and in the *Pañcatantra*, which cotains many unrelated stories.

In other literatures, we have the case of *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, by Miguel de Cervantes, a novel which contains several stories (such as that of impertinent Anselmo who wanted to find out whether his wife was capable of being unfaithful to him) having nothing to do with the main plot. We repeat : the characteristic of the "play within a play" in Shakespeare is that there *is* an intimate, close relationship between the main story and the dramatic performance which it contains. And as in both cases it is a matter of theatre, that is, of texts "A"' and "B", the result is that dramatic art is enriched thereby, for, among other things, it provides the director with the opportunity of carefully shading the difference between one play and the other, to the extent of his artistic talent. This occurs both in "*Hamlet*", written between 1600 and 1601, and in "*A Midsummer Night's Dream*", which also contains a play within the play, and which was written earlier, in 1595.

Harṣa (or Harṣadeva) was born in the year 606 and died in 647, practically one millennium before Shakespeare. And he was the first—as we know—who, in *Priyadarśikā*, created the play within a play, the performance within a performance, a fact, the importance of which lies in that it implies a magic game in which the actors, who are performing become, the audience of other actors who are performing within the play. All that leads us to meditate on the fact that, one way or another, we are all performing in the course of our lives when we act in a certain way before an official, in another way before our children, in a third way bofore our lover or mistress, adopting one attitude before whomever is superior, another before whoever is inferior, etc. There is no human existence without some sort of performance and for that reason each of us is a different person, depending on who sees or judges us. This is the point, in great depth, reached by Sanskrit drama when it tells us in the 7th century, that the audience in a theatre are actors who are watching other actors perform, who in turn are present at the performance of other actors. It is enough for one to place oneself on one side of a theatre, objectively and simultaneously contemplating the audience and the play, in order to find oneself in the situation described, especially if the play is, for example, the *Priyadarśikā* and we carry out our observation at the same time as the *garbhanāṭaka* is taking place on the stage. And the results of the analysis of such a situation are not a poetic or literary product, but purely and exclusively dramatic, that is, theatrical.

In Harṣa's play, Vasavadattā is cross due to the jealousy she feels upon seeing King Udayana acting out her own romance, with another woman (Priyadarśikā as Āraṇyikā). But her initial anger—before the buffoon reveals the secret to her—could well be caused by her seeing her former lover, by her seeing herself represented in public, thanks to Saṃkṛtyāyanī, her former confidante's play. And with this commentary, we are fully within the theatre and not in literature, in text "B" and not in text "A" (which in this case was written by Harṣa) because once they are created, the characters have their own personality which escapes the author and which can be shaded in different directions by the actor and the director. A phrase said with a smile instead of a painful expression can change the whole play. That is why many plays have been interpreted in a manner different from the traditional one, without altering a single word, but with different nuances in certain intonations or by underlining certain intentions in the actors' verbal or facial expressions. When the text becomes the spoken, mimed and corporal expression of a character, it acquires another sense and other values and each actor can make something different of him without altering, we repeat, the original text. Perhaps the most frequent

example or what we are saying is precisely "*Hamlet*", by Shakespeare, a character who has been reinterpreted throughout the years, countries and stagings, creating *Hamlets* which are distinct and sometimes very different from each other.

But that game of life, expressed in dramatic art, which is the game of the performance within a performance, started by Harṣa, acquires another dimension and other values in the *Uttararāmacarita*, Bhavabhūti's masterpiece.

Indeed in that play, the character of Vālmīki organizes the dramatic performance—much as *Hamlet* would nine centuries later—in order to influence the characters, especially Rāma, by showing the story of the abandonment, of which Sītā was the victim, and of her purity. But as a dramatic author, as the creator of pure theatre (which is neither poetry nor literature but rather an autonomous art), Bhavabhūti precedes by more than a millennium not only Shakespeare but also Luigi Pirandello, a master in the scenic and simultaneous presentation of both realities, the theatrical one and the one extraneous to it. And with a dramatist's masterful touch, he plays with fiction within fiction (or with reality within reality) seen from the vantage point of another fiction which is life (*māyā*, in the last analysis, in one form or another), and makes Rāma react from the beginning as one who is seeing reality, which is what it is, in fact, although not in the sense that term is usually given in everyday life. That is why, no sooner has the performance started when Lakṣmaṇa tries to calm Rāma by saying: "*Ārya, nāṭakam idam*", that is, "Noble one, this is theatre". A vain intent on behalf of the character to unravel the skein so skilfully knitted up by the author. On the one hand, Rāma is prey to the emotion derived from his responsibility in the abandonment of Sītā—an emotion which could never be *rasa*—and on the other—a masterful touch given by the dramatist!—Sītā herself plays the role of Sītā, whereby she becomes Sītā interpreting a celestial nymph who interprets the role of Sītā, which implies a prodigious game of illusion, a clever confusion between theatre and non-theatre, or, if one prefers, between life on the stage and off. Certainly at the beginning of the act, Lakṣmaṇa says the *garbha-nāṭaka* will be performed by the celestial nymphs. But that is undoubtedly a subterfuge of Vālmīki's because Sītā, Gaṅgā and Earth are played by themselves, and they reappear for the dénouement, just a few seconds after having entered, in order to give way to the *śloka*-s which speak of the miracle. That subterfuge does not deceive Rāma in his emotions, although his reason may tell him, as his brother did, that it is theatre.

Whereby Bhavabhūti leads to a very old question : What is theatre ? Is it not theatre anyway, whether it is performed by Sītā herself and Gaṅgā, or by the heavenly nymphs ? Is it not theatre when kings or heads of State appear before their people under conditions which have been deliberately planned to impress the masses? And is it not theatre when a lover swears eternal fidelity to the mistress he has just deceived? And when a politician offers what he knows he will not be able to give? How is the theatrical fact altered if Sitā plays herself or if she is played by a nymph or if she plays the nymph who plays her role? Where does theatrical reality end and where does everyday reality begin? Is it not theatre when noble ladies cover themselves with jewels and cosmetics in order to be admired during the performance and in the theatre foyers? Or when a character ceases to be himself in order to become the actor who plays him or vice-versa, or perhaps a spectator? Or when a spectator, prey to what the Greeks called catharsis, allows himself to be carried away by the plot and weeps his sadness for the death of a character ?

All this that leads us to the conclusion that the Indian dramatists of the classical period, ever treated by scholars as simple poets, were the creators of decisive innovations in the field of dramatic art, in the theatre, regardless of their literary qualities. And we thereby find—one more—an important omission in Indological studies.

The *garbha-nāṭaka* is not the only case, but we have employed it in order to raise a question which interests us : that studying Sanskrit theatre as dramatic art and not simply as poetry, we will find first important Indian fruits in the dramatic art of the world, which do not appear when it is a matter of purely literary criticism.

CONCEPT OF THE HEROINE IN EARLY MALAYALAM POETRY

K. Ramachandran Nair

Malayalam Poetry developed in its early stages through two major streams, one influenced by Tamil and the other by Sanskrit. In addition to these, there was a minor one which represented the native medium of expression in the form of folk songs and ballads. The two major streams were more or less complementary to each other with regard to their cultural impact, but they were distinctively different in form and content and also in their linguistic features. Pāṭṭu is the generic name given to that branch of Malayalam poetry that came under the sway of Tamil and is defined in the 14th century grammatical treatise, *Līlātilakam* as follows :

"*Dramiḍa saṃghātākṣara nibaddham etuka mōna vṛttaviśeṣayuktam pāṭṭu*".

The conditions stipulated in this definition are (i) only Drāviḍa or Tamil letters should be used, (ii) There should be second letter alliteration (*etuka*), (iii) The first and second halves of each line should begin with the same letter (*mōna*) and (iv) The metre used should be different from those used in Sanskrit. The anonymous work *Rāmacaritam* (12th century) is the first major work of this school and the most important contributions to this school came from the famous Niraṇam poets (c. 15th century) who brought home to the people of Kerala the majesty and grandeur of the Sanskrit epics, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhārata*, through their works.

Maṇipravāla is the Sanskrit-dominated branch and is defined in *Līlātilakam* as follows :

"*Bhāṣā saṃskṛta yōgō maṇipravāḷam*"

Maṇipravāḷam is the *yoga* or the combination of *Bhāṣā* and Saṃskṛta. *Bhāṣā* is (Keraḷa *Bhāṣā*) or the language of the inhabitants of Keraḷa and by

Sanskrit is meant Sanskrit words with Sanskritic inflexions. The combination of *Bhāṣā* and Saṃskṛta should be such as may create joy in the mind of the *sahṛdaya*. The earliest extant Maṇipravāḷa work is *Vaiśakatantram* of the 12th. century which deals with the advice given to the courtesan 'Anaṅgasenā' by her mother regarding the art of prostitution. Some of the major works belonging to Maṇipravāḷa school are the campū-s, *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam* (13th. century), *Uṇṇiccirutevicaritam* (13th. century) and *Uṇṇiyāṭicaritam*, (14th. century); the Sandeśakāvya-s, *Uṇṇinilisandeśam* (14th. centuy) and *Kōkasandeśam* (15th. century), the Kāvya *Candrotsavam* (15th. century) and the numerous short lyrical compositions collected together in various anthologies.

For the purpose of this discussion, I am confining myself to the Maṇipravāḷa school of poetry for the following reasons:

(1) The works belonging to the pāṭṭu school mainly depend on the epics for their theme: as such there is no attempt in those works at clear-cut characterisation of either the hero or the heroine. and hence there is no point in pursuing the concept of the heroine in those works.

(ii) Maṇipravāḷa works, in spite of their closely following the Sanskritic patterns, do not follow the epics or the purāṇas either for selecting themes or for depicting characters. Their main theme is love and naturally the central character of poems belonging to this school is the heroine, thus providing ample scope for an enquiry into the concept of the heroine.

The Maṇipravāḷa poet is essentlally romantic in his approach to love and life. He does not believe that love is to be denigrated as a sinful activity; neither does he think that it is to be idealised into a divine passion. Aceording to him, it forms an essential part of life and in this respect he goes along with the Indian tradition which considers '*Kāma*' as one among the four cardinal goals of human existence together with *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Mokṣa*.

To this extent he has a totally realistic perspective, but when poetry comes in, with all its trappings of imagination and emotion, he transforms himself into a romantic soul, in scareh of beauty, in search of all the good things of life. This is evident even from the very names he gives to his heroines. Of course, there are such names as Uṇṇiyacci, Uṇṇiyāṭi, Uṇṇinīli, etc., which were common in those days; but innumerable are the sophisticated names coined by the Maṇipravāḷa poets either to heighten the romantic tone of the poetic atmosphere they create or to conceal the real identity of the women on whom they compose such elegant poetry. Āṇandakeḷī, Uttarā-

candrikā, Karpūravallī, Kalākelī, Kalamālikā, Kalāśālinī, Kīrtilekhā, Kelilekhā, Maratakamālā, Mallīnilāvu, Mānavīmenakā, Mārakelī, Māralekhā, Medinīveṇṇilāvu, Rājacandrikā, Anaṅgasenā, Anaṅgalekhā, Medinīcandrikā, Kanakavallī, are some such names.

And the Maṇipravāḷa heroine, true to the romantic profession of her creator, the poet, stands before us as beauty incarnate. Every limb of hers is vibrant with the innate vitality of youth and every gland partakes something of the elemental forces of nature. Her charms are described from the crest to the toe with all the routine poetic devices adopted in the manner of the Sanskrit poets. Face as bright and round as the full moon, dark and luxuriant hair resembling the rain clouds, long narrow eyes dark and dazzling as the blue lotus bloom, tremulous lips red as the *bimba* fruit, conch-shaped neck, swelling breasts whose burden is painfully borne by the slender waist—thus follows the conventional description of feminine charms, which one finds repeated again and again. But there are exceptions too. See, for example, the lyric on Iṭṭiyacci where the poet creates a graphic impression of the total charm of his beloved by pinpointing his attention on one aspect of her beauty, her *kaṭākṣa*, her charming glance.

This beauty, without a single blemish to mar its total impact can come only from the higher rungs of the social ladder. A poor girl or a destitute cannot be the source of this charm. The Maṇipravāḷa poet, therefore, does not allow his heroine to live in poverty or misery. Either she is the scion of aristocracy, partaking of the good things of life as a matter of right by birth, or she, by her talents and bodily charms or by the particular role she is destined to play in society, has carved out a niche of her own in the world of opulence and plenty.

Some of these heroines come from royal families; many belong to feudal households; others from part of the rich Devadāsi community. Uṇṇiyacci belongs to the family of Atiyamān, a wealthy chieftain whose genealogy can be traced to celestial sources. Uṇṇiccirutevi is the grand daughter of chieftain Rāyara. Kerala Varma, the king of Ōḍanāḍ, is the father of Uṇṇiyāṭi, who gets married to King Rāma Varma of Mahodayapuram. Medinīveṇṇilavu is a rich dancing girl, patronised by feudal chieftains like Kaṇṭankōta of Maṇakkulam. A graphic picture of the wealth and opulence enjoyed by these heroines is given through the colourful descriptions of the splendid mansions where they live in. Uṇṇiyacci's abode built by King Vīra Ravi Varma looks like Laṅkā transplanted in the soil of Purakkiḷānāḍ. The residence of Uṇṇiccirutevi with pearl-studded towers rising to the skies and

dancing stages inspiring pretty peacocks to dance in ecstacy, reminds Indra of the splendour of his own Amarāvatī. The palatial new building, Śrīmaṅgalam, constructed by Medinīveṇṇilāvu confuses Lord Siva, who takes it for his own abode Kailāsa. The retinue of maids, hordes of servants and dependants, crowds gathering to get favours—all these add glamour to the rich and colourful life led by the Maṇipravāla heroine.

The question whether all these heroines were mere figments of poetic fancy or whether at least some of them did have a real existence cannot be answered on the basis of any tangible evidence. Many of these heroines are said to belong to places, which can be easily located, the topographical landmarks of which are detailed in a graphic manner (e.g. Uṇṇiyacci belongs to Purakkilānāḍ in N. E. Malabar, Uṇṇunīli's residence is at Kaṭutturutti which is the capital of the principality of Vaṭakkumkūr). Many of the kings and poets referred to in these works are historical personages whose identity can be established (eg. Uṇṇiyāṭi's father Keralavarma, the King of Oḍanāḍ, lived in the latter half of the 14th. century and her husbaad, Rāma Varma became King of Perumpaḍappu in the later decades of the 14th. century: Rāghavan, Saṅkaran and Punam, referred to in *'Candrotsavam'* are well-known poets and scholars). These references, though not affording conclusive evidence with regard to the historicity of the Maṇipravāḷa heroines, make one hesitate before dismissing them as mere creations of poetic imagination.

The Maṇipravāḷa heroine bears close resemblance to the heroines of the Troubadour poets of medieval Europe in several respects. Maṇipravāla movement in Kerala and Troubadour movement in Southren France flourished more or less during the same period i.e. from the 11th. to the 15th. century. The socio-economic environment of feudalism provided a sociological frame-work for the emergence of both these movements. The basic approach to the relation between man and woman adopted by the Troubadour poet and Maṇipravāla poet is the same and the basic pattern of this relation too shows similarity, with the lady occupying the central position of honour, demanding of the poets and the lovers abject self-surrender and unqualified adoration. The courts of love, presided over by aristocratic damsels of medieval Europe too have their counter-parts in Kerala, of course, in a different pattern, if one counts upon the evidence provided by *Candrotsavam* in the description of the moon-festival conducted by Medinīveṇṇilāvu at Cittilappaḷḷi. The following two points of similarity between the Troubadour movement and the Maṇipravāḷa movement may be found to be interesting.

(1) Just as the Maṇipravāla poets gave pet names to their heroines, the Troubadour poets too referred to their heroines by certain Pseudonyms.

(2) The treatise on the grammar and rhetoric of Maṇipravālam of the 14th. century is called *Līlātilakam* (*līlā*=amorous sport); the 14th. century treatise on the principles of grammar and metre adopted by the Troubadour is known by the name Leys D'Amors (the Laws of Love).

This similarity between Maṇipravāla poetry and Troubadour poetry deserves further scrutiny by students of comparative literature.

DIVISIONAL CONCEPT OF *MEGHASANDEŚA*

E. Easwaran Nampoothiry

Sandeśakāvya or *Dūtakāvya* is a popular species of lyrical poetry. None of the Ālaṃkārikas has offerred a definition or a systematic arrangement for this branch of Sanskrit literature. But Dharmagupta, the author of a commentary on the *Śukasandeśa* of Lakṣmīdāsa says that *Sandeśakāvya* can be divided into twelve *prakaraṇa*-s according to its subject matter and accordingly he divides the *Śukasandeśa* into twelve divisions. In this paper an attempt is made to examine how far this divisional concept applies to the *Meghasandeśa* (*Megha*) also.

Among the commentaries on the *Śukasandeśa* Dharmagupta's *Varavarṇinī*[1] is the oldest and it is assigned to the 14th century A. D. In the introductory portion of this commentary the author mentions the twelve *Prakaraṇa*-s or *Pariccheda*-s of a *Sandeśakāvya* and explains them with reference to the *Śukasandeśa*. He states "*tatra khalu ādivākyam, dautyayojanam, vrajyāṅgadeśanā, prāpyadeśavarṇanam, mandirābhi jñāpanam, priyāsanniveśavimarśaṇam, anyarūpatāpattisambhāvanā, avasthāvikalpanāni, Vacanārambhaḥ, Sandeśvacanam, Abhijñānadānam, prameyapariniṣṭhāpanam ceti dvādaśa prakaraṇāni*.....

prāyaḥsandeśakāvyānām iyattu niyatam vapuḥ |
idaṃ khalvādivākyādirūpaprakaraṇaṃ yathā || etc.[2]

According to this divisional concept we may explain the *Meghasandeśa* in the following manner.

1. *Ādivākya or the introductory statement*: The first verse in the *Megha* introduces the subject matter of the poem. The poet states a Yakṣa employed

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1. Dharmagupta's *Varavarṇinī* is unpublished. The Manuscripts of it are available from the Kerala University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum—C. O. Nos. 2250 and 2335. See also E. Easwaran Nampoothiry, "Varavarṇinī—an unpublished commentary on the Śukasandeśa", *Journal of the Kerala University Mss. Library*, Vol. VII. No. 4. p. 92.
2. See Ms. Nos. 2250 and 2335.

under Kubera, the lord of Alakā, is banished from Kailāsa for dereliction of duty away from his consort and home. In his rambles, he makes his sojourn in Rāmagiri in Central India, a spot whereof the waters are "sanctified by the baths of the daughter of Janaka". At the onset of the rainy season, the pangs of the forlorn lover become intensified and with a frenzied mind he thinks of his beloved and fancies her in a like condition of despair. Then dawns on him the idea of sending her a message of affection and solace. He sees a cloud hanging by the peak of the hill, bound as it were northward. This idea is conveyed by the first five stanzas of the *Megha*—from "*Kaścitkāntāvirahaguruṇā*", etc.[3] to "*guhyakastam yayāce*"[4]. Since the first five stanzas contain the introductory statement this portion can be called the *Ādivākyaprakaraṇa* of *Megha*.[5]

2. The second *prakaraṇa* is *dautyayojanam* or commissioning of the messenger. The 6th, 7th and 8th stanzas—"*jātam vaṃśe bhuvanavidite*" etc. "*santaptānām tvam asi śaraṇam*" etc. and "*tvām ārūḍham pavanapadavīm*" etc. contain Yakṣa's request to the cloud messenger with due praise for him. These stanzas, therefore, form the *dautyayojanaprakaraṇa* of *Megha*.

3. Then follows the "*vrajyāṅgadeśanā* or the instruction about the route to be followed by the messenger. The stanzas from '*mandaṃ mandaṃ nudati pavanaḥ*' etc.[6] to '*tasyotsaṅge praṇayina iva*' etc.[7] form this *prakaraṇa* where the description of the route is attempted by the poet.

4. The fourth *prakaraṇa* is the *prāpyadeśavarṇana* or the description of the destination of the messenger. The stanzas descriptive of Alakā from '*Vidyutvantam lalitavanitaḥ*' etc.[8] to "*vāsascitram madhu nayanayoḥ*"[9] constitute this *prakaraṇa*.

5. The next *prakaraṇa* is the *Mandirābhijñāpana* or the identification of the house of the heroine. Six stanzas from '*tatrāgāram dhanapatigṛhān uttareṇa*' etc.[10] to '*ebhiḥ sādhor hṛdayanihitaiḥ*' etc.[11] constitute this *prakaraṇa*.

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3. I.1.
4. I.5.
5. The stanzas of *Meghasandeśa* quoted in this article are based on the Nirṇayasagar edition of *Megha*, 1935.
6. I.9.
7. I.69.
8. II.1.
9. II..11
10. II.12.
11. II.17.

6. Then follows the *Priyāsannivesavimarśanaprakaraṇa* or the section in which the description of the heroine occurs. Two stanzas viz. '*gatvā sadyaḥ*' etc.[12] and '*tanvī śyāmā*' etc.[13] in the poem describe the condition of the heroine.

7. The seventh *prakaraṇa* is called '*anyarūpatāpattisambhāvanā*' or supposition of the physical change of the heroine due to her love-lorn condition. The two stanzas '*tām jānithaḥ*'[14] and '*nūnam tasyāḥ*'[15] etc. describe the change in the appearance of the heroine.

8. After describing the possible physical change of the heroine the hero of a *Sandeśakāvya* is made to ponder over the different *Daśā*-s or moods of his consort during the period of *pravāsavipralambha*. According to Sanskrit rhetoricians there are ten *Daśā*-s or moods to be noticed in a love-lorn heroine during *Vipralambha*. They are enumerated in the following stanza:

> *dṛṅ-manaḥsaṅga-saṅkalpāḥ jāgaraḥ kṛśatā ratiḥ/*
> *hrityāgonmādamūrcchāntā ityanaṅgadaśā daśa//*[16]

Of these the first namely *cakṣuḥprīti* is not relevant in the *Sandeśakāvya* since the lovers are already united and then separated and the last is also not dealt with here because it is not desirable to the course of the story. Says Mallinātha in his commentary—

> *Vaiyarthyādādimaṃ hitvā vairasyād antimaṃ tathā/*
> *hṛtsaṅgādir ihācuṣṭa kavir aṣṭāviti sthitiḥ//*[17]

The eight *daśā*-s are described in the following stanzas of the *Megha*—

1. *hṛtsaṅga* in—
   āloke te nipatati purā sā balivyākulā vā —
   matsādṛśyam virahatanu vā bhāvagamyam likhanti/[18]

2. *Saṅkalpāvasthā* in—
   śeṣān māsān virahadivasasthāpitasyāvadher vā/
   prāyeṇaite ramaṇavirahesvaṅganānāṃ vinodāḥ//[19]

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12. II.18.
13. II.19.
14. II.20.
15. II.21.
16. Quoted in the *Sañjīvinī* commentary of Mallinātha under *Megha*—II-30.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Megha* II.22 see Mallinātha—"*matsādṛsyam ityādinā manaḥsaṅgānuvṛttiḥ sūcitā*"—under this stanza.
19. II.24.

3. *Jāgarāvasthā* in—
Savyāpārām ahani na tathā pīḍayenmadviyogaḥ
Śaṅke rātrau gurutaraśucām nirvinodāṃ sakhīm te[20] / etc.

4. *kārśyāvasthā* in—
ādhikṣamāṃ virahaśayane sanniṣaṇṇaikapārśvām/
prācīmūle tanum iva kalāmātraśeṣām himāṃśoḥ/[21]

5 and 6—*arati* and *lajjātyāga* in—
niḥśvāsenādharakisalayakleśinā vikṣipantīm
śuddhasnānāt paruṣam alakam nūnam āgaṇḍalambam/
matsaṃbhogaḥ katham upanayet svapnajopiti nidrām
ākāṅkṣantīm nayanasalilotpīḍaruddhāvakāśām//[22]

7. *Unmāda* in—
ādye baddhā virahadivase yā śikhā dāma hitvā
śāpasyānte vigalitaśucā tāṃ mayodveṣṭanīyām/
sparśākliṣṭamayamitanakhenāsakṛt sārayantīm
gaṇḍābhogāt kaṭhinaviṣamām ekaveṇīṃ kareṇa//[23]

8. *mūrcchāvasthā* in—
sā sanyastābharaṇam abalā peśalam dhārayantī
śayyotsaṅge nihitam asakṛdduḥkhaduḥkhena gātram/[24]

This section which describes the different *daśā*-s of the heroine containing thirteen stanzas forms the *Avasthāvikalpanaprakaraṇa* of the poem.

9. *Vacanārambha* or the beginning of the conveying of the message. This division is the introductory portion of the message containing six stanzas from *'tām utthāpya svajalakaṇikāśītalenānilena'*[25] *'tvām utkaṇṭhāviracitapadaṃ manmukhenedam āha'*[26] in the *Megha*.

10. The *Sandeśavacanaprakaraṇa* or the portion in which the message is contained. It has seven stanzas.
They are—

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20. II.25.
21. II.26.
22. II.28. See *Sañjīvanī—'atrāśruvisarjanena lajjātyāgo vyajyate'*.
23. II.29. See *Ibid.,—'asakṛtsaraṇāccittavibhramadaśā sūcitā'*.
24. II.30. See *Ibid.—'anenātyantāśaktyā mūrchāvasthā sūcitā'*.
25. II.35.
26. II.40.

1. *śyāmāsvaṅgam cakithariṇiprekṣaṇe dṛṣṭipātam.* etc.
2. *tvāmālikhya praṇayakupitām dhāturāgaiḥśilāyām*, etc.
3. *mām ākāśapraṇihitabhujam nirdayāśleṣahetoḥ*, etc.
4. *bhitvā sadyaḥ kisalayapuṭān devadārudrumāṇām*, etc.
5. *saṃkṣipyeta kṣaṇa iva kathaṃ dirghayāmā triyāmā*, etc.
6. *nanvātmānaṃ bahuvigaṇayannātmanaivāvalambe*, etc.
7. *śāpānto me bhujagaśayanād utthite śārṅgapāṇau*, etc.[27]

The significance of this *prakaraṇa* is that it deals with the four means of pleasures (*vinodasthānāni*) during separation, namely *sādṛsyadarśana*, *prakṛtidarśana*, *svapnadarśana* and *tadaṅgaspṛṣṭavastudarśana*.[28] The first four among the above-mentioned stanzas contain these ideas.

11. *Abhijñānadānaprakaraṇa* or the identifying episode.

In the poem the identifying episode is dealt with in two stanzas namely '*bhūyaścāyaṃ tvamapi śayane*', etc.[29], and '*etasmān mam kuśalinam abhijñānadānād*' *viditvā*,[30] etc.

12. The last *prakaraṇa* is the *prameyapariniṣṭhāpanaprakaraṇa* which contains the conclusion of the subject-matter. The *Megha* contains two stanzas concluding the poem. They are '*aśvāsyaivam prathama-virahodāgraśokāṃ sakhīm te*'[31], etc. and '*etatkṛtvā priyam anucitaprārthanāvartino me*', etc.[32]

Thus it is concluded that the *Megha* can be well divided into twelve *prakaraṇ*-s according to the subject matter of the poem, as has been so divided the *Śukasandeśa* of Lakṣmīdāsa, by Dharmagupta in his commentary called *Varavarṇinī* and it needs a critical edition incorporating this well established divisional concept.

Such an attempt is useful to weed away the interpolations in the poem which have inflated the text of Kālidāsa from 110 to 127 or even 130 stanzas. It may be noted that according to well known Kerala commentators like Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Pūrṇasarasvatī and Ṛṣiputra Parameśwara, the poem consists 110 stanzas. It is these stanzas that convey the above mentioned concept in its proper development. Whatever is interpolated can be detected once this concept is scrupulously applied to the poem.

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27. II.41 to 47.
28. See *Guṇpatākā* quoted in the *Sañjīvinī*—
"*viyogāvasthāsu priyajanasadṛkṣāṇubhavanam*
tataścitram karma svapanasamaye darśanam api|
tadaṅgaspṛṣṭānām upanatavatām darśanamapi
pratīkāronaṅgavyathitamanasāṃ kopi gaditaḥ||
29. II.48.
30. II.49.
31. II.51.
32. II.52.

THE NATURE OF *ARTHĀPATTI*

Harsh Narain

Indian philosophers have shown four chief alternative attitudes to *Arthāpatti* down the ages. There are, first, some who postulate it as a *Pramāṇa* (source of knowledge, way of knowing) in its own right, subsuming under it sometimes *Vyatireki Anumāna* and sometimes *Anumāna* (inference) entire; second, others who recognize it as a species of some other *Pramāṇa*; third, still others who do not recognize it as a *Pramāṇa* or a species of any of the *Pramāṇa*-s; and, fourth, the rest who reject it along with *Anumāna* or *Pramāṇa*-s of all kinds. Besides, there are faint voices audible here and there, classifying it under or identifying it with *Tarka* to be explained in the sequel. Our own predilections are in favour of this view.

Now, the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsaka-s from the 'Vṛtti-kāra' (author of a gloss) on the *Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra* and Śabarasvāmin who refers to him, to Prabhākara and Kumārila with their followers on the one hand and Advaita Vedāntin-s from Śaṅkara to Dharmarāja Adhvarīndra and later Advaitin-s, with the exceptions to be noticed in the sequel, on the other, are well known for postulating *Arthāpatti* as a fifth *Pramāṇa* along with *Pratyakṣa* (perception), *Anumāna*, *Upamāna* (analogy), and *Śabda* (authority), as well as, in the case of only Kumārila and Advaitin-s, a ṣixth *Pramāṇa* called *An-upalabdhi* (negation/ non-apprehension). There appears to have been a school of thought favouring reduction of *Anumāna* to *Arthāpatti*.[1] Dharmarāja Adhvarīndra seems to reduce *Vyatireki-Anumāna* to *Arthāpatti*.[2]

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1. See Pārthasārathi Miśra, *Śāstradipikā*, Rāmakṛṣṇa's *Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī-Vyākhyā*, Laxman Shastri Dravida, ed., Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Nos. 188-190, 225, and 226 (Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Book-Depot, 1916), 1.1.5, p. 221.
2. Dharmarāja Adhvarīndra, *Vedānta-Paribhāṣā*, Tryambakarama Shastri, ed., Haridas Sanskrit Series, No. 6 (Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1937), p. 140.

Besides, what is not well known, *Arthāpatti* is recognized as a fifth *Pramāṇa* in certain other Indian sources, too. So, *Devī-Bhāgavata*[3] and *Sūta-Saṃhitā*[4] refer to it as one of the five *Pramāṇa*-s and six *Pramāṇa*-s respectively. *Vāyu Purāṇa* refers to *'upapatti'* alongside with such *Pramāṇa*-s as *Āgama* (authority), *Anumāna*, and *Pratyakṣa*.[5] Here, being opposite to *'an-upapatti'*, the significance of which will appear later, *'upapatti'* seems to be used as a synonym for *Arthāpatti*. Paurāṇika-s (people of the Purāṇa) are also known for their postulation of *Arthāpatti* alongside with seven or nine other *Pramāṇa*-s. According to *Maṇimekhalai*[6] as well as Gauḍapāda, the commentator of *Sāṅkhya-Kārikā*,[7] Jaimini recognized *Arthāpatti* as a *Pramāṇa* alongside with *Sambhava* (inclusion), *Abhāva* (negation), *Pratibhā* (intuition), *Aitihya* (tradition), and *Anumāna*. According to *Maṇimekhalai* again, Kṛtakoṭi recognized *Arthāpatti* as a *Pramāṇa* along with seven other *Pramāṇa*-s recognized by the Paurāṇika-s.[8] Likewise, according to it, Veda-Vyāsa, too recognized it as a *Pramāṇa* along with nine other *Pramāṇa*-s recognized by the Paurāṇika-s.[9] The same work makes a fantastic statement, however, that all the six schools of Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, Mīmāṃsā, Bauddha, and Lokāyata uphold the six *Pramāṇa*-s (recognized by Kumārila and Advaitin-s) including *Arthāpatti*.[10]

Nyāya-Sūtra and later Naiyāyika-s, Praśastapāda and later Vaiśeṣika-s, Māṭhara and later Sāṅkhya-s, Umāsvāti and later Jaina-s tend to subsume *Arthāpatti* under *Anumāna*. Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla follow suit.[11]

The bulk of the Cārvāka school is traditioned to recognize only *Pratyakṣa* as a *Pramāṇa*. So, they would reject *Arthāpatti* altogether.

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3. *Devī-Bhāgavata*, Ramateja Pandeya, ed. (Varanasi : Pandita Pustakalaya, 1969), 1.8.25
4. *Sūta-Saṃhitā*, Sri Balamanorama Series, No. 19 (Milapur : Sri Balamanorama Press, 1954), 4.10.18.
5. *Vāyu-Purāṇa* (Bombay : Sri Venkatesvara Steam Press, 1933), 1.53.122.
6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Maṇimekhalai in Its Historical Setting* (London : Luzac & Co., 1928), p. 189.
7. *Sāṅkhyakārikā-Gauḍapāda-Bhāṣya*, Ḍhunḍhirāja Shastri, ed., Haridas Sanskrit Series, No. 120 (2nd ed., Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1953), 4.
8. Aiyangar, *Maṇimekhalai in Its Historical Setting*, pp. 58, 189.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58, 189-190.
10. *Ibid.*, Book XXVII, p. 192.
11. See, for example, Kamalaśīla, *Tattvasaṅgraha-Pañjikā*, with Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṅgraha*, Dvarikadas Shastri, ed., Bauddha Bharati Series-I (Varanasi : Bauddha Bharati, 1968), 1621.

Śrīharṣa, Citsukha, and Ānandajñāna have tried to explain away *Arthāpatti* in their own way, dismissing all proposals regarding its definition as untenable. In fact, all Advaitin-s tend to dismiss the *Pramāṇa*-s on the level of what is called *Paramārtha*. The Vijñānavādin-s follow suit. And the wholesale rejection of all *Pramāṇa*-s and *Prameya*-s (knowables) by the Mādhyamika-s and Jayarāśi needs no mention.

Śaśadhara, a pre-Gaṅgeśa proto-Navya-Nyāya philosopher and author of *Nyāyasiddhāntadipa*, refers to and criticizes a view identifying *Arthāpatti* with *Tarka* (a term to be explained in the sequel).

Kauṭalya, Suśruta and Caraka count *Arthāpatti* among the *Tantra-yukti*-s (methodological mechanisms/devices)—thirtytwo in number according to the first two and thirtysix according to the last.[12] Kauṭalya defines *Arthāpatti* as what, though not stated, is implied in the meaning (*Yad an-uktam arthād āpadyate sā 'rthāpattiḥ*).[13] Illustrating the point, he adds that the meaning of the statement that one skilled in the ways of the world should approach a king by way of pleading good advice, implies (*arthād āpannaṃ bhavati*) that he should not approach him by way of displeasing good advice.[14] According to Suśruta, what, though unexpressed, is implied in something is *Arthāpatti* (*Yad anuktam arthād āpadyate sā 'rthāpattiḥ*), as for example, when one says, 'I will eat boiled rice', one implies that one does not want to take rice-gruel (*Odanaṃ bhokṣye ity ukte arthād āpannam bhavati, nāyaṃ pipāsur yavāgūm iti*).[15] Caraka does not define *Arthāpatti* as a methodological tool, but he seems to redesignate the term, as '*Artha-prāpti*' includes it as an item in the list of fortytwo topics of the art of dialectic (*vāda-mārga*),[16] and defines it as deducing something unexpressed from something else expressed (*Artha-prāptir nāma yatraikenārthenoktenāparasyānuktasya siddhiḥ*). The example given is the case of deduction of the proposition that a certain disease is curable by less eating from the proposition that it is not curable by more eating. Another example given is, to say that one should not eat in the day implies that one should eat in the night (*Nānena divā bhoktavyam ity ukte bhavaty artha-prāptir, Niśi*

12. Kauṭalya, *Artha-Śāstra*, R. Shama Shastri, ed. (Mysore : Government Branch Press, 1924), *Adhikaraṇa* 15, *Prakaraṇa* 180, *Adhyāya* 1; *Suśruta-Saṃhitā*, with Ḍalhaṇa's *Nibandhasaṅgraha*, Jadavaji Trikumji Acharya, ed. (Bombay : Nirnaya-Sagar Press, 1915), *Uttara-Tantra* 65.3; *Caraka-Saṃhitā* with Cakrapāṇi's *Āyurveda-Dīpikā* and Jajjaṭa's *Nirantarapada-Vyākhyā*, Haradatta Shastri, ed. (Lahore : Motilal Banarsidass, 1940). *Siddhi-Sthāna*, 12 69-73.
13. Kauṭalya, loc. cit.
14. *Loc. cit.*
15. *Suśruta-Saṃhitā*, *Uttara-Tantra*, 65.20
16. *Carak-Saṃhitā*, *Vimāna-Sthāna*, 8.27.

bhoktavyam iti).[17] In the earlier two texts, *Arthāpatti* seems to mean implication, pure and simple. Caraka's first proposition exemplifies implication and second, presumption.

Vātsyāyana defines *Arthāpatti* in a similar vein. The word is a compound of '*artha*' and '*āpatti*'. '*Artha*' means thing or meaning, and, as Vātsyāyana has it, '*āpatti*' is result (*prāpti*), implication (*prasaṅga*).[18] On this basis, he defines *Arthāpatti* as the thing or meaning implied in the thing or meaning expressed (*Yatrābhidhīyamāne 'rthe yo 'nyo 'rthaḥ p r a s a j y a t e so 'rthāpattiḥ*). For example, he adds, the proposition, 'if there are clouds, it will rain', is implied (*prasajyate*) in the proposition, 'if there are no clouds, it will not rain.'[19]

The Vṛttikāra on *Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra* defines *Arthāpatti* as assumption of something (*artha-kalpanā*), without which something else seen or heard of cannot be explained (*Arthāpattir api dṛṣṭaḥ śruto vā 'rtho 'nyathā nopapadyate ity artha-kalpanā*), as, for example, the assumption of the unseen presence of Devadatta outside in the event of his seen absence from the house despite his being alive.[20] Here, it is evident, *Arthāpatti* means assumption or presumption.

Upon the Vṛttikāra's definition a question arises whether *Arthāpatti* is occasioned by only what is seen or heard of, in the literal senses of the words 'seen' and 'heard of', or by what is smelt, touched, or tasted as well. The question does occur in this form, in the literature on the subject.[21] But, oftener, a broader question has been raised, covering it, whether here only two forms of cognition, seeing and hearing, are meant or seeing and hearing mean or symbolize all knowledge acquired through any means of valid knowledge, called *Pramāṇa*.[22] This question has touched off heated controversy in the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā school.

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17. *Ibid.*, 8.48.
18. Vātsyāyana, *Nyāya-Bhāṣya*, with *Nyāya-Sūtra*, Ganga Nath Jha, ed., Poona Oriental Series, No. 58 (Poona : Oriental Book Agency, 1939), 2.2.1.
19. *Loc. cit.*
20. See Śabarasvāmin, *Mīmāṃsā-Bhāṣya*, with Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra*, Prabhākara's *Bṛhatī*, and Śālikanātha Miśra's *Ṛjuvimalā-Pañcikā*, S. K. Ramanatha Shastri, ed., Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 3, Part I (Madras : University of Madras, 1934), 1.1.5, p. 110.
21. Sucarita Miśra, *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-Vārtika-Kāśikāṭikā*, with *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-Vārtika* of Kumārila, Part III, V. A. Ramaswami Shastri, ed., Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. CL (Trivandrum : University of Travancore, 1943), 1.1.5, *Arthāpatti-Pariccheda* 2, p. 160.
22. *Loc. cit.*, for example.

The expression 'seen or heard of' is construed by Prabhākara to mean 'cognized' (*upalabdha*),[23] which expression is elaborated by his glossator Śālikanātha as 'cognized through any *Pramāṇa* whatever' ('*upalabdha-mātra-grahaṇāt sarva-pramāṇa-saṅgraho bhavatīty arthaḥ*').[24] The latter adds that in fact only the word 'seen' would have conveyed that meaning but that addition of the word 'heard of' has served to throw it into clear relief, even as is done by the addition of the word '*balīvarda*' (bull) to '*go*' (bull) in the expression '*go-balīvardanyāya*'.[25] Indeed, the use of 'seen' and 'heard of' together in the sense of 'known' is quite common with the people at large, as, for example, in the following verse:

Na dṛṣṭo na śrutaḥ kaścit svayaṃ dattāpahārakaḥ[26]

A similar use is exemplified in the following Urdu couplet :

Khwāb thā jo kuchh ki dekhā jo sunā afsānaḥ thā

And no fault can be found with well-established common usage, which is there from time immemorial.[27]

Kumārila agrees that the word 'seen' stands for all kinds of knowledge but adds that 'heard of' (*śrutaḥ*) has been mentioned separately for a particular purpose in view, which is that *Arthāpatti* based on verbal cognition is in the form of words or another verbal cognition (*pramāṇa-grāhiṇītva*), so that the word 'seen' comes to stand for only the first five of the six *Pramāṇa*-s recognized by him, 'heard of' supplying the sixth *Pramāṇa* called *Śabda*.[28] On this basis, he divides *Arthāpatti* into *Dṛṣṭārthāpatti* and *Śrutārthāpatti*, viz. *Arthāpatti* based on the first five out of the six *Pramāṇa*-s recognized by him on the one hand and that based on *Śabda-Pramāṇa* on the other, subdividing the latter into *Pratyakṣa*-based (*pratyakṣa-pūrvikā*), *Anumāna*-based (*anumāna-pūrvikā*), *Upamāna*-based (*upamāna-pūrvikā*), *Arthāparti*-based (*arthāpatti-pūrvikā*), and *Abhāva*-based (*abhāva-pūrvikā*) *Arthāpatti*-s.[29]

Kumārila's definition of *Arthāpatti* is, where a fact ascertained by the six *Pramāṇa*-s is inexplicable otherwise than by assumption of another

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23. *Bṛhatī*, 1.1.5, p. 110.
24. *Ṛjuvimalā-Pañcikā*, ad loc. p. 115.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 117
26. *Mīmāṃsāślokavārtika-Kāśikāṭikā*, 1.1.5, *Arthāpatti-Pariccheda* 2, p. 161.
27. *Ṛjuvimalā-Pañcikā* 1.1.5, p. 117
28. *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-Vārtika* 1.1.5, *Arthāpatti-Pariccheda* 2,
29. *Ibid.*, 2-7, with *Nyāyaratnākara*,

not so ascertained, the assumption is called *Arthāpatti*.[30] Śālikanātha follows suit, in effect.[31] But the Prabhākara school of Mīmāṃsā does not envisage *Śrutārthāpatti*.

The Vṛtti-kāra cites as an example of *Arthāpatti* the assumption of Devadatta's unperceived presence outside in the event of his perceived absence from the house despite the fact of his being alive. This is an example of what Kumārila would call *Abhāvārthāpatti* (*Arthāpatti* based on *Anupalabdhi-Pramāṇa*, or the fifth species of *Dṛṣṭārthāpatti*).[32] His example of *Arthāpatti* based on *Pratyakṣa* is the assumption of the burning capacity (*dahana-śaktatā*) of fire from the perceived fact of its burning; of *Arthāpatti* based on *Anumāna* is the assumption of the moving capacity of the sun from the inferred fact of its movement; of *Arthāpatti* based on *Upamāna* is the assumption of the analogical cognizability of the cow from its analogy with gayal; of *Arthāpatti* based on *Arthāpatti* is the assumption of the eternality of the word from the assumption of its denotative capacity from its denoting things.[33]

Śrutārthāpatti deserves separate treatment. Kumārila's example of *Śrutārthāpatti*, viz. *Arthāpatti* based on *Śabda* or verbal cognition, is the assumption of proposition or fact (to be considered presently) that 'the man eats at night' (*rātri-bhojana-vijñāna*) from hearing the assertion that 'so and so is fat and yet he does not eat during the day'.[34] Kumārila refers to a controversy with regard to it: according to some, the assumption is of the fact of the man eating at night; according to others, the assumption is of the proposition that 'he eats at night'.[35] But does Kumārila not commit a contradiction in terms when he contends on the one hand that *Śrutārthāpatti* is the assumption of eating at night (*rātri-bhojana-vijñāna*), which is not a proposition but a fact, and on the other that this *Arthāpatti* is in the form of words or another verbal cognition (*pramāṇa-grāhiṇītvena*)? Rāmakṛṣṇa, the commentator of Pārthasārathi Miśra's *Śāstradīpikā*, raises this question and replies that the first contention is on behalf of someone else who holds that view.[36] It is the second contention which represents Kumārila's own view.

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30. Ibid., *Arthāpatti-Pariccheda* 1.
31. Śālikanātha, *Prakaraṇa-Pañcikā*, with Jayapuri Nārāyaṇ Bhaṭṭa's, *Nyāyasiddhi-Vyākhyā*, Subrahmaṇya Shastri, ed., Banaras Hindu University Darśana Series, No. 4 (Varanasi : Banaras Hindu University, 1961), pp. 272-273.
32. *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-Vārtika* 1.1.5, *Arthāpatti-Pariccheda*, 8-9.
33. *Ibid.* 3-7.
34. *Ibid.*, 51.
35. *Ibid.*, 52.
36. *Śāstradīpikā-Yuktisneh prapūraṇīṭikā* 1.1.5, p. 226.

Sucarita Miśra, a commentator of Kumārila's *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-Vārtika*, argues, in interpretation of Kumārila, that a statement or sentence (*vākya*), such as 'so and so is fat and yet he does not eat during the day', which is inexplicable (*an-upapanna*) requires another statement or sentence, nothing else, to become explicable. So, for example, the sentence 'he cooks' (*pacati*) can be rendered meaningful or intelligible only if we supply the w o r d 'rice' rather than present the t h i n g rice.[37] Kumārila contends that all conceptual cognition (*savikalpaka-vijñāna*) is accompanied and preceded by verbal cognition, that, in the instant case, as soon as the sentence 'he eats at night' appears, our perplexity caused by the inexplicability of the previous sentence 'he is fat and yet he does not eat during the day' is set at rest, and that there remains nothing to necessitate the assumption of the fact over and above the verbal cognition thereof.[38]

It is also suggested here and there that in *Śrutārthāpatti* only part of the sentence is heard and that what is assumed is only its other part, in effect. As a matter of fact, the first part implies the other part, for the simple reason that they are syntactically related with each other. That is why it is held that it is not a fact, an object, but part of a sentence, a meaningful group of words, that is assumed. When someone utters the words 'the door, the door', another assumes that what is meant is 'shut the door'. It is evident that here the word 'shut' and not the fact denoted thereby is assumed.[39]

Kumārila contends that many a Vedic convention (*vyavahāra*) is regulated (*vyavasthita*) by *Śrutārthāpatti*, without which it will become non-Vedic.[40] In fact, a large part of the Vedas is unintelligible without *Śrutārthāpatti*. On it depends the presumption of a Vedic injunction corresponding to an apparently novel prescription in the Smṛti-s, such as the ceremony called *aṣṭakā*, the performance of which in honour of the manes is

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37. *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-Vārtika-Kāśikāṭīkā*, 1.1.5, *Arthāpatti-Pariccheda* 78, p. 184.
38. *Mīmāṁsā-Śloka-Vārtika*, 1.1.5, *Arthāpatti-Pariccheda* 78.
39. *Śāstradīpikā*, 1.1.5, *Arthāpatti-Nirūpaṇa* 1.1.5. p. 228; Cidānanda Paṇḍita, *Nītitattvāvirbhāva*, P. K. Narayana Pillai, ed., Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 168 (Trivandrum: University of Travancore, 1953), pp. 165-166; Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, *Mānameyodaya*, Svami Yogindrananda, ed. & tr., Shad-Darshana-Prakashana Granthamala, No. 5 (Varanasi : Shad-Darshana Prakashana Pratishthana, 1978), p. 126.
40. *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-Vārtika*, 1.1 5, *Arthāpatti-Pariccheda* 53.

prescribed in the *Manu-Smṛti.*[41] Besides, there are a number of incomplete Vedic injunctions, which need to be completed for full effect, and the completion is possible only through *Śrutārthāpatti*. There is, for example, a Vedic injunction, 'One should perform the Viśva-jit sacrifice' (*Viśva-jitā yajeta*), which is incomplete, insofar as it does not mention the benefit accruing to the performer of the sacrifice, thereby failing to induce people to perform it. So, the injuction is completed by adding the expression 'one desirous of heaven' (*svarga-kāmaḥ*), so that the injunction as completed on the basis of *Śrutārthāpatti* would read thus: 'One desirous of heaven should perform the Viśvajit sacrifice' (*Viśva-jitā yajeta svargakāmaḥ*). In such cases, it is preposterous to suggest that one is guided by *Anumāna*, for the simple reason that *Anumāna* is founded on *Vyāpti* (invariable concomitance) or *Sambandha* (relation), which is totally lacking here.[42]

On behalf of Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, the Naiyāyika argues in refutation of *Śrutārthāpatti*, that the denotative range of uttered words is long and short, like an arrow. In such a Vedic injunction as 'One should perform the Viśva-jit sacrifice', therefore, no such expression as 'one who is desirous of heaven' need be assumed, for the uttered words themselves can give us that meaning.[43]

With a view to supplying an ellipsis, Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsā assumes words, while Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā assumes a fact (*artha*). To supply the ellipsis in the elliptical sentence 'The door, the door', for example, the former will assume 'shut' (*pidhehi*), while the latter will assume 'the fact of shutting' (*pidhāna*). That is why the one is called a '*śabdādhyāhāra-vādin*' and the other, '*arthādhyāhāra-vādin*', word-supplier and fact-supplier. The Prābhākara contends that, in certain cases, assumption of words does not suffice and one has to assume a fact, in order to set one's doubt of perplexity at rest. When we hear that Devadatta is fat and yet does not eat during the day, the inexplicability of the situation is removed only when we assume the fact

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41. *Ibid.*, with *Kāśikā-Ṭīkā*, 87. Cp. *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra*, with Śabara's *Mīmāṃsā-Bhāṣya* and Kumārila's *Tantra-Vārtika*, Kashinath Vasudeva Shastri Abhyankara and Ganesh Shastri Joshi, eds., Anandashrama Sanskrit Series, No. 97 (2nd ed., Poona : Anandashrama, 1970), 1 3.2, pp. 74 ff. For prescription of the *Aṣṭakā* ceremony, see *Manu-Smṛti*, with Kullūka Bhaṭṭa's *Manvarthamuktāvalī*, Gopala Shastri Nene, ed., Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 114 (Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1935), 4.150.

42. *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-Vārtika-Kāśikā*, 1.1.5, *Arthāpatti-Pariccheda* 87, pp. 187-188.

43. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, *Nyāya-Mañjarī*, Suryanarayana Shukla, ed., Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 106 (Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1936), *Pramāṇa-Prakaraṇa*, pp. 43-44.

of his eating at night rather than the mere group of words, 'he eats at night'. Hence it is facts rather than words that are directly explanatory (*upapādaka*).[44] And this being the case, the postulation of a different kind of *Arthāpatti* called *Śrutārthāpatti* is entirely gratuitous.

Dharmarāja Adhvarīndra does postulate *Śrutārthāpatti* as distinguished from *Dṛṣṭārthāpatti*. If someone apprehends silver in a nacre and later comes to deny it there, he assumes that silver is not real but false, for the denial would be illogical if it were real. Such an assumption is an example of *Dṛṣṭārthāpatti*. Next, when the Śruti says, 'The knower of the Self crosses grief' (*Tarati śokam Ātma-vit*), the word 'grief' signifying the manifold bonds (*bandha-jāta*), one has to assume that the bonds are false, otherwise they would not be liable to destruction by self-knowledge. Such an assumption is another example of *Śrutārthāpatti*.[45]

Dharmarāja Adhvarīndra speaks of two kinds of *Śrutārthāpatti—Abhidhānānupapatti* and *Abhihitānupapatti*, viz. that due to failure of expression and due to incongruity of meaning. Where there is failure of expression of logical connexion (*anvayābhidhāna*) and some additional expression serviceable to the latter has to be assumed, as in the example of 'the door' where the word 'shut' has to be assumed thereafter, or as in the example of 'one should perform the Viśva-jit sacrifice' where 'one desirous of heaven' has to be assumed, there is *Abhidhānānupapatti*.[46] Where, on the other hand, the meaning of a sentence is found incongruous without assumption of something else unstated, there is *Abhihitānupapatti*. The Śruti says, for example, 'One who desires heaven should perform the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice' (*Svarga-kāmo jyotiṣṭomena yajeta*). But there is a timelag between the performance of the sacrifice and attainment of heaven, which cannot be explained save by assuming something intermediate like what is called '*Apūrva*' (the occult potency). This is *Abhihitānupapatti*.[47] Dharmarāja's account of *Śrutārthāpatti* as covering the assumption of both words and facts according to the context, seems to do fuller justice to *Śrutārthāpatti* than Kumārila's, who can envisage assumption of words only.

As already pointed out, *Arthāpatti* is invoked in the event of what is called *Anyathānupapatti* (otherwise–inexplicability). But *Anyathānupapatti* is

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44. *Prakaraṇa-Pañcikā*, p. 280, with editor's foot-note 4.
45. *Vedānta-Paribhāṣā*, *Arthāpatt-Pariccheda*, p. 138.
46. *Loc. cit.*
47. *Loc. cit.*

equally present in *Anumāna* as well.[48] This being the case, why should *Arthāpatti* not be subsumed under *Anumāna* rather than regarded as a separate *Pramāṇa*? Vātsyāyana subsumes it under *Anumāna*, on the ground that both agree in establishing the unperceived but related on the basis of the perceived (*Pratyakṣeṇāpratyakṣasya sambaddhasya pratipattir anumānam, tathā cārthāpatti-sambhavābhāvāḥ*).[49] According to the Naiyāyika-s in general, *Arthāpatti* is easily reducible to what they call *Vyatireki-Anumāna*, in which the major premiss expresses a universal relation (*vyāpti*) between the absence of the major and the absence of the middle. For example, one of the stock examples of *Arthāpatti* is expressible in the form of syllogism as under :

A man who does not eat at night while fasting during the day is not fat ;

Devadatta who eats during the day is fat ;

∴ Devadatta is not a man who does not eat at night, i.e. he eats at night.

Likewise, as a commentator on the *Sāṅkhya-Kārikā*, Vācaspati Miśra schematizes another stock example of *Arthāpatti* syllogistically thus :

If a living individual is absent somewhere, he is present elsewhere ;

Devadatta who is living is absent from home ;

∴ Devadatta is somewhere outside his home.

Here the 'absence from home' is the *liṅga* (the middle term), and there is *Vyāpti* between a man's presence somewhere and his absence elsewhere, which is everybody's everyday experience. So, our inference in this case is akin to the inference of fire from smoke.

The Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsaka distinguishes *Arthāpatti* from *Anumāna* on the grounds, inter alia, first, that in *Anumāna* we proceed from the *gamaka* (evidentiary fact) to the *gamya* (evidenced fact), whereas in *Arthāpatti* we pass from the *gamya* to the *gamaka*, and, second, that, in *Arthāpatti*, there is an apparent conflict between two facts, e.g. Devadatta's fatness and fasting during the day, whereas in *Anumāna* there is no such conflict, only enquiry.

Now, what can be the *liṅga* or mark in *Arthāpatti*, if *Arthāpatti* is to be treated as a species of *Anumāna*? We have seen above that, in the stock

48. *Ṛjuvimalā-Pañcikā*, 1.1.5, p. 111.
49. *Nyāya-Bhāṣya*, 2.2.2.

example of Devadatta's absence from home, it is the 'absence from home' which is regarded as the *liṅga*. But in that case Devadatta might as well be dead or simply non-existent. Likewise, we cannot say either that the fact of his being alive is the mark of his being out, for he might as well be at home. Then, should we say that the fact of his absence from home related with that of his being alive is the *liṅga* of his being out? But, in that case, being alive and absence from home can be rendered compatible only on the assumption of the fact of his being out, thereby presupposing the very fact to be provided. So, it must be acknowledged that the whole attempt to reduce *Arthāpatti* to inference involves what is called *petitio principii*.[50]

As a matter of fact, *Anumāna* is a subsumptive process sustained by a universal,[51] to which *Arthāpatti* refuses to lend itself, and hence has its own individuality not subservient to *Anumāna*.

In regard to Kumārila's position, it must be borne in mind that he does not insist much upon keeping *Arthāpatti* independent of *Anumāna*. Indeed, he remarks that, if one insists upon reducing *Arthāpatti* to *Anumāna*, he has no objection : '*Evam-svabhāvā 'py anumāna-śabdaṃ labheta ced, asti yathepsitaṃ naḥ*'.[52]

Pārthasārathi Miśra discusses the issue of reducing *Anumāna* to *Arthāpatti* at length and rules that *Anumāna* could be held reducible to *Arthāpatti* if by some means other than *Anumāna* we were to discover that all places having smoke have fire. On the contrary, it is only the minor term where the association of smoke with fire has been perceived.[53]

In refutation of those, such as, presumably, the Lokāyata-s who believe in only *Pratyakṣa* to the exclusion of all other *Pramāṇa*-s, including *Arthāpatti*, the *Nyāya-Sūtra* seeks to establish that *Arthāpatti* has got to be recognized as a *Pramāṇa*, even if not as a separate *Pramāṇa*. The imaginary opponent says that *Arthāpatti* is vitiated by irregularity/contingency (*vyabhicāra*), inasmuch as, when, for example, it is assumed, from the fact that there are no rains when there are no clouds, that there are rains when there are clouds, we find sometimes there are clouds but no rains at all. The reply given is that the assumption purports to indicate only that effect, in this case rains, depends upon cause, in this case clouds. Besides, it is urged, the example of

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50. *Śāstradīpikā*, 1.1.5, *Arthāpatti-Nirūpaṇa*, 118-119.
51. Cp.. *Vyāpty ekaśaraṇaṁ tāvad anumānam iti sthitam/*
Tad vyāpti-darśitān mārgāc calituṃ kṣmate kutaḥ// ? *Mānameyodaya*, 1.47.
52. *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-Vārtika*, 1.1.5, *Arthāpatti-Pariccheda* 88.
53. *Śāstradīpikā*, 1.1.5, *Arthāpatti-Nirūpaṇa*, pp. 121-123.

Arthāpatti presupposes that other things remain the same and that there are no obstructing accidents.[54]

There is one incogruity in the stock example of *Arthāpatti* which must be stated. Devadatta, who is known to be alive and yet is absent from his house, is assumed to exist outside the house. He could have come to be known to be alive at least a moment before the assumption of his existence outside is made. The two events could not be simultaneous, for the assumption is based on and follows the information. This being so, he might as well have died before the assumption is made, thereby rendering the assumption false.[55] Indeed, there have been cases of death by accidents or otherwise of persons who were assumed to be alive elsewhere than their ordinary place of residence. So, the conclusion in question remains purely hypothetical and exposed to falsification. The Mīmāṃsaka usually invokes astrology as his source of the knowledge of Caitra's being alive. But is astrology infallible ?

Śrutārthāpatti is very useful in reconstructing texts worn out or otherwise rendered incomplete. Therefore, it should rather be renamed *Śabdārthāpatti*, covering words both spoken and written.

Where dichotomy is involved, *Arthāpatti* works well. And it is this point which is stressed by Vātsyāyana when he defines *Arthāpatti* as apprehension of an unstated fact on the basis of the meaning of a sentence by way of opposition (*pratyanīka-bhāvāt*).[56] Where two opposite facts are in question and of the two one is discounted, the assumption of the other will be fully valid. But in other cases *Arthāpatti* seldom rises above the level of speculation or hypothesis, the validity of which is subject to verification. In that case, *Arthāpatti* can best be an aid to, or operate as raw material for, knowledge but is not knowledge as such. Thus, *Arthāpatti* can well be equated with hypothesis formation in science, barring of course such *Arthāpatti* as arises from dichotomy.

Generally speaking, *Arthāpatti*, save in the cases pointed out above, does not deserve a place beside the *Pramāṇa*-s, its proper place seems to be the category of *Tarka*, which translates as *argumenturm ad absurdum* or dialectical, hypothetical, empirical or negative reasoning. Like Aristotle's dialectical reasoning, *Tarka* is in many cases, a kind of what Eduard von

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54. *Nyāya-Sūtra*, with *Nyāya-Bhāṣya*, 2.2.3-6.
55. Cp. *Tattvasaṅgraha*, 1604, 1605, 1640-1645.
56. *Nyāya-Bhāṣya*, 2.2.2.

Hartmann calls 'a probability inference'.[57] *Tarka*, as conceived by the Naiyāyika, is not capable of yielding positive proof; its procedure is entirely negative, reducing inapplicable considerations to absurdity or impossibility (*aniṣṭa-prasaṅga*).[58] It does not yield true knowledge, the knowledge of what is what (*tattvajñāna*), but is 'for such knowledge' (*tattvajñānārtham*).[59] The Naiyāyika is prepared to count it as mis-knowledge (*viparyaya*)[60], in that, instead of yielding true knowledge, it leaves us in the suburbs of true knowledge. Since, however, it is not its way to lead us astray or cause positive ignorance, it should be styled imperfect knowledge or rather a subsidiary means to knowledge. It is a sort of negative inference (*kevalavyatireki-anumāna*), so to speak, useful to resort to where positive inference or other is not available, such as in theological discussions on the one hand and cases of *Arthāpatti* on the other. Jayanta defines it as in the nature of probability (*sambhāvanātmaka*), something between doubt (*saṃśaya*) and certitude (*niścaya*)[61], *Pramāṇa* and doubt (*sandeha*).[62] It is no proof (*pramāṇa*), only an ad hoc aid to proof (*pramāṇānām anugrāhakaḥ*).[63]

Ancient Naiyāyika-s classified *Tarka* into eleven kinds, of which Udayana and the moderns countenance only five: *Ignoratio Elenchi* or self-dependence (*ātmāśraya*), Dilemma or interdependence (*anyonyāśraya*), Circle (*cakraka*), *Regressus ad infinitum* (*anavasthā*), and *Reductio ad absurdum* (*aniṣṭa-prasaṅga*/

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57. See A. Sarlemijn, *Hegel's Dialectic*, Sovietica, Vol. 33 (Dordrecht-Holland/Boston-U.S.A. : D. Reidel Publishing Company 1971), p. 33.
58. Vācaspati, *Nyāyavārtika-Tātparyaṭīkā*, Rajeshwara Shastri Dravida, ed., Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 24 (Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Offic. 1925), 1.1.1; 1.1.40; Keśava Miśra, *Tarkabhāṣā*, Vishveshvara, ed., Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 155 (Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1953), p. 242 ; Vardhamāna, *Kiraṇāvalī-Prakāśa*, published with Udayana's *Kiraṇāvalī* and Rucidatta's *Kiraṇāvalī-Prakāśa-Vivṛti*, Shivacandra Sarvabhauma, ed., Bibliotheca Indica, No. 1277, Fas. I (Calcutta : Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1911), upto p. 288, and the rest of the work published with a third commentary also, entitled *Dravyakiraṇāvalī.Ṭīkā* of Bhaṭṭa Vādīndra, ed. by Narendra Candra Vedantatīrtha, Bibliotheca Indica, Work No. 200, Isssue No. 1572, Fas. 4 (Calcutta : Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1956), p. 513.
59. *Nyāya-Sūtra*, 1.1.4.
60. Annambhaṭṭa, *Tarkasaṅgraha*, published his *Tarkadīpikā* and Govardhana's *Nyāyabodhinī*, Y. S. Athalye, ed., Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No. LV (2nd ed.-reimpression, Poona : Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1930), p. 56.
61. *Nyāyamañjarī*, *Pramāṇa-Prakaraṇa*, pp. 145-146,
62. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
63. *Nyāya-Bhāṣya*, 1.1.1,

pramāṇabādhitārtha-prasaṅga)[64]. This division is found logically unsound, inasmuch as it is based on kinds of reasoning, which are unlimited. *Tarka* is sometimes equated with Antilogism in Western logic. It appears that a more logical division of *Tarka* would have a place for *Arthāpatti*. But, then, it is something beyond the competence of the present writer.

It is significant that several leading Naiyāyika-s[65] as also certain Mīmāṃsaka-s like Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa[66] ascribe the establishment of *Vyāpti* to *Tarka* associated with repeated experience (*bhūyo-darśana*), that the leading Jaina philosophers ascribe the establishment of *Vpāpti* to *Tarka* by itself,[67] and that Uṃveka Bhaṭṭa, a commentator of Kumārila, ascribes it directly to *Arthāpatti*.[68]

The position reached above appears to be a little involved. It can be straightened out as follows.

Arthāpatti is not a species of *Anumāna*. *Anumāna* is based on knowledge of *Vyāpti/Sambandha*, which itself is based on *Arthāpatti* according to Uṃveka. On the cotrary, certain species of *Anumāna—Kevala-vyatireki* (purely negative), *Kevalānvayi* (purely affirmative), and *Sāmānyato-dṛṣṭa* (common-sense)—merit subsumption under *Arthāpatti* as implication. Dharmarāja's suggestion to reduce *Vyatireki-Anumāna* (negative inference) to *Arthāpatti* appears to be tenable.

Arthāpatti is of two kinds: (1) Implication or a priori reasoning based on the laws of thought or on *Anyathānupapatti* (otherwise-inexplicability). For example, from the proposition, 'If there are clouds, it will rain', the *Arthāpatti* is, 'If there are no clouds, it will not rain.' For example, when it is found that Devadatta is alive and is yet absent from home, the *Arthāpatti*

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64. See Udayana, *Nyāyavārtika-Tātparya-Pariśuddhi*, in *Nyāya-Caturgranthikā*, Anantalala Thakur, ed., Mithila Institute Series, No. 10 (Darbhanga : Mithila Research Institute, 1967), 1.1.40, p. 588.

65. *Nyāyavārtika-Tātparyaṭīkā*, 1.1.5. 166-167; Udayana, *Nyāya-Kusumāñjali*, Candrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra, ed , with Haridāsa's commentary (Calcutta : Asiatic Society of Bengal, Saka 1809), 3.7.237.

66. *Mānameyodaya*, pp. 40 ff.

67. See Hemacandra, *Pramāṇa-Mīmāṃsā*, auto-commentary, Sukhlalji Sanghavi, Mahendra Kumar Shastri, and Dalsukh Malavania, eds., Singhi Jaina Series, No. 9 (Ahmedabad-Calcutta : Sanchalaka, Singhi Jaina Granthamala, 1939), 1 2.5, pp. 36-37.

68. Uṃveka Bhaṭṭa, *Mīmāṃsā-Śloka-Vārtika-Tātparyaṭīkā*, S. K. Ramanatha Shastri, ed., K. Kunjunni Raja and R. Thangaswamy, revisers, Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 13 (2nd ed., Madras: University of Madras, 1971), p. 308.

reached is that he is present outside. Others call it *Pariśeṣa-Anumāna*. (2) Presumption, postulation, Aristotle's dialectical reasoning, Eduard von Hartmann's probability inference, hypothetical reasoning, hypothesis formation as in science.

Tarka, too, is classifiable similarly. It is indeed the violation of the laws of thought that gives rise to the situations called *Ātmāśraya*, *Anyonyāśraya*, *Cakraka*, *Anavasthā* and *Aniṣṭaprasaṅga*, referred to earlier.

So, *Arthāpatti* can easily be equated with *Tarka*. It is significant to note that, as pointed out ealier, according to Uṃveka, knowledge of *Vyāpti* is based on *Arthāpatti*; according to Jainism, it is based on *Tarka*; and according to leading Naiyāyikas, as well as certain Mīmāṃsaka-s like Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, it is based on *Tarka* aided by repeated experience. Such is the intimate relation between *Arthāpatti* and *Tarka*.

Now, finally, *Arthāpatti* or *Tarka* as implication or a priori reasoning invoking the law's of thought does merit a place of its own in the list of *Pramāṇ*-s; but *Arthāpatti* or *Tarka* as postulation cannot. The reason is not far to seek. *Pramā* (knowledge/valid knowledge), certitude is a necessary pre-condition, which is lacking in the case of *Arthāpatti* or *Tarka* as postulation.

VĀMAKEŚVARATANTRĀNTARGATAṂ YOGINĪHṚDAYAM

A. Padoux

One still knows very little about the origins, dates and historical development of most of the śaiva-śākta (generally non-dualistic) texts of Northern and North-western India (a literature, in fact, also connected with South India). The traditional classifications of these texts into *srotas*, *āmnāya*, *mata*, etc., are unclear and often contradict each other. More recent "scientific" attempts at classifying texts and authors into schools, or theoretical tendencies, are also unsatisfactory—if only because many works are still unknown : further study is necessary to gain a complete and fair view of the whole.

Among these texts, some—which are ancient but do not seem to belong to the oldest strata of śaiva-śākta works—are sometimes described (together with their commentaries, and also original works by diverse authors) as pertaining to a so-called Śrīkula, or Śrīvidyā (often also called Tripurā) school or tradition. The name Śrīkula is used because these works deal with the cult, or refer to, Goddess Tripurā (or Tripurasundarī), a tantric form of Śrī or Lakṣmī, quite different in this respect from Kālī, who is correspondingly honoured in what would then be called the Kālīkula tradition. As the term *kula* indicates, all these texts are somehow related to the Kula tradition, to which they usually refer as to the most secret and highest one. *Yoginīhṛdaya*, for instance, explicitly states that its teaching is meant only for those who are *kaulācārapara*, or *kaulācārasamāyukta*.[1]

The problem of the Kula—sometimes called Kaula, which might be a misnomer[2]—is a difficult and extremely interesting one. It was discussed for

1. 2.78 and 3.192.
2. Kaula is very frequently used loosely as the adjectival *vṛddhi* form of *kula*. But in point of fact, in the śākta tradition, Kula and Kaula refer to two different *ācāra*, one with a stronger ritualistic bias, the other, the Kaula, more esoteric and mystic, nearer to Trika.

years, as proved, for instace by P. C. Bagchi's studies, published in the thirties. But since that time little progress has been made towards a satisfactory and generally accepted solution. All one can say at present is that Kula is surely one of the ancient traditions of the śāktas, and that its influence and extension was considerable (it is not limited to Hinduism). To an extent, in fact, that all other traditions: Kubjikā, Tripurā, etc., appear as mere branches of Kula. Abhinavagupta, the great master of Kashmir Śaivism, was an initiate of Kula, a doctrine he expounded in the *Tantrāloka*. Researches, now being carried out by some scholars in India and in the West, are likely to bring eventually some light on this still very obscure subject.

To return to the tradition of the *Yoginīhṛdaya*—it is more an initiatic tradition, with its line of spiritual teachers, than a school of thought or a sect properly so called—this tradition is often also referred to as that of the Śrīvidyā[3] since its *mūlamantra* is the *vidyā* of Mahātripurasundarī, usually called *Śrīvidyā*. The term is, however, sometimes applied more specially to the later works of the same tradition, works often not from Kashmir, rather than to the earlier, mostly Kaśmiri, ones. As is well known, this autonomous or commentarial Śrīvidyā literature includes such important texts as *Tantrarājatantra*, *Jñānārṇavatantra*, *Saundaryalahari*, etc., or as the works of Puṇyānanda (the *Kāmakalāvilāsa*), Śivānanda, Amṛtānanda and Vidyānanda (all Kaśmiris, or connected with Kashmir somehow), of Lakṣmīdhara, in the 16th century, of Kāśīnāth Bhaṭṭa and of Bhāskararāya, in the 18th, or Rāmeśvara, in the 19th century, to name but a few.

Yoginihṛdaya is in the form of a dialogue between the Goddess Mahā-Tripurasundarī, who questions, and Śiva-Bhairava, who teaches her. It is made up of three chapters, totalling about 380 *śloka*-s (the length varies slightly according to manuscripts), the first *paṭala* being on the *Śrīcakra*, the second, on the *Śrīvidyā*, the third, on the *pūjā*, made with the help of both *cakra* and *vidyā* that are, in truth, the very body (*vapuḥ*), diagrammatic and phonic, of the Deity. It is in many respects a remarkable work, in very good Sanskrit, with a subtle and complex doctrine expounded in a very clever and systematic way. Two important commentaries were written on it: Amṛtān-

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3. It is also called Sau bhāgyasampradāya since the *Śrīvidyā* is also named *Saubhāgyavidyā*. The term Saubhāgya is found in the names of a number of small, usually ritual, works of this tradition.

anda's *Dipikā* (13th century ?) and Bhāskararāya's *Setubandha*. (dated 1733 A. D.)[4]

The *YH* is usually described (for instance in Gopinath Kaviraj's introduction to his edition) as being the second part (the last three chapters) of a work in eight *paṭala*-s, the first five of which make up what is called *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* (*NṢĀ*), *Catuśśatīśāstra*, or else *Vāmakeśvara* (or *Vāmakeśvarīmata*) *Tantra* (*VMT*), a name which is, however, also applied to the whole work, and which, as we shall see, poses a problem. This usual conception is expressed, among others, by Pt. Kaul Śāstri, when he wrote, in the introduction to the first part, published under the title of *Vāmakeśvara Tantra* in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, that the *VMT* is composed of eight parts (*paṭala*), "of which the first five deal with the outer aspect of the worship of the goddess Tripurasundarī. The last three, treating of the inner side of the same, are collectively called *Yoginīhṛdaya*."

Should one, however, consider the eight *paṭala*-s comprised of these two works as being one whole, or are these two separate though somehow connected works ? It is generally admitted, and it is also very likely, that *NṢĀ* and *YH* form a whole of some sort, a fact which appears as confirmed by the very first words of the Goddess as she addresses Bhairava at the beginning of the *YH* :

> *vāmakeśvaratantre 'sminnajñātāṃthās tvanekaśaḥ* ||
> *tāṃstān arthān aśeṣeṇa vaktum arhasi bhairava* |

These secret meanings will be explained to her in the *YH* which thus appears as the second and more esoteric part of an ensemble, the first part of which is of a more exoteric kind. Amṛtānanda, also, in the *Dipikā*, often states that if the *YH* mentions (or abstains from mentioning) some topic, this is because it was not (or was) already mentioned in the *NṢĀ*—which he practically always calls *Catuśśatiśāstra*, not *VMT*.—Amṛtānanda uses once the word *atra*, "here", to refer to the *NṢĀ*. One should note that Bhāskararāya comments both texts in one and the same work : *Setubandha*. Finally, *NṢĀ* and *YH* were sometimes called *Pūrva* and *Uttara-Catuśśatiśāstra*. To which one can add that a number of manuscripts of *YH* and of the *Dipikā* describe the work

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4. Both edited with the *YH*. by MM. Gopinath Kaviraj in the Saraswatībhavana Granthamālā, vol. 7., Varanasi, 1963. Recently reprinted with a new preface, but without any correction of all the errors and misprints of the preceding edition (Varanasi, 1981). A new critical edition, based on a larger number of manuscripts, has been completed by Prof. V. V. Dwiveda, with Hindi translation and *bhāṣya*, and is soon to be published.

as *Vāmakeśvaratantrāntargatam*, either in the titles or in the colophons : one such is printed at the end of the first *paṭala* of *YH* in Gopinath Kaviraj's edition.[5]

The fact should also be mentioned that *NṢĀ* and *YH* are not only complementary in their content, but that their style and general aspect and vocabulary are extremely similar. Admittedly, a scientific and statistical study of the vocabulary of the two works could contradict that impression, but this has not yet been done. In the meantime, Prof. V. V. Dwiveda, who is beyond dispute at present the best expert on both *NṢĀ* and *YH*, considers them as being separate[6]. He underlines in this respect some differences in their doctrines (on comparatively minor points, in fact), as well as that if the *YH* presupposes the existence of the *NṢĀ*, the reverse is not the case, also that if Amṛtānanda often quotes the *NṢĀ*, neither Śivānanda, in the *Ṛjuvimarśinī*, nor Vidyānanda in the *Artharatnāvalī* on *NṢĀ* ever mention the *YH*. It would also seem that Bhāskararāya, in the *Setubandha*, criticised those who consider the two texts as forming one unique work. V. V. Dwiveda, in his *anuprastāvika* to the preface of Gopinath Kaviraj's edition of *YH* suggested that the two texts were originally separate and were only later considered as one, among other reasons because of the initial question of the Devī in *YH*. However, if the two works were separate, how is one to explain such a question ? This, I believe, implies at least some sort of unity between the two works. The usual conception of *YH* as a complement to *NṢĀ*—possibly a somewhat later complement—would perhaps be nearest to the truth. V. V. Dwiveda's observation can also be taken as pointing in that direction. To which one can add that if *YH* is often described as *Vāmakeśvaratantrāntargatam*, never are (unless I am mistaken) *NṢĀ* or its commentaries described as such. Rather, if *VMT* is mentioned, the *NṢĀ* is identified with it. Colophons would run : . .*śrīvāmamakeśvaratantre nityāṣoḍaśikārṇave*..., as if *NṢĀ* and *VMT* were the same.

Matters, however, are not so simple. One must note that Śivānanda in the introductory stanzas to his *Ṛjuvimarśinī*, after having mentioned *vāmakeśvaram nāma śāstram*, adds : *madhye śāstrasya tasya asti nityāṣoḍaśikārṇavaḥ*. Whatever the exact meaning here of *madhye* it can hardly mean in the beginning. We are then led to believe that the *NṢĀ* (and perhaps also the *YH*) do not form simply the two parts of the *VMT*, but are parts of a *Vāmakeśvaraśāstra*, or *VM-darśana*, which would be larger than the two works which we

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5. P. 89.

6. This is explained on p. p. 11 of his long and very interesting *upodghāta* to his edition of the *NṢĀ* (Yoga-tantra-granthamālā, vol. 1—Varanasi, 1968).

are considering. Vidyānanda also, in the beginning of his *Artharatnāvalī*, introducing the first *śloka* of *NṢĀ*, says that (the Lord), *lokānugrahaṃ cikīrṣur bahurūpāṣṭakaṃ śāstraṃ saṃkṣipya catuśśatasaṃkhyāparimitair granthais tatsāram uddhartukāmas tacchāstrapratipādyāṃ varṇāvayavāṃ mahātripurasundarīm mahatyā bhaktyā mahādevaḥ praṇamati*, which would seem to imply that the *Catuśśatī*— or *NṢĀ*— gives in four hundred *śloka*-s the essence of a larger teaching: *bahurūpāṣṭakaṃ śāstram*. If this does not refer to the eight *paṭala*-s of *NṢĀ*+ *YH*, since Vidyānanda never alludes to *YH*, one is led to believe that it refers to a larger whole. One would also be brought towards such a conclusion by the fact that one finds in many libraries works of different types, mostly *stotra*-s, *kavaca*-s or *paddhati*-s devoted to Tripurasundarī, or to the Saubhāgyavidyā, which are assigned in their colophons to the *VMT*. There is also in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal a manuscript (no. 5939-4652) which according to Miśra's catalogue contains *paṭala*-s 51-55 of a text called *Vāmakeśvaratantra*, the content of which bears no resemblance to that of *NṢĀ* and *YH*. Admittedly, captions of manuscripts, especially if they are recent, and still less catalogue entries, cannot be adduced as proofs. It seems, nevertheless, likely that a *Vāmakeśvaraśāstra*, or *VMT-sampradāya*, of which the *VMT* alias *NṢĀ* would have been the *mūla* text (with *YH* as its complement) did exist within the larger Tripurāmata (or Śrīkula or Śrīvidyā) tradition.

Contrary to the preceding problem, the question of the place of origin of the *YH* or the *VMT* is a comparatively simple one: all evidence points to the North-east of India, more precisely to Kashmir. Jayaratha, an eminent Kashmir śaiva writer, in his *Vivaraṇa* on *VMT/NṢĀ*, says that this text was commented upon before him by Īśvaraśiva, abbot of Sura monastery in Kashmir. In another place, when refering to Īśvaraśiva and to another master, Rājānaka Kalyāṇavarman, he adds that in truth this doctrine appeared in Kashmir: *vastuto hi asya darśanasya etadeva ācāryadvayaṃ kaśmīreṣu avatārakam*. One may say that this does not prove the actual birth, the first formulation, of the tradition to have taken place in Kashmir: it may have only developed there.[7] But that its main center should have been at one time in Kashmir seems hardly open to discussion. Prof. V. V. Dwiveda, in the introduction to *NṢĀ*, and in his book *Tantrayātrā*[8] suggests Oḍḍiyāna (Swāt) as the possible original home of the *Vāmakeśvaratantra*. From there the doctrine would have

7. Jayaratha (id. p. 125) writes ; *kaśmīreṣu śrīmān viśvāvarta eva asya darśanasya sākṣāt-pravartayetīti uktapūrvam* . . . : the passage can be read as implying only the further spreading of the *darśana* in Kashmir.

8. P. 69 ff.

spread to Kashmir and to the South before expanding to other places. He notes in this connection that a very large number of manuscripts of these texts are to be found in the Himalayan regions. This of coure is no proof: such manuscripts are very numerous all over India, but it may be taken as a pointer towards the North-East.

More to the point surely is the fact that the apparently first commentator of the *YH*, Amṛtānanda appears as being from Kashmir. His master, Puṇyānanda, author of the *Kāmakalāvilāsa*, is always held to be Kashmiri (he may have been the *guru* of Jayaratha). Though Śivānanda, author of the *Ṛjuvimarśinī* came from the South, he was an exponent of Krama, one of the main tendencies of Kashmir Śaivism. Finally, and more convincingly perhaps, the vocabulary of *YH* and its doctrine (the use of such notions as *saṃvid* for the ultimate Reality, as *spanda*, *sphurattā*, of *prakāśa* for Paramaśiva, etc.) are typical of the Kashmiri brand of śaivism. To which one could add the literary standard of the *YH*, the amplitude and coherence of its symbolical structure as well as of the (often implicit, but very clearly underlying) metaphysical and cosmogonic system, all seem to have something distinctly Kashmiri. From Kashmir the doctrine spread to the rest of India. It did so comparatively early as is attested by Śivānanda's *Ṛjuvimarśinī*. Then it went on flourishing in diverse places as is shown by the works of later authors: Lakṣmīdhara, Kāśīnāthabhaṭṭa, Bhāskararāya, or else by the large number of manuscripts of Śrīkula/Śrīvidyā texts, some comparatively old, often written in local scripts, found in libraries all over the country.

It is as yet impossible to state with any certainly the date of *YH*. No ancient manuscripts have been so far discovered. Neither *NṢĀ*/*VMT* nor *YH* are among the sixty-four tantras enumerated by Jayaratha, quoting the Śrīkaṇṭhī in his commentary of *Tantrāloka*[9]. Nor are they mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his works. Jayaratha and Śivānanda wrote on the *NṢĀ* and are likely to have lived in the twelfth century. Indeed, as we saw, Jayaratha mentions two authors who lived before him and who wrote on the Vāmakeśvara darśana, but we do not know when they lived, nor if by "this doctrine" Jayaratha meant the *NṢĀ* or some other text of the Vāmakeśvara tradition, still less the *YH*.

On this very text, the first commentary seems to be that of Amṛtānanda: we know of no earlier one, and Amṛtānanda states in the *maṅgalasūtra* of the *Dīpikā* that *YH* had never been explained before. As he quotes Śivānanda

9. I.18.

and Vidyānanda he is likely to have lived later than these two[10] in the 13th. century, perhaps. The *YH* would then be somewhat earlier: 11th or 12th century, possibly. I would suggest the eleventh century, but for this I can offer no proof.

The only ancient element to which one could refer could be the mention of one *Yoginīhṛdaya* in the 39th chapter of the *Picumata* of the *Brahmayāmala*, of which there is a manuscript in Nepal dated 1051-2 A. D. The *Picumata* is quoted several times by Abhinavagupta in the *Tantrāloka* (end of tenth century). There is, however, no proof that the *YH* of *Picumata* is the same as the one we have now. Indeed, this is quite unlikely. This leaves us without any date prior to the 13th century. As the cult of Tripurasundarī does not seem to be among the oldest śākta cults--not as old as that of Kubjikā or Kālī—one should resist the temptation to put too far back the date of the *YH*. This text is, however, of a very real interest from the philosophical and ritual point of view, and is thus very well worth studying for its own sake, regardless of its place and date of origin.

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10. It is very doubtful that Amṛtānanda should have been the master of Jayaratha, as suggested by Pt. Kaul Śāstri in the introduction to the Kashmir Series edition of the *VMT*. V. V. Dwiveda tried to prove that Amṛtānanda was the author of the *Alaṃkārasaṅgraha*, and would have lived in the 14th century : this is possible, though not sure.

PRĀKRIT LOAN-WORDS IN OLD KHMER

S. Pou*

The Cambodian language, or Khmer, contains a large number of Indo-Aryan words other than Sanskrit, besides the Sanskrit loan-words proper. Modern lexicographers, who compiled the first great Cambodian Dictionary, *Vacanānukram Khmaer*[1], attributed them to Pāli, the language of Theravāda, therefore, of the sacred texts in modern Cambodia. They did understandably so because (a) those words were similar to their counterparts in Pāli, (b) besides Sanskrit, Pāli was the only Indic language known to the above mentioned lexicographers.

This view is not supported by lexical evidence, for some of those loan-words have been known to the Khmers since the beginning of the epigraphy (V c.), in other words long before the advent of Theravāda and Pāli to Cambodia (XIII c.). Ex. *hat* "a cubit", *amvil* "tamarind-tree". In questioning this view, we, modern students of languages, have no clear and wiser alternative to suggest either, on account of our meager knowledge of the Theravāda Buddhism and the ancient societies in S. E. Asia. The date of XIII c., regarded as the dawn of Theravāda in Cambodia, is supported solely by official, mainly epigraphic, documents. Indeed, we know very little about the popular religion(s), beliefs and rituals, prior to that time.

We know even less about the ancient peoples of S. E. Asia and their relations with each other. As far as Indo-Khmer contacts are concerned, historians have asserted that the Indians came from all parts of India and Ceylon, and epigraphic texts bear witness to the role of the learned ones, e.g. the Brahmans, amidst the national elite. After stating these essential facts, we must now point out the paucity of first-hand records on the ancient

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1. First published in 1938 by the Buddhist Institute in Phnompenh.

societies, consequently admit that our knowledge of the S. E. Asian peoples is at the lowest ebb.

Thus, how could we account for the non-Sanskrit Indo-Aryan words in Old Khmer? For instance, for the co-existence of *hasta* "hand, arm" (Sk.), and *hat* "a cubit"? If *hasta* was ever shortened for the sake of convenience in the popular usage, it would have been *has*, *hās* in Khmer, instead of *hat*. We must, therefore, posit another source of borrowing than Sanskrit, which we shall call *Prākrit*.

This paper is not first esssay on Prākrit in Khmer. Indeed, the late eminent epigraphist George Coedès never failed to point out the so-called "Prākritisms" he came upon in his painstaking and valuable edition of O. K. inscriptions. After him, Dr. K. Bhattacharya elaborated upon the subject in his epoch-making article "Recherches sur le vocabulaire des inscriptions sanskrites du Cambodge"[2]. Helped by these learned works, I took a step further in exploring the whole Khmer vocabulary, ancient and modern. To present the first results of my investigation, I will, however, keep separated ancient from modern for the sake of clarity[3], in other words I shall deal herein only with Old Khmer epigraphy (V c.–XIII c.).

• In taking a closer look at the non-Sk. Indo-Aryan words in Old Khmer, one notices two striking features, to wit (a) they are not lexicographic accidents, therefore, prove as having been commonly used, (b) when compared with Indo-Aryan in India[4], they appear very close to Prākrit as well as Modern Indic cognates, in particular Bengali, Oriya, Hindi or Marathi. This leads us to the question whether the sources of borrowing by Khmer was Prākrit proper or any *apabhraṃśa* dialect. To that question we have absolutely no answer at this first stage of research. Therefore, I propose to use herein *Prākrit* in the broadest sense, i.e. "Indo-Aryan other than Sanskrit and Pāli".

Despite the scantiness of historic documents, I would like to sketch out the contacts between Indians and Khmers in ancient Cambodia, to account for those Prākrit loan-words. It is common knowledge that the Indians were the most peaceful of all immigrants. The bulk of the settlers were engaged in crafts and trade, and some of them were married into Khmer families. It is absurd to think that they were conversant enough with Sanskrit to use it in their every-day life amidst the native Khmers. As for these, familiar

2. *BEFEO* LII, 1, 1964, p. 1-72.
3. For the same reason I set aside the question of Dravidian loans.
4. See mainly R. L. Turner, *A Comparative* .... (References).

as they were with Sanskrit words which the Khmer elite had borrowed, then spread among the entire community, they surely could not grasp the structure of Sanskrit[5], nor would they know any *grāmyabhāṣā*, or native tongues of the Indians. Thus, the two communities, Khmer and Indian, living side by side, were left with the problem of daily communication, a real fact of life. My assumption is that the main language used was the native one, i.e. Khmer, otherwise it would never have survived till the present day. The Indian immigrants used their native tongues among themselves ; in dealing with the Khmers, they would speak an imperfect Khmer which they occasionally made up with their native colloquialisms. If these were phonetically congenial to the Khmers, more appealing than Sanskrit, they would have been received more readily than the Sanskrit items taught by scholars ; and if two synonymous items were available (cf. *inf.* : *rūpa* and *rūva*) they would have been the more welcome by the speakers, always eager to enrich their means of expression. Moreover, linguistic and literary history has revealed the strong attraction of the Khmer speakers to redundancy, their propensity to use more than one term for the same object or concept, one for literary purpose and the other for current spoken usage. Nowadays, most of the educated Cambodians write *Makkarā* for "January", but they invariably use the French word *Janvier* in their informal speech. Therefore, it would not be outrageous to assume that some words, nicely spelt on the stone by learned scribes, would have been pronounced in a simpler Prākrit fashion by the common speakers.

In the following list, each item will be compared with its counterparts in Modern Khmer, Sanskrit, Prākrit and Modern Indic, and will be glossed according to our latest findings. On the whole, this paper has been made sketchy in order to minimize the errors and to avoid extravagant speculations. However imperfect it might be, I feel privileged to present it to the memory of a great Indian scholar, late Sri G. C. Sinha.

LIST

AMVIL

1. Mod. *ambil* "*Tamarindus indicus* (Caesalp.)".
2. Numerous names of persons and places. Ex. : K.664, P.a., *IC* V, p. 69, 1.4.
3. (Sk. *āmlā, āmlikā*)
   Pk. *aṃbiliyā* "tamarind-tree" < *aṃbila* "sour".
4. "Tamarind-tree".

5. As present-day Khmers cannot grasp the Pāli language.

ASARU, -Ū

1. Mod. *āsrūv* "bad, disgraceful, infamous".
2. Numerous names of persons.
3. (Sk. *a-sarūpa* "not beautiful")
   Pk. *a-sarūva* "not handsome"
4. "Ugly, not handsome". Cf. *RŪVA*.

CURI, -Ī

1. Mod. *cari* "a kind of large knife".
2. K. 263, X c., *IC* IV, p. 127, 1.6.
3. (Sk. *kṣura, chūri*)
   Pk. *churi*.
4. "Knife or razor".
   Doublets in O. K. : *kṣora* "razor" (Sk. *kṣura*) and *curi* (<Pk.).

CHATTHI, -ṬṬI

1. ———
2. K. 109, VII c., *IC* V, p. 43, 1.15.
3. (Sk. *ṣaṣṭhi*)
   Pk. *chaṭṭhi* "the 6th day of lunar fortnight".
4. "6th day of lunar fortnight".

GVĀL, GAṄVĀL

1. Mod. *gvāl* "to look after animals" ; *gaṅvāl* "herd-keeper", "assistant to elephant-hunter, elephant-driver".
2. Numerous occurrences.
3. (Sk. *gopāla*)
   Pk. *govāla, goalla* "cowherd". Cf. Or. *goāḷa*; Hi. *guāi*.
4. *Gvāl* "animal-keeper". *Gaṅvāl* ? "elephant-driver".

HAT, -Ā-

1. Mod. *hatth* "a cubit".
2. Numerous occurrences.
3. (Sk. *hasta*)
   Pk. *hattha*.
4. Doublets in O. K. : *hasta* "hand, arm" (<Sk.,> Mod. *hast*) *hat* "cubit" (< Pk., > Mod. *hatth*).

IT

1. Mod. *iṭṭh* "brick" (spelling worked out from Pāli).
2. K. 939, P. a., *IC* V, p. 56, 1.9.

3. (Sk. *iṣṭakā*)
   Pk. *iṭṭa-*. Cf. B. *iṭ*, Hi. *īṭ*, . . .
4. "Brick".

KADĀHA

1. Mod. *khdaḥ* "cauldron, frying-pan".
2. K. 415, IX c., *IC* V, p. 86, l.6.
3. (Sk. *kaṭāha*)
   Pk. *kaḍāha*.
4. "Sauce-pan, frying-pan".

KAṄSATĀLA

1. Mid. Khm. *kaṅsatāl* "cymbal".
2. K. 389,? IX c., *IC* VI, p. 78, b, l.15.
3. (Sk. *kāṃsyatāla*)
   Pk. *kāmsatāla*.
4. "Cymbal".

KATHOR

1. Mod. *kanthor* "spittoon".
2. K. 89, IX c., *IC* III, p. 165, l.6.
3. (Sk. *kaṭora*)
   Pk. *kaṭṭora-* "a cup". Cf. Or. *kaṭora*, Hi. *kaṭorā*.
4. Prob. "a vessel for water", instead of "spittoon".

KHĀN

1. Mod. *braḥ khan* "sacred sword".
2. K. 669, X c., *IC* I, p. 171, l.27.
3. (Sk. *khaḍga*, *khaṇḍaka*)
   Pk. *khaṃda*.
4. "Sword".

KHVIT

1. Mod. *khvit* "*Feronia limonia* (Rutac.)", or "Elephant-apple tree".
2. Occurs in several place-names, e.g. K. 956, X c., *IC* VII, p. 131, l.31.
3. (Sk. *kapittha*)
   Pk. *kavittha* "*Feronia elephantum*".
4. "Elephant-apple tree".

PADIGAḤ

1. ———·— . Cf. Mod. *kanthor* < O. K. *kathor*.
2. K. 415, IX c., *IC* V, 86, 1.6.
3. (Sk. *pratigraha* "spittoon")
   Pk. *paḍiggaha*.
4. "Spittoon".

PALLAṄKA

1. Moh. *pallaṅk* "pedestal, throne":
2. K. 505, VIII c., *IC* V, p. 24, 1.19.
3. Sk. *paryaṅka*, *palyaṅka* "bed")
   Pk. *pallaṃka*. Cf. Or. *pālaṅka*.
4. "Pedestal, throne, or couch".

PŪRṆAMĪ

1. Mod. *pūrṇamī* "full moon".
2. K. 904, VIII c., *IC* IV, p. 59, 1.26.
3. (Sk. *pūrṇimā*, *pūrṇamā*)
   Pk. *puṇṇimā*. Cf. Or. *punami*.
4. "Full-moon".

PHURI, PHURĀ

1. ————————
2. K. 99, X c., *IC* VI, p. 110, 1.32, 111, 1.27.
3. (Sk. *pūra* "cake")
   Pk. *pūra*. Cf. Or., B., *puri*; Bi. *pūrī*.
4. Prob. "a kind of pan-cake".

RIKTA

1. Mod. *slik rit* "palm-leaves ready for engraving".
2. K. 669, X c., *IC* I, p. 168, 1.13.
3. (Sk. *rikta* "empty")
   Pk. *ritta*.
4. "Sheets (of metal, leaves, paper) for writing". *Rikta* appears as the official spelling used by learned people, while the common speakers certainly used *ritta*, which will account for Mod. °*rit*.

RŪVA, RUV, RU, RAUV

1. Mid. K. *rūv* "as, like"; Moḍ. *rąu* "form, beauty" (doublet of *rūp* "id.").

2. Numerous occurrences.
3. (Sk. *rūpa*)
   Pk. *rūva* "beauty". Cf. O. G. *rūva*; Si. *ruva*.
4. "Form, manner, fashion; as, like". Doublets in O. K. : *rūpa* (<Sk.), and *rūva* (<Pk.). Moreover, from Pk. was probably borrowed the derivative *virūva* "ugly", which would account for Mod. *brau* "bad, worthless".

ŚAMĪ–

1. Mod. *smī* "*Sesbania roxburghii* (Legum.), whose edible leaves are also used in rituals.
2. K. 834, XI c., *IC* V, p. 254, LXV, 1.14.
3. Sk. *śamī* "*Mimosa suma* tree")
   Pk. *samī*.
4. "*Sesbania roxburghi*".

SAMUDGA–

1. Mod.*smugg* "woven box of palm-leaves with lid".
2. K. 156, X c., p. 179, XVIII, 1.35.
3. (Sk. *samudga* "box")
   Pk. *samugga*.
4. Prabably same type of container as in modern times.

SAP

1. Mod. *sabb* "all, every" (spelling worked out from Pāli).
2. K.153, XI c., *IC* V, p. 195. 1.20.
3. (Sk. *sarva*)
   Pk. *savva*. Cf. Maithili *sab*,
4. Doublets in O. K. : *sarve* (<Sk.), and *sap* (<Pk., quantifier).

SRĀP

1. Mod, *srāb*(*ṇ*) "a water-vessel" (used for royalty).
2. K. 353, XI c., *IC* V, p. 137, 1.31.
3. (Sk. śarāva)
   Pk, *sarāva*.
4. Both forms occur in O. K. : *śarāva*, *śarāvaṇa*, and *srāp*. "Large metal tray".

ULĀRA

1. Mod. *udār* "noble, formidable"; *oḷārik* "solemn",
2. K, 353, XI c., *IC* V, p. 137, 1.31;

3. (Sk. *udāra*)
   Pk. *udāra*. Cf. Si. *ola-*, *oḷari* "best", Pāli *uḷāra* "noble, superb".
4. "Sumptuous fabrics".

VAḌI, VAḌĀ

1. ——————
2. K. 99, X c., *IC* VI, p. 110, 1.31, 111, 1.27.
3. (Sk. *vaṭa* "small lump")
   Pk. *vaḍī*. Cf. Marathi *vaḍī*, *vaḍā*.
4. Probably "small balls of beans fried".

VO

1. Mod. *bodhi* /poo/ '*Ficus religiosa*".
2. K. 30, P.a., *IC* II, p. 27, 1.16.
3. (Sk. *bodhi*)
   Pk. *bodi*. Cf. Si. *bo*.
4. Sk. *bodhi* > Khm. *bodhi* /poothi/ "enlightenment". The ancient Khmers very likely borrowed *vo* from an I. A. dialect which has survived till the present day in our mod. /poo/ for "*Ficus religiosa*".

VOL

1. Mod. *bol* "to speak, to recite".
2. K. 208, XI c., *IC* VI, p. 290, 1.53.
3. (Sk. *bahubollaka* "great talker", <Pk.)
   Pk. *bollā* "talk". Cf. B. *bol*, Or. *bola*, Hi. *bol*, ...
4. "To declare, to speak".

ABBREVIATIONS

B.	Bengali
Bi.	Bihari
G.	Gujrati
Hi.	Hindi
I. A.	Indo-Aryan
IC	*Inscriptions du Cambodge* (G. Coedès)
Khm.	Khmer
Mid. K.	Middle Khmer
Mod.	Modern
O. K.	Old Khmer
Or.	Oriya
P.a.	Pre-angkorian (i.e. O. K. V-VIII c.)

Pk.	Prākrit
Si.	Singhalese
Sk.	Sanskrit

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SOME VOCABLES OF THE *BHĀGAVATA*

Sheo Shanker Prasad

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* attributed to Vyāsa is not only important from the religious and philosophical but also from the linguistic point of view. Specially its vocables are of much lexical interest. Commenting on the language of the Purāṇas, Prof. T. Burrow says, "Linguistically these compilations are not of great interest, except occasionally in the matter of vocabulary".

Sometimes, we see that some of the words cease to be legal tenders in literature, while others remain in vogue. The latter also undergo change in meaning or form. In other words, old meanings find their substitutes in new ones or earlier forms give place to new comers, but not as a rule.

In the *Bhāgavata* we come across many words which are ordinarily not in vogue in classical literature. In addition to this, even sense of the common words come before us with altogether different senses. Thus, for the sake of example, we may take some words from the *Bhāgavata*.

(1) *AKRAMA* (अक्रम) :—The word 'akrama' (अक्रम) is rarely found in the sense of an offence in Sanskrit literature. The word '*krama*' (क्रम) means, a step,[1] a pace, going, course, order, method, manner of proceeding. Hence the meaning of the word '*akrama*' (अक्रम) is just the reverse of *Krama* (क्रम), i. e. want of order, confusion, irregularity, breach of propriety or decorum.

The word occurs in the following verse of the *Bhāgavata* :—

विज्ञाय शक्रकृतमक्रममादिदेवः
प्राह प्रहस्य गतविस्मय एजमानान् ।[2]
मा भैष्ट भो मदन मारुत देववध्वो
गृह्णीत नो बलिमशून्यमिमं कुरुध्वम् ।।

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1. *Kalpe vidhi-kramau. Amara*, II.7.39; *kramaḥ kramaṇam*, *Rāmā*, p. 264
2. *Bhāgavata*, XI.4.811

("Nārāyaṇa, knowing that Indra had done that offence, loudly laughed and without astonishment or haughtiness said to the trembling visitors, "O Kāmadeva, O wind-God and celestial damsels ! do not be afraid. Accept our hospitality and fill the hermitage by your presence')".

Here it means an offence, a fault (अपराधम्) , whatever is done in order or according to method is taken for granted as legal, proper, pious and religious. But the act which lacks propriety and is against the accepted code of conduct or sinful is considered to be an act of offence.

This is an innovation of Vyāsa, the author of the *Bhāgavata*.

(2) *ANUBANDHA* (अनुबन्ध) :—Another word of lexical interest is *anubandha*. अनुबन्ध.

The word '*anubandha*' has got different shades of meaning like consequence, intention, cause, a letter denoting some peculiarity in the inflection, beginning, course and pursuit.

We come across the word in the following verse of the *Bhāgavata*—

सोऽहं ममाहमिति मूढमतिर्विगाढ–
स्त्वन्मायया विरचितात्मनि सानुबन्धे ।
तत्त्वञ्जसा निगदितं भवता यथाहं
संसाधयामि भगवन्ननुशाधि भृत्यम् ॥

("I am ignorant, O Lord ; for I am attached to this body and children, which are the creation of your Māyā. I am immersed in the notion of 'I' and 'Mine'. Therefore, instruct me, your servant, that I may easily attain to that renunciation which has been taught by you").

Here it gives the sense of 'wife and children'. I think, it has been used here in its derivative meaning '*anu*' is afterwards and '*bandha*' is '*bandhana*' (a bond, a tie). When a man becomes young, then the *bandhana* (a tie) in the form of wife and children[2] comes. So here, the word '*anubandha*' denotes wife and children.

(3) *UCCĀṬANA* (उच्चाटन) :—The word (उच्चाटन) in the sense of upsetting is rare in Skt. literature. The word '*Uccāṭana*' (उच्चाटन) means to scare away, to terrify, to frighten, to root-out, to remove, to destroy. The word occurs in the following verse :—

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2. *mukhyānuyāyini śiśau prakṛtyānuvartane*, *Amara*, III.3.99

तस्य कर्माण्यपाराणि कीर्तितान्यसुरद्विषः ।
पूतनासुपयःपानं शाकटोच्चाटनं शिशोः ॥[3]

("Here are recounted the many exploits of that enemy of the Asuras—which are endless—how he even as a babe drank away the very life of the demoness Pūtanā alongwith the milk of her breasts and upturned the cart").

I think, the word has been used in its etymological sense. Virtually it is उत्-चालन > उच्चालन > उच्चाडन > उच्चाटन. It betrays Prakriticism. The boy Kṛṣṇa did not turtle down the cart, but its front portion was raised and the hinder part came down-wards. Such a description is also met with in the '*Śiśupālavadha*' of Māgha.[4]

(4) *URVARITA* (उर्वरित) :--One of the words of lexical interest is '*urvarita*' which is met within the following verse :—

आहुश्चिरायुषमृषिं मृकण्डतनयं जनाः ।
यः कल्पान्ते उर्वरितो येन ग्रस्तमिदं जगत् ॥[5]

(People speak of Mārkaṇḍeya as a seer blessed with a long life, who remained alive even at the time of *Pralaya* by which this universe was swallowed up").

According to Śrīdhara it means '*avaśiṣṭaḥ*' (अवशिष्ट)—remained alive). Monier Williams also takes notice of it, but he is silent about its derivation.

I think we may derive the word from उद्वृत meaning existed, lasted, firm, fixed etc.

From '*Udvṛta*' we get '*uvvṛta*', then '*uvvarita*' (उव्वरित) by anaptyxis and at length '*uvrita*' (उवरित).

Here it should be noted that in Bhojapurī and Hindī we come across the verbal forms like *Ubaranā* (उबरना), *ubāranā* (उबारना).

The word is much akin to the Sanskrit word '*urvarita*'. So it was again Sanskritised as '*urvarita*' (उर्वरित), or we can say that here we get contamination of the MIA word उव्वरित with that of the Sanskrit word उर्वरित. The form is that of Skt. but the meaning is that of MIA word. It betrays Prākrticism.

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3. *Bhāgavata*, XII.12.28
4. *sphuṭataraṃ upariṣṭād alpamūrter*
   sphurati suramunīnām maṇḍalaṃ vyastametat ।
   śakaṭamiva mahīyaḥ śaiśave śārṅgapāṇe-
   ścapala-caraṇakābja-preraṇottuṅgitāgram ॥ *Śiśu*.XI.3
5. *Bhāgavata*, XII.8.2

(5) *KARTAM* (कर्तम्) :—One such word is *'Kartam'* (कर्तम्). In Vedic literature the word *'Kartam'* means a hole, a cavity and philologically we assume that *'garta'* (गर्त) is an evolute from *'Karta'*, where we get voiced for the unvoiced. Other examples of this type are दुकूल>दुगूल, तटाक, तडाग etc. If a cavity or fissure erupts between two persons, it brings them far apart. Thus, we come to notice great difference between their thinking and actions. As it separates two persons, so later on, it came to denote separation, distinction and in this sense it has been used in the *Bhāgavata*—

देवर्षिभूताप्तनृणां पितॄणां न किंकरो नायमृणी च राजन् ।
सर्वात्मना यः शरणं शरण्यं गतो मुकुन्दं परिहृत्य कर्तम् ।।[6]

("O King, renouncing all obligations, he who whole-heartedly and completely resorts for protection to the protecting Lord is no more a servant of or debtor to the deities, *Ṛṣi*-s or other creatures, relations or other men and deceased ancestors").

(6) *DHĀTU* (धातु) :—It is interesting to note that the word *'dhātu'* धातु has been used in the *Bhāgavata* in the sense of gross-elements.

The word *'dhātu'* means a verbal root. Besides this, it also denotes a constituent or essential part, an ingredient, an element, a primary substance, a humour or affection of the body. Yāska is also aware of it.[7] It is derived from the *dhā*, 'to put', IE. *dhe*, 'to put', Gr. *tithemi*, 'I put'—*dadhāti dhīyate vā* (*dhāñ+tu*).

The word occurs in the following verse of the *Bhāgavata*—

धातूपप्लव आसन्ने व्यक्तं द्रव्यगुणात्मकम् ।
अनादिनिधनं कालो ह्यव्यक्तायापकर्षति ।।[8]

["When the dissolution of the (five gross) elements is imminent, the Time-Spirit, endless and without beginning, actually draws the manifest universe, consisting of gross and subtle matter, towards the unmanifest"].

Here it means 'Primary substance'. As the creation starts with 'gross-elements', so it means *'mahābhūta-s'* (five gross elements).

(7) *PARIŚRAMAṆA* (परिश्रमण) :—In the list of some rare words used in the *Bhāgavata* परिश्रमण may be included. The word *'Pariśramaṇa'* or *'pariśramaḥ'*

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6. *Bhāgavata*, XI.5.4
7. *dhāturdadhāteḥ*, *Nir*, 1.20
8. *Bhāgavata*, XI 3.8

means fatigue, exhaustion, labour,[9] being constantly occupied with. We come across the word in the following verse—

दुरवगमात्मतत्त्व–निगमाय तवात्ततनो–
श्चरितमहामृताब्धि--परिवर्त--परिश्रमणाः ।
न परिलषन्ति केचिदपवर्गमपीश्वर ते
चरणसरोजहंसकुलसङ्गविसृष्टगृहाः ॥[10]

["Some who remain occupied with (caused by revolving on the whirligig of births and deaths) by diving into the ocean of nectar-like stories relating to you, who have assumed personal forms for the purpose of revealing the truth about your own self, which is (so difficult to realise, and who have renounced their homes as a result of their fellowship with devotees revelling like swans in the lotus of your feet, do not aspire even for emancipation, O Lord.] Śrīdhara says that it means devoid of fatigue.[11] But I think here it means constantly occupied with.

The episodes of Lord Kṛṣṇa are considered to be the ocean of nectar, in which a devotee takes a dip and thus remains constantly occupied with it.

Śrīdhara Svāmi says that the word परिश्रमण means devoid of fatigue. Here the prefix '*pari*' is in the sense of परिवर्जन (exclusion). But here a doubt is raised, as '*apa*' and '*pari*' used as कर्मप्रवचनीय are used with noun excluded in ablation.[12] As for example—*apahareḥ saṃsāraḥ*; *parihareḥ saṃsāraḥ* (The *samsāra* is outside or away from Viṣṇu). But here it is not so.

(8) *ŚATADHṚTI* शतधृति :—It is an epithet of Indra and Brahman. We see the word in the following verse :

आदावभूच्छतधृति रजसास्य सर्गे
विष्णुः स्थितौ क्रतुपतिर्द्विजधर्मसेतुः ।
रुद्रोप्याय तमसा पुरुषः स आद्य
इत्युद्भवस्थिति-लयाः सततं प्रजासु ॥[13]

("Endowed with *Rajas*, that most ancient person appeared in the beginning as Brahmā for the creation of the universe, in association with the quality of

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9. *ārye, kṛta-pariśramo'smi catuḥsaṣṭyaṅge jyotiḥśāstre....* *MR*. P.2
10. *Bhāgavata*, X. 87.21
11. *gatasramāḥ ity arthaḥ*, *SRD*, X.87.21
12. *apa-parī varjane, pañcamy apāṅg paribhiḥ*, *AST*, I.4.88, II.3.10
13. *Bhāgavata*, XI.4.5

Sattva, the same Lord appeared as God Viṣṇu for the continuity of the universe and for the maintenance of *Dharma* among the Brāhmaṇas and for giving the fruit of sacrifices; united with *Tamas*. He appeared as Rudra for the annihilation of the universe. Through these proceed the creation, preservation and destruction of the creatures in each *Kalpa*'').

Here the word '*Śatadhṛti*' means Brahmā. Its association with the word *Rajas* brings out the meaning or we may say that the word is used in its etymological sense. '*Śata*' may be an equivalant to '*bahu*' and '*dhṛti*' means fortitude, energy, courage, self-command. As the duty of Brahmā is creation, he requires a lot of self-command. So by transference of meaning, it expresses the sense of Brahmā.

(9) *ŚIPIVIṢṬA* (शिपिविष्ट) :—This is a Vedic word. Yāska says that it is an epithet of Viṣṇu[14]. शिपि is rays and one who is covered with rays (शिपि—>अ—विश्+क्त) is Viṣṇu.[15] In the Vedic literature Viṣṇu is the Sun-God,[16] later on in the Purāṇic literature. He is the most prominent God of the Trinity. The *Amarakośa* uses it in the sense of Maheśvara[17].

We come across the word in the following verse :—

नमस्ते पृश्निगर्भाय वेदगर्भाय वेधसे ।
त्रिनाभाय त्रिपृष्ठाय शिपिविष्टाय विष्णवे ।।
पूजा च महती कुर्याद् वित्तशाठ्य-विवर्जितः ।
चरुं निरूप्य पयसि शिपिविष्टाय विष्णवे ।।[18]

(''One should renounce miserliness for the sake of grand worship. Then making '*caru*' of milk you should offer it unto Viṣṇu').

शिपिविष्ट is generally taken to be a mere synonym of Viṣṇu. But I think it is an adjective of the word Viṣṇu. Thus the meaning will be–''you should offer चरु unto Viṣṇu who is effulgent like the Sun-God''.

(10) *SAVANA* (सवन) :—Another Vedic word used in the *Bhāgavata* is '*Savana*' (सवन). The word '*Savana*' means pressing out of Somajuice[19]

14. *E. O. Y.*, P. 146
15. शिपयोऽत्र रश्मय उच्यन्ते तैराविष्टो भवति । *Nir.* V.8
16. *ṚV*, *VII.* 100.50
17. *Śipiviṣṭas tu khalatau duścarmaṇi maheśvare*, *Amara*, VIII.3.34
18. *Bhāgavata*, VIII.16.5
19. *Sutyābhiṣavaḥ savanaṃ ca sā*, *Amara*, II.7.47 and *savanaṃ tvadhvare snāne soma-nirdalane'pi ca*, *Medini* (quoted for *Amara* P. 264]

(performed at the 3 periods of the day), the pressed out Soma-juice and its libation.

The word '*Savana*' occurs in the following verse :—

नात्मा जजान न मरिष्यति नैधतेऽसौ
न क्षीयते सवनविद् व्यभिचारिणां हि ।
सर्वत्र शश्वदनयाय्युपलब्धिमात्रं
प्राणो यथेन्द्रियबलेन विकल्पितं सत् ॥[20]

("This *ātmā* was never born and will never die. It neither grows nor undergoes decay, because it is the witness of the different states of those objects which come into existence and die away. It is omnipresent and eternally abiding pure consciousness; yet like *Prāṇa*, it appears as many under the influence of the senses").

Here it has been used in the sense of time in general. As the Soma is pressed thrice, in the morning, in the noon and in the evening, so first of all it denoted three periods of a day and later on time in general.

ABBREVIATIONS

Amara	*Amarakośa* of Amarasiṃha
AST	*Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini
E.O.Y.	*Etymologies of Yāska*
MR	*Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta
Nir	*Nirukta* of Yāska
Rāmā	The Commentary *Rāmāśrami* on the *Amarakośa*
ṚV	*Ṛgveda*
Śiśu	*Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha
SRD	Śrīdharī on the *Bhāgavata*

20. *Bhāgavata*, XI. 3.38

THE *SANATSUJĀTĪYA* IN THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA*

V. G. Rahurkar

In the *Mahābhārata* there are four different chapters comprising philosophical discussions. They are independent chapters as follows--

(1) The *Sanatsujātiya* in the *Udyoga Parvan*,

(2) The *Bhagavadgītā* in the *Bhīṣma Parvan*,

(3) The *Mokṣadharma* in the *Śānti Parvan*, and

(4) The *Anugītā* in the *Āśvamedhika Parvan*.

In this paper I want to discuss critically the contents of the *Sanatsujātīya* or *Sanatsujāta Parvan* which occurs in the chapters 42-45 of the *Udyoga Parvan* of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* edited by Doctors Sukthankar, V.S. and Belvalkar, S. K. (Poona, 1933-1958).[1]

Sañjaya saw the Pāṇḍavas and brought their message for the Kauravas. He was going to proclaim it in the Kaurava-Assembly. He saw Dhṛtarāṣṭra first, and rebuked and admonished him. Being dejected, Dhṛtarāṣṭra called for Vidura, who mentally meditated on the sage Sanatsujāta.[2]

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1. All references to the *MBh.* in this paper are to the Critical Edition of the same, of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune-4.

2. Sanatkumara or Sanatsujāta is one of three metaphysical philosophers who have contributed prominently their philosophy through the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (the other two being Śāṇḍilya and Āruṇī). As the preceptor of Nārada he seems to preach spiritual hedonism. Spiritual happiness is the spring of all actions. Action is the course of faith; faith of belief; when a man believes, he thinks; when he thinks he knows; and when he knows, he reaches the truth. In this way, happiness, action, faith, belief, thought, knowledge and truth constitute a moral ladder to realisation. (VII. 17-22).

   Bhūman is that infinite happiness. When anything also is seen that is *alpa* (VII.23-24). The experience *'sohmātmā* (VII.25) helps us to realise *'bhūman'*. *Ātman* is the source of all power, all knowledge, all ecstasy (VII.26).

Sanatsujāta manifested himself before Dhṛtarāṣṭra and advised him spiritually on the nature of death and other topics. It is quite clear that the author of the *Mahābhārata* put some contemporary philosophical problems through the mouth of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and gave authoritative replies through Sanatsujāta.

The consensus of opinion of scholars about the period of this philosophical thought is that it must be pre-Buddhistic and contemporaneous with the *Bhagavadgītā*. Another significant point about this philosophical thought is that it has been commented on by Śrīmat Śaṅkarācārya.

This *Sanatsujātiya*, it can be said, resembles to a great extent, the authoritative *Sanatsujātiya* text based on the old and rare manuscripts in the collection of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.[3] It will now be significant at this stage to analyse and consider critically the philosophical thought in the *Sanatsujātiya*.

HIGH MORALITY

The wise maintain what is called delusion to be death.[4] Heedlessness verily is death and freedom from heedlessness is immortality. Heedlessness develops in men as desire and afterwards as wrath and in the shape of delusion. The being who pursues desires, is destroyed after the desires. But casting away desires, a being gets rid of all taint, whatever. This internal self joined to delusion and fear in consequence of wrath and avarice,—that verily is death.

He who pondering on the self destroys the objects of sense, and who, being possessed of knowledge destroys desires, becomes, as it were, the death itself and swallows it up.

Respect and taciturnity (*mānam ca maunam ca*)[5] verily never dwell

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3. नीलकण्ठ' s text of the सनत्सुजातीय is of an inclusive rather than of exclusive type. He commences his commentary with the remarks : उद्योगपर्वणि सनत्सुजातीये भाष्यकारादिभिर्व्याख्यातान् संप्रतितनपुस्तकेषु च स्थितान् पाठान् श्लोकांश्च गुणोपसंहारन्यायेनैकीकृत्य व्याख्यायते । "The result has been", says the editor of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, "a hopeless medly of disjointed units", p. 192 of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, 5,42 (Introduction).
4. I have followed throughout K. T. Telang's translation from his *Bhagavadgītā* with *Sanatsujātiya* and *Anugītā* (Oxford, 1882).
5. न वै मानं च मौनं च सहितौ चरतः सदा ।
अयं हि लोको मानस्य असौ मौनस्य तद्विदुः ॥
MBh., 5.42.30.

together; for this world is for respect, the next for taciturnity. For worldly wealth dwells in the sphere of respect, and that, too, is an obstacle. The Brahmic wealth is difficult to be obtained by any one devoid of knowledge. Truth, straightforwardness, modesty, restraint of senses, purity, knowledge are the six impediments in the way of respect and delusion.[6] It can, therefore, be concluded with an amount of certainty that the tendency of the philosophy of *Sanatsujātīya* is towards the spirit of renunciation.

A DISAPPROVAL FOR THE SACRIFICIAL RITUAL

Like the Upaniṣads and the *Gītā*, the *Sanatsujātīya* also disapproves of the Vedic ritualism which aims at the pleasures in heaven. It does not lead the ritualist to liberation. One, who merely learns by heart four Vedas and the Purāṇas is a *bahupāṭhin* and not a real Brahmin. One who becomes spiritually taciturn gets the real knowledge of the *brahman*. Whoever studies the Vedas or gives gifts under the influence of greed, falls spiritually from Brahmanism and by spiritual taciturnity and a desireless devotion alone a man knows the indestructible *brahman*. For that the seeker of truth must go to the spiritual teacher. He must stay in his *āśrama*, study the scriptures, with egoless and sacred mind and secure the knowledge of the Brahman.[7] There is no other path for liberation.

THE BRAHMAN IN THE *SANATSUJĀTĪYA*

The Brahman is not to be attained by anybody who is in a hurry.[8] It is not white, red or solar in lustre, black, grey or tawny. It does not dwell on earth, nor in the sky, nor does it bear a body in this ocean. It is not in the stars, deities, nor in *Ṛk*-texts and texts of other Vedas. It is not seen in

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6. द्वाराणि तस्या (ब्राह्मीश्रियः) हि वदन्ति सन्तो
   बहुप्रकाराणि दुरावराणि ।
   सत्यार्जवे ह्रीर्दमशौचविद्याः
   षण्मानमोहप्रतिपादनानि ॥
   MBh., 5.42.32

7. ब्रह्मैव विद्वांस्तेन अभ्येति सर्वं
   नान्यः पन्था अयनाय विद्यते ॥
   Ibid., 5.44.17

8. नैतद् ब्रह्म त्वरमाणेन लभ्यम् ।
   Ibid., 5,44.2

the self of a man of high vows.[9] It is invincible beyond all darkness.[10] Its form is more minute than the minutest *kṣuradhārā*[11] and other things. That is the support (*pratiṣṭhā*) of the universe. It is immortal. That is the Brahman, that is glory. From that all entities are produced, in that they are dissolved. It is perceived by means of knowledge. Those who understand this become immortal.

Śaṃkara prefaces his commetary on the last two chapters of the *Sanatsujātiya* as follows, "The course of study of the science of Brahman, in which knowledge is the principal thing and concentration of mind etc. are subsidiary, has been described. Now is described the course of study in which the concentration of mind is principal and knowledge subsidiary. The first mode consists in understanding the meaning of the word 'you' by means of concentration of mind and then identifying it with the Brahman by means of a study of the Upaniṣads; the second, in first intellectually understanding the individual self and Brahman, by such study of the Upaniṣads, and then realising the identity to consciousness by contemplation etc. In both modes the fruit is the same and means are the same".

A human being gets his material body from his parents but for his eternal search of truth he has to take a new embodiment, as it were, as advised by his spiritual teacher and perform in perfect celibacy. Indeed he reached the highest goal by destroying his ignorance and is freed from the jaws of death.

Sanatsujāta says, "who can visualise the Brahman?" It is the Yogins who can visualise it (*yoginastam prapaśyanti bhagavantam sanātanam*). The eternal living being has no parallel; no one sees him with the eye. Those who apprehend him by means of understanding and also the mind and the heart, become immortal. Those who are devoid of wings (of knowledge),

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9. महाव्रते नैव दृश्येद् ध्रुवं तत्

Ibid., 5.44.21

10-11 अपारणीयं तमसः परस्तात्
तदन्तकोऽप्येति विनाशकाले ।
अणीयरूपं क्षुरधारया तन्
महच्च रूपं त्वपि पर्वतेभ्यः ॥

Ibid., 5.44.22

coming to the *Aśvattha* of golden leaves, become possessed of wings and fly away happily.[12]

When one sees his self in all beings stationed in various places, what should one grieve for after that ? The wise know the father of all beings to be placed in the lotus-like heart of every one.[13]

A critical review of the contents of the *Sanatsujātiya* will not be out of place here. It must, at the outset, be admitted that there is looseness and want of a rigid philosophical system in this section. Stray thoughts appear to have been mingled together and the connecting link is difficult to be traced.

The attitude towards the Vedas as reflected here is note-worthy. Dhṛtarāṣṭra refers to the Vedas as "*Ākhyānapañcama*"[14] which means that the mention of the *Atharvaveda* which is implied here and expressly contained in another passage proves that the *Sanatsujātiya* dates some centuries before the Christian era.

The Sāman hymns are here referred to as "*amala*" or pure.[15] This Veda is referred to as the best of the Vedas in the *Bhagavadgītā* (ch.X). This shows that the Vedas are as much respected by the *Sanatsujātiya* as they are by the *Bhagavadgītā*. The word "*anṛcas*[16], however, cannot refer to those who entirely reject the Vedic revelation. One can, however, say that the *Sanatsujātiya* agrees with the *Bhagavadgītā* in its protest against those extremists who could see nothing beyond the rites and ceremonies taught in the Vedas.

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12. हिरण्यपर्णमश्वत्थमभिपत्य अपक्षकाः ।
ते तत्र पक्षिणो भूत्वा प्रपतन्ति यथादिशम् ।
योगिनस्तं प्रपश्यन्ति भगवन्तं सनातनम् ॥
Ibid., 5.45.9

13. एवं यः सर्वभूतेषु आत्मानमनुपश्यति ।
अन्यात्रन्यत्र मुक्तेषु किं स शोचेत्ततः परम् ॥
Ibid., 5.45.22

14. आख्यानपञ्चमैर्वेदैर्भूयिष्ठं कथ्यते जनः ।
तथैवान्ये चतुर्वेदास्त्रिवेदाश्च तथापरे ॥
Ibid., 5.43.23

15. नैवर्क्षु तन्न यजुःषु नाप्यथर्वसु
न चैष दृश्येत्यमलेषु सामसु ।
Ibid., 5 44·21

16. द्विवेदाश्चैकवेदाश्च अनृचश्च तथापरे ।
तेषां तु कतमः स स्याद्यमहं वेद ब्राह्मणम् ॥
Ibid., 5.43,24

It is equally maintained that the performance of the ceremonies laid down in the Vedas is not the true means of final emancipation.[17] We, therefore, entirely agree with Dr. K. T. Telang[18] when he says that the views expressed by the *Sanatsujātīya* conclusively establish an identity of doctrine as between the Upaniṣads and the *Bhagavadgītā* on the one hand and the *Sanatsujātīya* on the other.

The thought-content of the *Sanatsujātīya* differs also in some respects with that of the *Bhagavadgītā*. The former contains more certain indications of a *'jñānakāṇḍa'* as distinguished from a *'karmakāṇḍa'* in the Vedas, than those contained in the *Bhagavadgītā*.[19]

The *Sanatsujātīya* gives us the definition of a Brāhmaṇa as follows—"It is not merely by recitation that a *Brāhmaṇa* is so called. One who des not deviate from the path of truth is a real Brāhmaṇa".[20] At another place in this *adhyāya* it is said, "self-restraint, sacrifice and freedom from heedlessness based on truth constitute a Brāhmaṇa".[21] This suggests that the true Brāhmaṇa was he who was attached to the Brahman and that he had not then degenerated into the mere receiver of fees and presents.

Wherever the *Bhagavadgītā* refers to the Vedas in the somewhat disparaging manner, no distinction is made between the portion which relates to the ritual and that which relates to the science of the soul.[22] But a passage from

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17. यो वेद वेदान्न स वेद वेद्यं
    सत्ये स्थितो यस्तु स वेद वेद्यम् ॥
    Ibid., 5.43-31
18. The *Bhagavadgītā* with *Sanatsujātīya* and *Anugītā* ed. by K. T. Telanga, II Edition, 1898, Sacred Books of the East Vol. VIII, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, p. 146.
19. *Bg.* VI.44, II.42 (*Puṣpitāvāk*), II.45 (*Traiguṇyaviṣayā vedāḥ*), IX.28 (Fruit of coming and going), शुभाशुभफलैरेवं मोक्ष्यसे कर्मबन्धनैः । VII.21-23, श्रद्धा, IX 23-24, येऽप्यन्यदेवता भक्ता यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः । तेऽपि मामेव कौन्तेय यजन्त्यविधिपूर्वकम् ॥ अहं हि सर्वमज्ञानां भक्ता च प्रभुरेव च । VIII.14-16, आब्रह्मभुवनाल्लोका पुनरावर्तिनोऽर्जुन
20. Sanatkumāra speaks of it to Narada in the *Chāndogya Up*. 7.1.1.26.
21. दमस्त्यागोऽप्रमादश्च एतेष्वमृतमाहितम् ।
    तानि सत्यमुखान्याहुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ॥
    MBh. 5.43 14
22. *MBh.* V.43.14. K. T. Telang points out that the verse is not commented on by Śaṃkara.

the *Sanatsujātīya*[23] which speaks of *Chandas* as referring 'of themselves'[24] to the Brahman and a passage which refers to the understanding of the Brahman by means of the Vedas, according to the principle of *Śākhācandranyāya*'[25], seem rather to point to a portion of the Vedas which was regarded as giving instruction in true knowledge.

The *Sanatsujātiya* further points out that the search for Brahman should not be made in any direction outside. It should be made in the inner heart where one will find it.[26] By taciturnity does one become a sage and not merely by dwelling in a forest. He is called the highest sage, who understands that indestructible principle.[27] The man who sees the worlds directly sees everything.[28] Adhering to knowledge and the rest in this way, one sees the Brahman by means of a course of study in the Vedas[29] (Śaṃkara interprets it as 'upaniṣads).

23,25 धामांशभागस्य तथा हि वेदा
यथा हि शाखा च महीरुहस्य ।
संवेदने चैव यथामनन्ति
तस्मिन्हि सत्ये परमात्मनोऽर्थे ॥
Starred passage No. 271 on *MBh.* 5.43.29

24. यो वेद वेदान्न स वेद वेद्यं
सत्ये स्थितो यस्तु स एव वेद्यम् ॥
MBh. V.43.31 Starred passage No. 275

अविचिन्त्वन् इमं वेदे ततः पश्यति तं प्रभुम् ।

25. As the moon, though distant, from the bough of the tree, is spoken of as 'the moon on the bough', because she appears to be near it, so this maxim is used when the position of an object, though at a very great distance, is fixed by some other object to which it appears to be contiguous. The maxim is akin to *Arundhatīpradarśananyāya*.

26. तस्य पर्येषणं गच्छेत् प्राचीनं नोत दक्षिणम् ।
नार्वाचीनं कुतस्तिर्यङ् नादिशं तु कथंचन ॥
तूष्णींभूत उपासीत न चेष्टेन्मनसा अपि ।
अभ्यावर्तेत ब्रह्मास्य अन्तरात्मनि वै श्रितम् ॥
MBh., 5.43.33-34

27. मौनाद्धि स मुनिर्भवति नारण्यवसनान्मुनिः ।
अक्षरं तत्तु यो वेद स मुनिः श्रेष्ठ उच्यते ।
Ibid., 5.43.35

28. प्रत्यक्षदर्शी लोकानां सर्वदर्शी भवेन्नरः ।
Ibid., 5.43.36

29. सत्ये ब्राह्मणस्तिष्ठन् ब्रह्म पश्यति क्षत्रिय ।
वेदानां चानुपूर्व्येण एतद्विद्वन् ब्रवीमि ते ॥
Ibid., 5.43. 37

Respect and taciturnity, verily, never dwell together, for this world is the field for respect; the next for taciturnity[30]. The Brāmanic wealth is difficult to be obtained by any one devoid of knowledge.[31]

Those twice-born persons, who are not rich in respect of human wealth, but who are rich in Vedic lore, are invincible and unshakable. They should be understood to be forms of the Brahman.[32]

One should understand a Brāhmaṇa who merely reads and recites much, to be a man of many words. Know him only to be the true Brāhmaṇa who swerves not from the truth.[33]

This Brahman is not to be attained by anybody, who is in a hurry[34]. Those who subjugate desires here in this world, practising forbearance in pursuit of the Brahmic state, they remove even here the self out of the body like the soft fibre from the *Muñja* grass.[35]

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30. न वै मानं च मौनं च सहितौ चरतः सदा ।
अयं हि लोको मानस्य असौ मौनस्य तद्विदुः ।।
Ibid., 5.42.30

31. श्रीः सुखस्येह संवासः सा चापि परिपन्थिनी ।
ब्राह्मी सुदुर्लभा श्रीर्हि प्रज्ञाहीनेन क्षत्रिय ।।
Ibid., 5.42.31

32. अनाढ्या मानुषे वित्ते आढ्या वेदेषु ये द्विजाः ।
ते दुर्धर्षा दुष्प्रकम्प्या विद्यात्तान् ब्रह्मणस्तनुम् ।।
Ibid., 5.42.26

33. तस्मात्क्षत्रिय मा मंस्था जल्पितेनैव ब्राह्मणम् ।
य एव सत्यान्नापैति स ज्ञेयो ब्राह्मणस्त्वया ।।
Ibid., 5.43.29

34. नैतद् ब्रह्म त्वरमाणेन लभ्यं
यन्मां पृच्छस्यभिहृष्यस्यतीव ।
अव्यक्तविद्यामभिधास्ये पुराणीं
बुद्ध्या च तेषां ब्रह्मचर्येण सिद्धाम् ।
Ibid., 5.42.2

35. येऽस्मिन् लोके विजयन्तीह कामान्
ब्राह्मीं स्थितिमनुतितिक्षमाणाः ।
त आत्मानं निर्हरन्तीह देहान्
मुञ्जादिषीकामिव सत्त्वसंस्थाः ।।
Ibid., 5.44.4

The four rules of discipleship (*Brahmacāritva*) are laid down here in a very striking manner.[36]

The fortyfifth chapter of the *Udyogaparvan* is the last chapter of the *Sanatsujātiya* and the thought-content resembles in many respects the Upaniṣadic teaching. The phraseology is almost the same. The line *'yoginastaṃ prapaśyanti bhagavantaṃ sanātanaṃ*[37] is repeated in the whole *Adhyāya*. The whole chapter reverberates with Upaniṣadic and *Gītā* thoughts.

Thus a critical analysis of the contents and the general tenor of the philosophical thought lead us to the conclusion that it is pre-Buddhistic. The thought-content in V.43.35-37 that sacrifices and penances are laid down as a preliminary step towards the acquisition of true knowledge, and by their performance one is purified of one's sins and then acquires the knowledge of the supreme self as described in the Vedas (i.e. certainly the Upaniṣads), is the pivot of the whole Vedāntic theory settled later on. This proves that the *Sanatsujātiya* is an embodiment of the same religious movement which is represented by the *Bhagavadgītā* and the Upaniṣads. The language, the style, the peculiar words used, the archaic and irregular expressions, that provisionally one can fix the second century B.C. as *terminus ad quem* for the date of the *Sanatsujātiya*.

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36. गुरुं शिष्यो नित्यमभिमन्यमानः
स्वाध्यायमिच्छेच्छुचिरप्रमत्तः ।
मानं न कुर्यान्न दधीत रोष—
मेष प्रथमो ब्रह्मचर्यस्य पादः ॥
आचार्यस्य प्रियं कुर्यात् प्राणैरपि धनैरपि ।
कर्मणा मनसा वाचा **द्वितीयः पाद उच्यते** ॥
समा गुरौ यथा वृत्तिर्गुरुपत्न्यां तथा भवेत् ।
यथोक्तकारी प्रियकृत् **तृतीयः पाद उच्यते** ॥
नाचार्यायिहोपकृत्वा प्रवादं
प्राज्ञः कुर्वीत नैतदहं करोमि ।
इतीव मन्येत न भाषयेत
स वै चतुर्थो ब्रह्मचर्यस्य पादः ॥

Ibid., 5.44.8-11

37. *Ibid*, V.45.1–21

It may also be noted, in passing, that the character of Dhṛtarāṣṭra as disclosed from the *Sanatsujātīya* is not at all similar to that which has attached itself to his name. In this dialogue, he figures as an earnest inquirer of the truth and not as the avaricious old man who wished to deprive his innocent nephews of their just rights in the interests of his own wicked and misguided sons.

COLOUR AND LUMINOSITY IN THE

ABHIJÑĀNAŚĀKUNTALA

Ranajit Sarkar

Vision, *darśana*, as Bhaṭṭatauta remarked, is the basic faculty in a poet. This *darśana* is, of course, not limited to the physical perception but covers the vast areas of psychological perceptions as well. But the function of the poet is to make visible through concrete description, *varṇana*, the reality perceived, be it physical or psychological.

Sanskrit *kāvya* has used the process of visual concretization like most other world-literatures, but a poet like Kālidāsa has the power of making us s e e to the utmost degree. The scenes he describes appear vividly before our mind's eye and impress us with a strong immediacy of perception. Yet it would seem that he himself attached greater, or perhaps absolute, value to the auditive element in poetry. In the prologue of his play, *Śakuntalā*[1], he makes the Stage-Manager say that there is no higher duty for the troupe than to please the ears of the assembly,

kim anyad asyāḥ pariṣadaḥ śruti-prasādanataḥ.[2]

The drama is not meant only to be heard, *śravya*, but also to be seen, *dṛśya*. The poet being concerned with the linguistic features of the play lays stress only on the sound-element of language. The dramatic word is primarily a word heard, *śabda*, and it is through the hearing that the meaning, *artha*, becomes evident to listeners. The visual content of the word resides in its

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1. Here *Śakuntalā* will be used for *Abhijñānaśākuntala*. References are to V. P. Joshi's edition (*The Complete Works of Kālidāsa*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1976). Verse quotations are indicated by the number of the Act and the number of the verse, prose quotations by the number of the Act and the two verse-numbers between which the prose occurs.

2. *Abhijñāna Ś.*, I, 2-3.

sense-content. From this point of view, a poet is justified to assert that poetry is for the pleasure of the ears, *śruti-prasādana*. However, on the sense-level visualization, not just understanding, is the strongest feature of poetry. And Kālidāsa possesses to the highest degree the power presenting to our sight, with the help of images, metaphors and other descriptive devices, his vision of the world and men.

An image presented to the eye has two structural elements which are made perceptible through light; one, the form, unchanging or changing, that is to say, the place that an object occupies in space; two, the effect of light, that is to say, luminosity or colour which is produced by the falling of light and shade and the elements of the spectrum in various combinations on a given object. In this article I propose to enquire about colours and light-effects in *Śakuntalā*.

General visual impressions of form are very strong in Kālidāsian poetry. To take well-known example the description of the fleeing antelope :

> *grīvā-bhaṅgābhirāmaṃ muhur anupatati syandane datta-dṛṣṭiḥ*
> *paścārdhena praviṣṭaḥ śara-patana-bhayād bhūyasā pūrva-kāyam/*
> *darbhair ardhāvalīḍhaiḥ śrama-vivṛta-mukha-bhraṃśibhiḥ kīrṇa-vartmā*
> *paśyodagra-plutatvād viyati bahutaraṃ stokam urvyāṃ prayāti//*[3]

> Look, with its strong leaps (the deer) moves mostly in the air, hardly on the earth: neck gracefully bent; its eyes are fixed constantly on the pursuing chariot; for fear of the falling arrows it has largely withdrawn its rump towards the forepart of its body; and it has strewn its path with the half-chewed grass dropping from its mouth which has fallen open due to fatigue.

This is indeed a very concrete description; we can see the whole scene with the fleeting forms; everything here is made visible and precisely perceptible, but we get no impression of colour, no play of light. To try to imagine colours in this scene would be to extrapolate. Here, there is nothing to suggest that the poet intended us to visualize colour.

Kālidāsa is rather fond of the evocation of the painted picture. In the sixth act there is a beautiful description of Śākuntāla's portrait painted by the lovelorn king himself[4]. Apart from this Kālidāsa mentions four other times

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3. *Ibid.*, I.7.
4. *Ibid.*, VI.14.

the painted image, in two[5] of which he suggests the unmoving stillness of the picture. In these cases the poet draws our attention only to the still form not to the colour. In the other two cases there is a general suggestion of the beauty of colour and luminosity.

Thinking of Śakuntalā's beauty, the king says that the Maker, before making her, must have painted her picture and then assembling all beauties together, *rūpoccayena*[6], he has made her. The word *rūpa* here suggests the beauty of both form and colour.[7] But it is only a vague impression. The same impression is suggested when Anasūyā dressing up Śakuntalā who is to go to the palace, says that as she knows nothing about adornment she does it as she has seen in pictures.[8]

These examples show that Kālidāsa was keenly aware of the art of painting in which colour is the most important element. But how does he use this visual perception in the poetic descriptions?

In a description colour—impressions can either be communicated directly or suggested indirectly. There is a large number of words used to designate colours in Sanskrit. Some are direct designations, others indirect, metaphorically obtained. The direct designation is rather ambiguous, but metaphorically one can evoke all kinds of hues and shades. Words like *nīla*, *kṛṣṇa*, *śyāma*, although in some cases have the specific sense of blue, black and green, yet it is often difficult to see exactly what shade of "dark" they represent. Many direct designations in Sanskrit, especially those which are habitually seen as "white" and "black" give the impression of a certain luminosity rather than the specificity of colours.[9] This lack of precision can be a factor of evocativeness in poetry. However, on the whole the metaphorical indirect designation is the only means of showing precise shades of colour in literary works.

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5. *rāga-baddha-citta-vṛttir ālikhita iva sarvato raṅgaḥ* (I.4-5).
   vāma-hatthovahida-vaaṇā ālihidā via pia-sahī (IV.1-2).
6. *Abhijñāna Ś.*, II.9.
7. See Daniel H. H. Ingalls, "Words for Beauty in Classical Sanskrit Poetry", in, *Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown*, New Haven 1962, p. 90.
8. *aṇuvajutta-bhūsaṇo aaṃ jaṇo citta-kamma pariaeṇa aṃgesu de āharaṇaviṇioaṃ karemha.* *Abhijñāna Ś.*, IV.5-6.
9. For a discussion about the classification and designation of colours see, Jean Filliozat, "Classement des couleurs et des lumières en Sanskrit", repr. in *Laghu-prabandhāḥ*, pp. 185-190.

Kālidāsa uses generally the indirect means to evoke colour–impressions and degrees of luminosity. We shall now turn our attention to some specific examples of this evocation.

The colour-designations which Kālidāsa uses in his work are *lohita, aruṇa, śyāma, pāṇḍu, pāṇḍura, tāmra, ātāmra, kapiśa, harita, paridhūsara* and *pāṭala*.[10] Most of these designations are vague. *Lohita, aruṇa, tāmra, ātāmra, kapiśa* and *pāṭala* represent different shades of red; *pāṇḍu, pāṇḍura* represent a pale colour which can denote white or pale-yellow; *śyāma* is a sombre hue in general but can mean specifically black, green or blue; *paridhūsara* is grey or dust-hued, and *harita*, which is green, can also designate yellow. Because of this ambiguity the use of these words have to be considered in their contexts in order to see what specific impressions they are meant to convey.

Lohita is used in two places to denote 'red'. The king sees Śakuntalā tired after watering the plants in the hermitage; he notices that the palms of her hands are extremely red due to her lifting heavy water-filled jars :

. . . *ati-mātra-lohita-talau bāhū ghaṭotkṣepanād*. . .[11]

And in another place the king speaks of Śakuntalā's eyes red with anger . . . *ati-lohitākṣyā* . . .[12].

In both these cases the dark red colour is easily perceived: it is the colour of blood which reddens the skin and the eyes due to physical exertion or emotional strain.

The redness designated by *aruṇa* which is the ruddiness of the twilight is also quite precise.[13] The hooves of the king's horses raise clouds of dust which become red in the evening twilight: the dust *reṇuḥ*, is *pariṇatāruṇa-prakāśaḥ*[14], "shining like the red twilight glow". Again is *aruṇa* used to

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10. We find also the words *kṛṣṇa-mṛga*, "black antelope" (VI.7), *ratta-kuvalaa*, "red lotus" (VI.18-19), *hari-candana*, "yellow sandalwood" (VII.2). In these words the colours are ment to evoke only secondarily colour—impressions, their primary function is to determine the species of the antelope, the lotus and the sandalwood. Likewise the word *Nīlalohita* "Blue-red" (VII.35) is a synonym of Śiva based on colour-impression (half-blue half-red, or throat blue hair red).
11. *Abhijñāna Ś.*, I.29.
12. *Ibid.*, V.23.
13. In some cases this orginal sense is somewhat tampered with and then there creep up ambiguities (see Filliozat, *op. cit.* pp. 306-7), but Kālidāsa's use is here straight-forward.
14. *AbhijñānaŚ.*, I.31.

denote the colour of Śakuntalā's nails. Here too the colour is quite precise because of its association with the nail: it is not any nail-polish but the natural ruddiness of the nails which evokes the impression of beauty. The fingers are said to be lovely with the ruddy nails, *aruṇa-nakha-manohara*.[15]

Tāmra is a copper-red colour, and *ātāmrā* is the same colour in a subdued shade. Śakuntalā's feet are said to be *padma-tāmra*, "red like the lotus". In all the cases in which redness is associated with Śakuntalā, there is a suggestion of beauty and loveliness superimposed on the simple visual impression. And the word *padma*, "lotus", in the last example conveys also the same suggestion.

Ātāmrā, "reddish", is used along with two other colours, *harita*, "green", and *pāṇḍura*, "pale-white", to paint the young mango-blossoms : *ā aṃba-haria paṃḍura . . . cūaa-koraa*.[16]

For depicting the natural pale red hue of Śakuntalā's unpainted lips the word *pāṭala* is used : *asaṃskāra-pāṭaloṣṭha*.[17] Here again the redness evokes more than the colour. The poet means to say that other women paint their lips to make them beautiful but Śakuntalā's are beautiful without any make-up.

Another word for red found in this play and used descriptively is *kapiśa* which means, etymologically, 'ape-coloured'. There is here an implicit metaphor, but in most cases it only means a shade of red, ruddy or brown. The shadows of the flesh-eating demons are said to be *kapiśa* like the evening-clouds, *saṃdhyā-payoda-kapiśa*.[18] The shade is here quite precisely evoked with the help of the simile. There is a sombre brown tint mixed with the ruddy glow of the evening. In another place *kapiśa* is said to be the colour of the pollens of the heavenly golden lotus, *kāñcana-padma-reṇu-kapiśa*.[19] In this case there is more of the yellow than the red.

Like these words there are some other semispecific colour-designations found in this play; for example, *harita*, "yellow" or "green", in the expression *kamalinī-harita*, "green with the lotusgroves". The ambiguity of the shade is resolved by the association with *kamalini*, "the lotusgrove". Another direct mention is that of the colour *dhūsara*, "grey, dustcoloured".

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15. *Ibid.*, VI.11.
16. *Ibid.*, VI.2.
17. *Ibid.*, VII.23.
18. *Ibid.*, III.25
19. *Ibid.*, VII.12.

Dhūsara is the colour of grief and asceticism. Śakuntalā, repudiated by her husband, lives in the hermitage wearing two pieces of grey clothes, *vasane paridhūsare.*[20] The prefix *pari-* intensifies the impression.

The words which designate white and black are less specific; they, as we have earlier noted, represent luminosity rather than specific colours. *Śyāma* is dark; it can be dark blue, dark green or black. When Kālidāsa describes the vast earth surrounded by the oceans he writes *udadhi-śyāma*, "sea-dark". And he speaks also of the day darkened by clouds, *abhra-śyāma.*[21] The two tints are not the same, but the metaphorical modifications make them specific and easily perceptible. Likewise *pāṇḍu* and *pāṇḍura*, "pale, pallid, yellowish", as in *pāṇḍusikate dvāre*[22] "at the entrance with pale sand" and *kṣaumam . . . indu-pāṇḍu*[23], "moon-white silk garments". The word *pāṇḍura* is associated to the complexion of love-lorn Śakuntalā, *chaviḥ pāṇḍuraḥ.*[24]

These words, *śyāma, pāṇḍu, pāṇḍura,* give a general impression of dark or of a certain paleness, although in the given context we may associate a more specific colour with them.

We now come to more purely metaphorical devices in which words for colour-designations are not used at all. Only metaphors suggest the colours.

Śakuntalā's lower lip bears the hue of the young leaves, *adharaḥ kisalayarāgaḥ*[25]; the palms of the hands of the sylvan deities rival the sproutings of young leaves, *.. vana-devatā-kara-talair... tat-kisalayod-bheda-pratidvandvibhiḥ.*[26] No colour is directly mentioned but the image of the new sprouts, the young leaves, suggests the colour. We expect some shade of red. Perhaps Kālidāsa is visualizing in these cases the young mango-leaves which have a red hue. Another example is the comparison of the lotus-leaf, on which Śakuntalā writes the loveletter, with the breast of the parrot .. *suodara-suumāre ṇaliṇi-patte.*[27] The lotus-leaf is delicate like the parrot's breast. The image evokes not only the softness but also the glossy green of the parrot's feathers.

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20. *Ibid.*, VII.21.
21. *Ibid.*, III.10.
22. *Ibid.*, III.6.
23. *Ibid.*, IV.5.
24. *Idid.*, III.8.
25. *Ibid.*, I.21.
26. *Ibid.*, IV.5.
27. *Ibid.*, III.13-14.

It is a commonplace of Sanskrit poetry to compare the lower lip with the red *bimba* fruits. Kālidāsa highlights this trite image by qualifying the *bimba*-like lips as "desirable like the unwearied young leaves on a tree", *a-kliṣṭa-bāla-taru-pallava-lobhanīyam.*[28] Here, it seems to me, the analogy of the young leaves brings vividly to our inward eyes the colour of the lips which was lost in the hackneyed compound *bimbādhara*.

The hand is compared with the petals of a red lotus, *ratta-kuvalaa-pallava-sohiṇā agga-hatthena* ..[29]; the garland of the heavenly *mandāra*-flowers is smeared with yellow sandal, *hari-candanāṅka.*[30] These associations with *rakta-kuvalaya*, "red lotus", *hari-candana*, "yellow sandal", make us see the colours quite definitely.

In the previous examples we have spoken of more or less specific colours. But there are passages where only a general impression of colours is evoked. This is mainly done by words like *rāga* or *varṇa* which mean "colour". Indra's charioteer Mātali tells the king :

> *vicchitti-śeṣaiḥ sura-sundarīṇāṃ*
> *varṇair amī kalpa-latāṃśukeṣu/*
> *vicintya gītakṣamamarthabandham*
> *divaukasas tvac-caritam likhanti//*[31]
>
> These sky-dwellers are writing down your exploits on the cloth provided by the *kalpa*-creeper[32], with the paints that remained after the heavenly nymphs finished their make-up ..

There is no specific colour here, but we get an impression of general colourfulness. In the same way the earthen peacock of Śakuntalā's son is said to be painted : *vaṇṇa-cittido mittiā-moraso*[33], "the painted earthen toy-peacock". No colours are mentioned but if one knows the peacock one can imagine them on this toy. When the dawn is said to be *iddharāga*[34], "with blazing hues", we can imagine the colour if we know the tropical dawn.

What we have seen so far are instances in which the poet has tried to convey the sense of colour, but in Sanskrit poetry, it seems that the poets were more sensitive to the luminosity than to specific colours. There is often

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28. *Ibid.*, VI.20.
29. *Ibid.*, VI.18-19.
30. *Ibid.*, VII.2.
31. *Ibid.*, VII.5.
32. *Kalpalatā*, a heavenly creeper which is said to grant all desires.
33. *AbhijñānaŚ.*, VII.16-17.
34. *Ibid*, VII.16.

a contrast between the dark and the bright. All that was beautiful, whether physical or psychological, was given a certain brightness, and all that was ugly was associated with the dark. But this darkness is not the shining dark colours, green or blue of, say, precious stones like sapphire, emerald, lapis lazuli-; it is shadowy, it is dirty. It is usually the opposite of the beautiful, for beauty is seen as a brightness emanating from the object of beauty. But by contrast this dirty darkness can sometimes help to enhance the beauty of the beautiful.

These smudges and blurs which give the impression of black are expressed by such words as *malina*, "dirty, tarnished"; *mala*, "dirt, filth", *āvila* "turbid", *vivarṇa*, "discoloured". Often the images reflect a certain psychological condition. The gold bracelet of which the gems have lost their hue, *vivarṇa-maṇikṛtam . kanaka-valayam*[35], reflects the state of the king's mind pining with love. Later, in the scene of recognition and reconciliation, Śakuntalā does not at first recognize her husband because remorse has discoloured his complexion, *paścāttāpa-vivarṇa*.[36] We can grasp the contrast when we place beside it the expression *dīptamat vapu*[37], "shining body", of the king.

The contrast is also seen in the following example :

Śakuntalā comes to Duṣyanta's court and says that she is his married wife, but Duṣyanta does not recognize her because of Durvāsas' curse. For Duṣyanta, to take a pregnant woman would be a transgression of his dharmic royal status. He, therefore, admonishes her :

> *vyapadeśam āvilayituṃ kim īhase janam imaṃ ca pātayitum/*
> *kūlaṃ-kaṣeva sindhuḥ prasannaṃ ambhas taṭa-taruṃ ca//*[38]
>
> Why do you wish to blacken (your) family, and bring about my downfall as does the bank-eroding river its water and the trees on its bank ?

Again, shewing Śakuntalā's portrait he has painted, the king tells the Vidūṣaka :

> *svinnāṅguli-viniveśo rekhā-prānteṣu dṛśyate malinaḥ/*[39]

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35. *Ibid.*, III.11.
36. *Ibid.*, VII.21-22.
37. *Ibid.*, II.13-14.
38. *Ibid.*, V.21.
39. *Ibid.*, VI.15.

Beside the lines you can see the soiled marks of my perspiring fingers.

We can imagine the contrast of the bright paint and the dirty impression of his fingers: this evokes the despondency of the king's heart.

Finally when Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta are united, the sage Mārīca tells Śakuntalā that the king's mind was obstructed by the darkness of delusion, but now that his mind is clear she will have sway there, for

chāyā na mūrchati malophata-prasāde
śuddhe tu darpaṇa-tale sulabbāvakāśā/[40]

The reflection does not appear in a mirror of which the clearness is spoilt by dirt, but when the mirror-surface is clear it appears easily.

In theses examples the contrast of the bright and the dark concretize some contrasting abstract ideas.

The *malina*, "sullied", can give relief to the bright by contrast too :

The dark is no proper garment for the nymph-born Śakuntalā, yet it becomes an ornament, instead of a blemish, on her person like "the lotus which even affected by the *śaivāla*-weed is lovely, and the moon's spot even though it is black enhances the moon's beauty".

sarasijam anuviddhaṃ śaivālenāpi ramyaṃ
malinam api himāṃśor lakṣma lakṣmīṃ tanoti/[41]

In one case, *malina* is positively desirable; that is when the parents taking their sons who have been playing in the dust get sullied with the dust of their limbs.[42]

In those contrasts we notice that brightness is usually revalued (except in the last example). We find also many examples of pure luminosity both of objects and of human beauty.

Seeing the mountain Hemakūṭa, "Golden Peak", Duṣyanta tells Mālati,

.. *kanaka-rasa-niṣyandi sāndhya iva megha-parighaḥ sānumān*[43]

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40. *Ibid.*, VI.32.
41. *Ibid.*, I.20.
42. *Ibid.*, VII.17.

> ...the mountain, flowing with liquid gold, like a cloudy ridge at sunset.

Here we get an image of the Hemakūṭa and the sunset in the tropics that gives us a dazzling impression of brightness in which the colour of gold predominates.

In the picture of the chariot in the sky above the clouds we are shown the horses lapped in bright lightning flashes:

> *haribhir acira-bhāsāṃ tejasā cānuliptaiḥ*[44]

> The impression here is of white brightness.

The fiery brightness is not only applied to sensual brightness but also to abstract virtue. Duṣyanta, seeing his son, remarks :

> *mahatas tejaso bījam bālo'yaṃ pratibhāti me/*
> *sphuliṅgāvasthayā vahnir edhāpekṣa iva sthitaḥ//*[45]

> This boy, it seems to me, is a seed of great power; he is still like the fire in the spark waiting for fuel.

A visual impression is also imparted by the word *prasnigdha*, "very oily, very smooth", although originally the word does not belong to the vocabulary of visualization.

> *prasnigdhāḥ kvacid iṅgudi-phala-bhidaḥ sūcyanta evopalāḥ*[46]

> .. in some places are seen stones which have become oily and polished by crushing the *iṅgudi*-fruits.

The brightness is most prominent in the description of Śakuntalā's beauty, beauty which is a radiation of light. Says the king,

> *mānuṣiṣu katham vā syād asya rūpasya saṃbhavaḥ/*
> *na prabhā-taralaṃ jyotir udeti vasudhātalāt//*[47]

> How can such beauty be possible among earthly women!
>
> A luminary tremulous with light rises not from the earth.

And again he says addressing his own heart,

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43. *Ibid.*, VII.8-9.
44. *Ibid.*, VII.7.
45. *Ibid.*, VII.15.
46. *Ibid.*, I.14.
47. *Ibid.*, I.25.

āśaṅkase yad agnim tad idaṃ śparśa-kṣamaṃ ratnam/[48]

What you think to be fire is a gem that can be touched.

A gem, *ratna,* which does not burn but radiates light is the metaphor of her beauty. In another place he says that it is a gem which has not been perforated for fixing in an ornament, *anāviddhaṃ ratnam.*[49]

Even when she is lovelorn the brightness does not quit her. Priyaṃvadā tells her :

aṇudhiahaṃ khu parihīasi aṃgehiṃ / kevalaṃ lāvaṇṇamaī chāā lumaṃ ṇa muṃcadi/[50]

Day by day your limbs are wasting away. Only your charming lustre does not leave you.

To conclude, we can say that Kālidāsa who makes us see vividly the world of men and nature is not heedless of light effects and colours. However, such impressions are much less frequent, and they do not often come to the forefront. And although *rūpa* occupies a more important position than *varṇa,* yet the latter is not altogether absent or only just casually mentioned. *Varṇa* makes a real contribution to the general visualizing character of this poetry.

48. *Ibid.*, I.27.
49. *Ibid.*, II.10.
50. *Ibid.*, III,7-8

ŚIBI–SARVAṂDADA

Dieter Schlingloff

The story of king Śibi, who gives his own flesh in order to redeem a dove persecuted by a hawk, (who is in reality no one else than God Indra, who wants to test the virtue of the king) was a very favourite one in Buddhism. There are numerous representations of this story in Buddhist art, as well in Amarāvatī[1] and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa[2] as in Ajanta,[3] Mathurā,[4] Gandhāra,[5]

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1. (a) Rail Pillar; Brit. Mus. Nr. 14; published in : J. Ferguson : *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London 1868, pl. LX, 1; A. Foucher: Les représentations de Jâtaka dans l'art bouddhique, *Mém concernant l'Asie Orientale*, No. III, Paris 1919, pl. III, 3; D. Barrett: *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, London 1954, pl. XXVI; ph. Stern/M. Bénisti: *Evolution du style Indien d'Amarāvatī*, Paris 1961, pl. LVI; C. Sivaramamurti : The Amaravati Mode of Sculpture, *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, New Series XI, Madras 1976, pl. XLV; line-drawing in D. Schlingloff: Der König mit dem Schwert, Die Identifizierung einer Ajantamalerei, in : *Wiener Zeischrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, XXI, Wien 1977, fig. 8. (b) Railing-Friez; published in : J. Fergusson : *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London 1868, pl. LXXXIII, 1 line-drawing). (c) Fragment of medallion on crossbar; Madras Mus.; published in : J. Burgess: The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta, *Arch. Survey of Southern India*, N.S. VI, London 1887, pl. XIV, 5 ; A. Foucher : Les sculptures d'Amarāvatī, in : *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, 5, Paris 1928, p. 15, pl. VIII, fig. 1; C. Sivaramamurti : Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, in : *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, N. S. IV, 1942, pl. XXVIII, 1; Stern/Bénisti, pl. XXVIII, b. (d) Drum Frieze; Brit. Nr. 90; published in : Fergusson, pl. LXXXII, 2; Barrett, 117, pl. XIVa. (e) Drumslab, published in : BURGESS, pl, XXXIV, b. (f) Drum-slab from Gummadidurru; Amarāvatī Mus. Nr. D 15; published in H. Sarkar/S. P. Nainar: Amaravati, *Arch. Survey of India*, 2nd. Ed., New Delhi 1980, pl. VI. (g) Relief-fragment; Amarāvatī Mus. Nr. 333/184 (As far as I know, this fragment is not published).
2. (a) Cornice-stone; Madras Mus.; published in : J. Ph. Vogel : Excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, in : *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, V (1930), Leiden 1932, p. 5-6, pl. IIb; A. H. Longhurst: The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunikonda,

Central-, East- and Southeast Asia.[6] However, the connection of these representations with the Śibi-story has been doubted. Concerning one of the

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Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir 54, New Delhi 1938, pl. 42(a); P. R. Ramachandra Rao: *The Art of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, Madras 1956, pl. XXXIII; line-drawing in Schlingloff (n. 1), fig. 9. (b) Drum-slab, Nagarjunikonda Mus.; published in : H. Sarkar/B. N. Misra : *Nagarjunikonda*, 3rd Ed., New Delhi 1980, pl. XI, B. (c) Cornice-beam, Nagarjunikonda Mus., see Sarkar/Misra, p. 65.

3. (a) Cave I, front aisle, to the left of the main doorway; identified by A. Foucher : Lettre d'Ajantā, in: *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. 11, t. 17, Paris 1921, Nr. 15; described by J. Burgess: Notes on the Buddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Nr. 9, Bombay 1879, p. 23-24 and by G. Yazdani: *Ajanta*, Part I, Text Hyderabad 1930, p. 4-7; Reproductions in : J. Griffiths : *The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta*. Vol. 1, London 1896, pl. 9; V. Goloubew: Documents pour servir a l'étude d'Ajanta, peintures de la première Grotte, *Ars Asiatica* X, Paris 1927, pl. 43,44; G. Yazdani: *Ajanta*, Part 1, pl. 5; R. S. Gupte/B. D. Mahajan: *Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad Caves*, Bombay 1962, pl. XI; Madanjeet Singh: *The Cave Paintings of Ajanta*, London 1965, pl. 24+28 (Details); O. Takata/M. Taeda: *Ajanta*, Tokyo 1971, pl. 76+79; line-drawing in Schlingloff (n. 1), fig. 7. (b) Cave II, right wall of the front corridor; identified by Schlingloff (n. 1), p. 68; reproductions of details in : Griffiths, pl. 35; M. C. Dey : *My Pilgrimages to Ajanta and Bagh*, London 1925, p. 181; S. B. P. Pratinidhi : *Ajanta, A Handbook*, Bombay 1932, plate 36; G. Yazdani, part II, 1933, pl. XLV-XLVI; R. S. Gupte/B. D. Mahajan, plate XIX; A. Ghosh (ed.) : *Ajanta Murals, An Album of 85 Reproductions in Colour*, New Delhi 1967, pl. 55 ; Takata/Taeda, pl. 117 ; line-drawing in Schlingloff (n. 1), fig. 1.

4. Railing-pillar; Mathurā Mus.; published in : J. Ph. Vogel : The Mathurā School of Sculpture, in : *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1909-10, p. 63-79, pl. XXVI, d; A. Foucher (n. 1), pl. III, 1-2; L. Bachhofer : *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. II, New York 1929, pl. 94; J. Ph. Vogel : La Sculpture de Mathurā, *Ars Asiatica* XV, Paris 1930, pl. XXc; K. D. Bajpai : The Kusana Art of Mathura, in : *Mārg*, A Magazine of the Arts, March 1962, pl. 18; line-drawing in Schlingloff (n. 1.), fig. 5.

5. Relief; Brit. Mus., published in : L. D. Barnett : *Antiquities of India*, London 1913, pl. XXII; M. Longworth Dames/T. A. Joyce; Note on a Gandhāra Relief Representing the Story of King Sivi, in : *Man*, vol. XIII, 2, 1913, p. 17-19, pl. B; D. V. S. Reddy : The Art of Surgery in Ancient Indian Sculptures, in : *Bulletin of the Inst. of the History of Medicine*, VI, Baltimore 1938, p. 81-87, fig. 2; line-drawing in Schlingloff (n. 1), fig. 3.

6. Paintings in Buddhist caves in Qyzil near Kucha : (a) "Gebetsmühlenhöhle", line-drawing published in : A. Grünwedel : *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan*, Berlin 1912, p. 114, fig. 130; A. Foucher (n. 1), fig. 2b; E. Waldschmidt : *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, 6. Teil, Berlin 1928, p. 44, fig. 114. (b) "Schluchthöhle" line-drawing published in : Grünwedel, fig. 251; Foucher (n. 1), fig. 20; Waldschmidt, fig. 115. (c) "Höhle mit dem Musikerchor", published in : Waldschmidt, fig. 113. (d) "Höhle mit dem Bodhisttvagewölbe", published in : Waldschmidt, fig. 116. Painting in Cave 110 of Tun-huang; reproduced in

reliefs from Amarāvatī (c), C. Sivaramamurti[7] gives the following statement: "Foucher regards this as the Jātaka of king Sivi. But the story of Sivi as given in the Jātaka is different from what we see in the sculpture. The incident of the hawk and the dove and the noble king's gift of his own flesh to save the dove as told in the *Mahābhārata* is totally absent from the Jātaka, where Sakka tests the king and receives his eyes from him. Even other recensions of the Jātaka like the *Jātakamālā* give the latter story only". Sivaramamurti himself identifies the story of Sarvaṃdada as told in Kṣmendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.[8] In this story king Sarvaṃdada[9] in the same way as king Śibi gives his own flesh in order to redeem dove; the captor of the dove, however, is not a hawk, but a fowler. Following Sivaramamurti's argumentation, D. Barrett has assigned the Śibi-reliefs from Amarāvatī in the British Museum as '*Sarvaṃdada-Avadāna*'[10], and concerning

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P. Pelliot : *Les grottes de Touenhouang*, t. 3, Paris 1920, pl. CXC; Cf. Pál Miklós : *A Tunhuangi Ezer Buddha Barlangtemplomok*, Budapest 1959, II. Relief on the Borobudur in Java, First gallery, chief wall, lowest series; published in : T. van Erp/N. J. Krom ; *Beschrijving van Barabuḍur*, 's-Gravenhage 1920-31, 56-57.

7. Sivaramamurti (n. 1. (c)), p. 229.
8. Nr. 55; ed. S. C. Das, *Avadāna Kalpalatā*, A collection of legendary stories about the Bodhisattvas by Kshemendra with its Tibetan version, Calcutta 1888-1919, Vol. II, p. 119-25; new ed. by P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga 1959, Vol. II p. 334-37.
9. This story should not be confused with the tale of another king Sarvaṃdada, who, being ejected from his kingdom by a rival king, delivered himself to a brahmin beggar in order to let him have the price set on his head. For this tale see *Liu-tu-chi-ching*, ch. 2, Nr. 11, ed. *Taisho Tripiṭaka* 152, Vol. III, p. 6a-c, transl. into French by É. Chavannes : *Cinq cents contes et apologues, Extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois*, Vol. I, Paris 1910, p. 46-49; *P'u sa pen-yüan ching*, ch. 2, ed. T 153, Vol. III, p. 55a-57b, (ed. by V. Stache/D. Schlingloff in preparation); *Ta chuang-yen ching-lun*, ch. 15, Nr. 71, ed. T 201, Vol. IV, p. 339b-340a, transl. into French by É. Huber : Açvaghoṣa, *Sūtrālaṃkāra*. Paris 1908, p. 416-21; *Tsa p'i-yü ching*, Nr. 34, ed. T207, Vol. IV. p. 530a-c, transl. into French by É. Chavannes, Vol. II, p. 59-61; *Ta chih-tu lun*, ch. 12, ed. T1509, Vol. XXV, p. 146b; ch. 33, ed. T1509, Vol. XXV, p. 304c, transl. into French by E. Lamotte : *Le traité de la grande vertue de sagesse de Nāgārjuna* (*Mahāprajñapāramitāśāstra*), t. I, Louvain 1944, p. 714-16; *Ching-lü i-hsiang*, ch. 26, ed. T2121, Vol. LIII, p. 141b-142b; *Avadānasārasamuccaya*, cf. R. Handurukande : The Avadānasārasamuccaya, in : *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, Raghu Vira Comm. Volume, Vol. I, Delhi 1972, p. 80 (ed. by R. Handurukande in preparation); *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* Nr. 79; ed. S. C. Das and H. M. Vidyabhushana, Vol 2, Calcutta 1913, p. 617-641; *Karmaśataka* 116, X, 2, transl. into French by L. Feer, in : *Journal Asiatique* IX, t. 17, Paris 1901, p. 470-72; *Mahajjātakamālā* and *Jātakamālāvadāna*, see S. Matsunami : *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library*, Tokyo 1965, p. 234 and 229.
10. See Barrett [n. 1 (a)], p. 70, 73.

the painting in cave I of Ajanta, M. K. Dhavalikar[11] argues in the same way as Sivaramamurti (p. 100) : "Yazdani, following Foucher, regards this scene as the Jātaka of the king Śibi. But the story of the king Śibi as given in the Jātakas is altogether different from what is seen in the painted panel described above, for the Jātaka tells us that Sakka tests the king and receives eyes from him."....(p. 101) : "It is, therefore, necessary to search for a more satisfactory story, and that too Buddhist"...."The only story which fully solves the puzzle of the identification of the so-called Śibi Jātaka panel is given in the *Avadāna-Kalpalatā* of Kṣemendra".

The supposition of Sivaramamurti and Dhavalikar, that the tale of Śibi redeeming a dove, which is widespread in non-Buddhist literature of ancient India[12], is not to be found in Buddhist texts is wrong. There are no less than five Buddhist versions of Indian origin preserved in Chinese translations; moreover a great number of references and allusions to the story are scattered in the Buddhist scriptures of India. One of these versions is included in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* of Kūmāra Lāta, a work which is not only preserved in its Chinese translation by Kumārajīva (about 405 A. D.) called *Ta chuang-yen ching-lun*, but also in the original Sanskrit in a fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript of the 4 cent. A. D. from Qizil in Chinese-Turkistan[14]. Another version forms the second story in the *Liu-tū-chi ching*, a collection of 88 stories

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11. M. K. Dhavalikar : The Sarvaṃdad-Avadāna at Ajaṇṭā, in : *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, N.S. IV, 1971/72 (Dr. V. S. Agrawala Commemoration Volume), p. 98-104.

12. See *Mahābhārata*, Crit. Ed., *Āraṇyakaparvan*, ed. V. S. Sukthankar, Poona 1942, 3, 130, 19-131; *Āraṇyakaparvan*, Appendix I, Nr. 21; *Anuśāsanaparvan*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Poona 1963, Appendix I, Nr. 8; *Tantrākhyāyikā* III, 7; ed. J. Hertel, Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse 1910, Nr. 2; Somadeva, *Kathāsaritsāgara* I, 7; ed. Pandit Durgâprasâd/Kâsînath Pâṇdurang Parab, Bombay 1889, I, 88-107; *Bālacandra*, *Karuṇāvajrāyudha*, ed. Muni Chaturvijaya, Jaina-Ātmānand Granthāratnamālā No. 56, Bhavnagar 1916; Devendra's Tīkā on *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, ed. J. J. Meyer : *Hindu Tales*, London 1909, Appendix, p. 301 f.

13. Ch. 12, Nr. 61; ed. *Taisho Tripiṭaka* 201, Vol. IV, p. 321-23; transl. into French by E. Huber : Açvaghoṣa, *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, Trad. en franç. sur la version chin. de Kumāragīva, Paris 1908, p. 330-41; English translation by S. Beal : *Abstract on Four Lectures on Buddhist Literature in China*, London 1882, p. 33-41.

14. Ed. H. Lüders : *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*, Königlich-Preussische Turfan-Expeditionen, Kleinere Sanskrit-texte Heft 2, Leipzig 1926, p. 181-82. For the discussion on the authorship of this work see M. Hahn : Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti*, in : *Zentralasiatische Studien* 16, Wiesbaden 1982, p. 309-36.

translated into Chinese before A. D. 280[15]. In the *Hsien-yü ching* (transl. A. D. 445), well known by its Tibetan translation 'Dzaṅs blun translated into German by I. J. Schmidt as early as 1843[16], the legend of Śibi and the dove forms the 6th story of the first chapter[17]. In the *Chung-ching hsüan tsa p'i-yü ching*, a collection of 44 stories from various sources translated by Kumārajīva (A.D. 405), our story is included as No. 2 in the first chapter[18]. The *Ta chih-tu lun*, the Chinese translation of the famous *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* of Nāgārjuna, quotes the story in extenso[19]. Finally, the *Ching-lü i-hsiang*, an original Chinese compilation containing extracts from various texts compiled in A.D. 516 includes the story in the 25th chapter[20]. Summaries of the Śibi-and-dove tale are given in the *P'u-sa pen-hsing ching*[21], a collection of 23 tales, and in the *Fo pen-hsing ching*, a metrical Life of the Buddha, in which the Buddha himself refers to his self-sacrifices in former births[22]. Similar references to his former birth as king Śibi are given by the Buddha in verses of benediction preserved in a Central Asian Sanskrit manuscript[23], in the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*[24] and in the *Laṅkā-*

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15. Ch. 1; ed. T152, Vol. III, p. 1b; transl. into French by E. Chavannes : *Cinq cents contes et apologues. Extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois et trad. en français.* Vol. I, Paris 1910, p. 7-11
16. *Der Weise und der Thor*, Aus dem Tibetischen übers. und mit dem Originaltext hrsg. von. I. J. Schmidt, Leipzig 1843.
17. Ed. T 202, Vol IV, p. 351c.
18. Ed. T 208, Vol. IV, p. 531 b-c; transl. into French by Chavannes (n.16), vol. II, Nr. 197, p. 70-72.
19. Ch. 4; ed. T1509, Vol. XXV, p. 87 c-88c; transl. into French by É. Lamotte, *Le Traité de la Grand Vertu de Sagesse*, tome I, Louvain 1944, p. 255-60.
20. Ed. T2121, Vol. LIII, p. 137c-138a.
21. Ch. 3, Nr. 11; ed. T155, Vol. III, p. 119a,
22. Ch. 22; ed. T193, Vol. IV, p. 89b.
23. See E. Waldschmidt/W. Clawiter/L. Sander-Holzmann : *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil II, *Faksimile-Wiedergaben einer Auswahl von Vinaya- und Sūtrahandschriften nebst einer Bearbeitung davon noch nicht publizierter Stücke*, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band X,2, Wiesbaden 1968. Nr. 176, p. 25 :
    yena me satyavākena kapotārthe samucchrayaṃ|
    nissaṃgaṃ me parityaktam-iti śāmyantu tena vai||25
24. Nr. 2, Vers. 109; ed. S. C. Das, Vol. I, p. 49; ed. P. L. Vaidya, Vol. I, p. 19 :
    śivijanmani cāndhāya dattaṃ netrayugaṃ mayā|
    rakṣitaś ca svadehena kapotaḥ śyenakād bhayāt||
25. Nr. 8; publ. L. Finot: *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā, Sūtra de Mahāyāna*, Bibliotheca Buddhica II, St. Pétersbourg 1901, p. 22 : *śaraṇāgataṃ vīkṣya kapotaṃ svaṃ piśitaṃ vinikṛtya śarīrāt, dattam api svatanur na bhayārttas tyakta ihāpi nṛpeṇa satā me,*

vatārasūtra[26]. In the *Jātakastava* of Jñānayaśas[27] as well as in the Khotanese *Jātakastava*[28] the authors praise the Buddha having given his flesh for a dove in one of his former births. Last not least, the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hien[29], Song-Yun[30] and Hiuan-Tsang[31] describe the location of this sacrifice, where a Stūpa was erected.

All these references prove, that it is not necessary to refer to the Sarvaṃdada-story as literary source of the representations in Buddhist art, the Śibi-story being sufficiently documented in Buddhist literature. Moreover, there are strong arguments that these representations cannot mean the Sarvaṃdada—but only the Śibi-story. Not only the dove, but also the

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26. Ch. 8; ed. B. Nanjio. Bibliotheca Otaniensis I, Kyoto 1956, p. 251 : *Indreṇāpi ca devādhipatyaṃ prāptena . . . pūrvajanmamāṃsādavāsanādoṣāc chyenarūpam āsthāya kapotaveṣarūpadhārī Viśvakarmā samabhidruto' bhūt tulāyāṃ cātmānam āropita āsīt. yasmād rājān aparādhībhū:ānukaṃpakeḥ śivī duḥkhena mahatālambhitaḥ.*
27. V. 16; ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey. *Asiatica*, Festschrift Friedrich Weller, Leipzig 1954, p. 26 :

    śyenottrāsaviśuṣkakaṃpitagalasyotsaṅgasaṃsarpiṇo, yan niḥsaṅgaratā śivāya śibinā rājñā satā pakṣiṇaḥ|
    raktodgārakalalaṅkitātulatulām āropitā te tanur māras tena dukūlapakṣmataralaṃ nītas tulālāghavam||
28. Nr. 51; ed. M. J. Dresden : *The Jātakastava or "Praise of the Buddha's former Births"*, Indo-Scythian (Khotanese) Text, English Translation, Grammatical Notes, and Glossaries, Transactions of the American Philos. Soc., NS 45, Philadelphia 1955, p. 444 : Again for the pigeon's sake by your virtues you tore the skin and flesh upon your limbs for a ransom.
29. See H. A. Giles : *The Travels of Fa-hsion (399-414 A.D.), or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, London 1923, d. 12 : "Of old, Indra, God of Heaven, in order to try the Bôdhisattva (as Buddha then was), caused the appearance of a kite pursuing a dove. The Bôdhisattva cut off a piece of his flesh to ransom the dove; and when he had perfected his faith and become the Buddha, wandering hither with his disciples, he said, "This is the spot where I cut off my flesh to ransom a dove". Thus the people of the country came to know it, and erected at the place a pagoda ornamented with both gold and silver".
30. See E. Chavannes : Voyage de Song-Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra (518-522 P.C.) in : *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Etrême-Orient*, III, Hanoi 1903, p. 427.
31. See S. Beal : *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, 1884, p. 125 : "Going west 60 or 70 li from the Mo-su saṅghārāma is a stūpa which was built by Aśôka-raja. It was here Tathagata in old time, practising the life of a Bôdhisattva, was called Śivika Rāja. Seeking the fruit of Buddhaship, he cut his body to pieces in this place to redeem a dove from the power of a hawk".

hawk can be recognised in some of the representations[32]. In connection with the representation of Śibi's sacrifice one of the reliefs in Amarāvatī[33], as well as the paintings in Ajanta cave I[34] and cave II[35] are depicting a scene, in which god Indra is conversing with another person in a palace-room. This scene, not properly interpreted by previous scholars, refers to the first event of the Śibi-story: In his heaven Indra has a discussion with Viśvakarman[36] concerning the bodhisattva—qualities of king Śibi; he gets the idea to prove Śibi's virtue by assuming the shape of a hawk and transferring the body of Viśvakarman in that of a dove. As this event is reported in all versions of the Śibi story, but not in Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, it is evident that the reliefs and paintings under discussion can only represent the Śibi-, but not the Śarvaṃdada-story.

Under these circumstances I was rather surprised to find in Ajanta not only the paintings of the Śibi-tale, but a representation of the Sarvaṃdada-story too. On the left wall of the front corridor in cave XVII on both sides and above the cell-door altogether 10 different scenes were depicted. The four scenes to the right of the cell-door have been identified long ago as representing the *hamsa*-story[37]. Above the cell door, on the left side the

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32. In Mathuā (see n. 4) the hawk is sitting on the pillar-capital of the palace-room; in Ajanta Cave II [see n. 3. (b)] both the hawk and the dove are sitting at the threshold of the palace, desiring admittance to the king.
33. See n. 1(a). In the scene on the right side Indra is sitting on his throne, discussing with Viśvakarman, who is standing on the left side.
34. Yazdani, Part I, Text p. 6, who did not recognise the meaning of this representation, describes the scene as follows: "Above this scene we notice two seated figures, one with the first and second fingers of his right hand raised and the other with folded hands, probably representing a Pacceka-Buddha, in the teaching attitude, with his votary. Behind them are two attendants, one male and the other female, both damaged".
35. The painting on the right side of the cell-door, which was never finished, as only the outlines are given, depicts god Indra sitting on his throne, surrounded by his attendants and councillors. His interlocutor is sitting on the ground before the throne.
36. In non-Buddhist literature (see n. 12) the partner of Indra is either Agni or Dharma.
37. Identified by S. F. Oldenburg: Notes on Buddhist Art, translated from the Russian by Leo Wiener, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 18. pt. 1, 1897, p. 183-201, Nr. 5; cf. D. Schlingloff: Zwei Anatiden-Geschichten im alten Indien, in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 127, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 369-397.

Cullabodhi-Jātaka is painted in two scenes[38] according to the *Jātakamālā*-version[39]. Below this another story was represented in four scenes, only the upper two of which are preserved[40]. In the scene on the left side (1) a king may be seen coming out of a palace. In the main scene to the right (2) the king is sitting on a throne, holding a bare sword in his left hand. A dark-figured man, evidently belonging to some forest tribe, has come to the audience of the king. In his right hand he holds a snare for bird-catching. A brahmin minister takes an intervening position between the king and the supplicant. A dove is sitting on the roof[41], and six ladies are looking on the scene from the balcony with excitement. The painting below this scene (3) is entirely destroyed; on the left side (4), however, the crowned heads of two persons may be discerned, one of whom can be identified as god Indra by the third eye on his forehead[42].

Concerning the identification of the scenes there can be little doubt that this painting represents the Sarvaṃdada-Avadāna as told in the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*[43]. In correspondence with the text[44] the first scene shows

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38. Not yet identified. Reproductions in Yazdani, Part IV, pl. 16a and M. Singh [n. 3 (a)], pl. 70 (scene 1).

39. Nr. 21; ed. J. H. Kern : *The Jātaka-Mālā, Stories of Buddha's former incarnations*, by Ārya-Çūra, Boston 1891, p. 121-27.

40. The painting is labeled by Yazdani, Text, p. 36 as : "The Bestowal of the Royal Sword (?) : not identified". Reproductions are given by Griffiths [n. 3 (a)], pl. 64a : Lady C. J. Herringham : *Ajanta Frescoes*, Being reproductions in colour and monochrome of frescoes in some of the caves at Ajanta, O. U. P. 1915, pl. 7, 26; Yazdani plates, Part IV, pl. 15.

41. Concerning the inscription, see Yazdani, Text Pt. IV, p. 37 n. 1 : "On the cornice, above the balcony window, there is an inscription in red paint, giving the name of some person. The inscription, judging from the style of its letters, is some two centuries posterior in date to the fresco (fifth century A. D.), and has no connexion with it. Cf. Ajanta, iii, Text, 96 (plate IXa)".

42. This third eye is no longer preserved in the original painting; it was, however, seen by Burgess and perhaps even by Yazdani; see Burgess [n. 3 (a)]. p. 65 : "Below all this are to be traced the crowns and part of the heads of two persons, one of whom has a nimbus (*bhamaṇḍala*) and like Śiva, a third eye in his forehead, but horizontal"; Yazdani, Text, pt. IV, p. 3b : "Below, at the bottom, the heads of two figures wearing crowns, one of whom has a third eye in his forehead, may suggest that they are Śakra and another god interested in the trial of the king (the Bodhisattva)".

43. See n. 8.

44. V.7 :

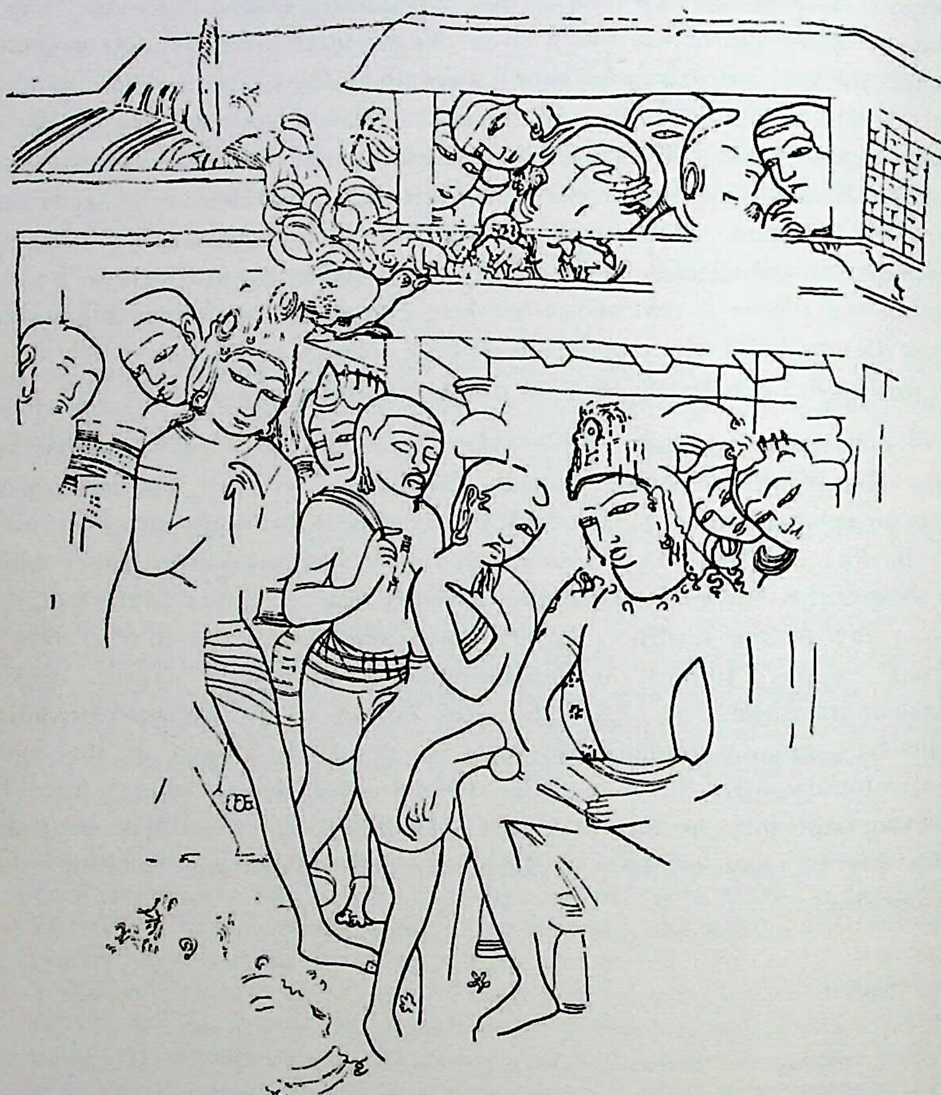
sa kadācit prajākāryadarśanānugrahonmukhaḥ|
bheje bāhyāṅgaṇāsthānabhuvaṃ bhūmiśatakratuḥ||

king Sarvaṃdada leaving his inner apartments in order to attend to his subjects in the audience hall (1). In this hall in the next scene on the right side (2), Indra in disguise of a bird-catching hunter has come in presence of the king[45] in order to ask him for the dove as his legitimate huntsman's booty. The dove, to whom the king has granted *abhaya*, is looking full of anxiety from above on the events. As the hunter refuses any vegetable food, the king has drawn his sword, thus visualising his resolution to give his own flesh as compensation for the dove. The third scene, below, is no longer preserved. This scene may have shown the king ascending one scale of the balance, as the dove on the other scale had become heavier and heavier by the magic power of Indra, so that all flesh cut from his body was not equal to the weight of the bird (3). The last scene, of which the head of Indra together with that of another king is preserved, may have represented king Sarvaṃdada, whose body was entirely restored by his utterance of truth, in presence of god Indra, who has reassumed his true form (4).

The painting thus being identified, the problem indicated by Dhavalikar[46] *mutatis mutandis* remains the same: "As the *Avadāna-Kalpalatā* was completed by about 1054 A.D. it may outwardly appear rather absurd as to how a story of the 11th century was reproduced in a painted panel which is six centuries earlier". Dhavalikar himself draws attention to the fact, that according to the tradition Kṣemendra has retold old stories in the style of ornate poetry. Indeed, as Panglung has pointed out[47], a great deal of Kṣemendra's stories are taken from the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. The Sarvaṃdada-Avadāna, however, is not to be found in this work. Rajendralāla Mitta[48] refers to the *Aśoka-Avadāna*, but I cannot trace the Sarvaṃdada-story in this collection. Doubtless the story may be traced any day in any of the Avadāna-collections which are awaiting their publication.

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45. V.13 :
    tasminn avasare sattvaṃ jijñāsuḥ pākaśāsanaḥ/
    māyayā lubdhakākāraḥ samabhyetyābravīn nṛpam//
46. Dhavilikar (n. 11), p. 113.
47. J. L. Panglung : *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*, Analysiert auf Grund der tibetischen Übersetzung, Studia Philologica Buddhica, Mongograph Series III, Tokyo 1981, p. 209-10.
48. *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta 1882, p. 60.



Ajanta, Cave XVII, Front Corridor, Left Wall
Sarvaṃdada-Avadāna (BAK Nr. 55)
(Line-drawing by M. Helmdach)

KĀMA AND EROS

Arturo Schwarz

I have often discussed in the past the relevance of the equation which associates the Feminine Principle to Light, Love, Awareness and Creativity. The mythologem which relates Light to both Awareness and the Goddess is disseminated almost universally and at all cultural levels : it is justified by the fact that Woman is the focus of the mysteries of sexuality and love. Sexual knowledge is the first and most important aspect of awareness ; understanding one's self is the first step towards a more general comprehension of the world. Even when the Feminine Principle is associated to Night, it is not linked to its obscurity, but rather to the light of the starred sky, thus *Rātrī*, the Vedic goddess who personifies Night, is she who "conquers darkness with her light"[1].

Naturally, also the "male"[2] divinities of love evidence the same mythical frame of their feminine homologues. Eros in the West and Kāma in the East are, in this respect, the most well known and paradigmatic figures. Because of their notoriety, they have been the object, especially Eros, of countless analyses, and it would be of little use to dwell upon them, were it not to underscore the aspects which enrich the theme which occupy us : their theogonic, cosmogonic, illuminating and initiatic role associated to the sentiment they personify.

Eros, like his predecessor Kāma, is the first-born, he who is destined to become the mother-father of all the gods. Hesiod's *Theogony* has familiarized us with the idea that Eros, Love, was the first-born who differentiated himself directly from the non-manifested, the primordial chaos, through

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1. *ṚV*, X.127.2.
2. The inverted commas are determined by the fact that these divinities are almost always androgynous.

Sea-Earth: "First of all, the Void came into being, next broad-bosomed Earth...and Eros, the most beautiful of the immortal gods" (116-119). The fact that Eros was first-born is sustained, among others, by the Greek historian Acusilaüs, by Parmenides in his didactic poem *On Nature*, and by Lactantius who, quoting the mythical poet Orpheus says that Eros was first-born "for the reason that nothing before him was generated, but everything was generated from him"[3].

The sacred literature of Hinduism also claims for Kāma the quality of first-born and the superiority over all other divinities. A hymn of the *Atharvaveda* glorifies him thus: "First before all sprang Kāma into being. Gods, Fathers, mortal men have never matched him. Stronger than these art thou, and great for ever...Stronger art thou than aught that stands or twinkles, stronger art thou than ocean, Kāma! Manyu! Not even Vāta is the peer of Kāma, not Agni, Chandramas the Moon, nor Sūrya. Stronger than these art thou"[4].

Naturally, it was quite customary for the believer to glorify the god to whom he was faithful in almost identical terms to those used for other divinities, this trend is especially noticeable in the Vedas, as well as in the Purāṇas and was termed by Max Müller "enoteism". Thus some of the expressions found in this hymn can be found in other texts dedicated to other divinities, however, the quality of being first-born is not attributed indiscriminately, nor is the general laudatory context common to other divinities. Thus, the fact that Kāma is born before the other components of the Vedic pantheon implies his pre-eminence and although he appears rather late, when he does come into the picture his role is as important as the power with which he is endowed.

In his *Symposium*, Plato speaks of the power of Eros in similar terms: "Mankind have never understood the power of Love. For if they had understood him they would surely have built noble temples and altars, and offered solemn sacrifices in his honour... of all the blessed gods he is the most blessed".

Jung had recognized in Eros "a *kosmogonos*, a creator and father-mother of all higher consciousness" (1962:386); this evaluation applies fully to the Indian Eros, bearer of awareness, and the Vedas and the Purāṇas well confirm it. In the *Bhagavadgītā* the role of the cosmogonic agent is attributed to

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3. *Div. Inst.*, I.5.
4. *AV*, IX.2.19, 23-24.

the carnal aspect of Kāma— Kṛṣṇa—who is also identified to the vital principle in its cognitive, sexual and biological (the becoming of life) expression: "I am the origin of all this world and its dissolution as well. There is nothing whatever that is higher than I.. All that is here is strung on me as rows of gems on a string. I am the taste in the waters... I am the light in the moon and the sun. I am the syllable Aum in all the Vedas; I am the sound in ether and manhood in men. I am the pure fragrance in earth and brightness in fire. I am the life in all existences and the austerity in ascetics. Know Me...to be the eternal seed of all existences. I am the intelligence of the intelligent; I am the splendour of the splendid"[5].

The role of Kāma as cosmogonic agent in his expression of pure sexual desire—and hence devoid of transcendent or metaphysical dimensions—is a frequent theme in sacred literature: "All is held together by Kāma... Kāma is more excellent than *Dharma* and *Artha*... There can be no progress without desire"[6]. The *Śiva Purāṇa* tells us that Hiraṇyagarbha, after having created heaven and earth, "created the mind, the speech, love and anger and the sexual delight"[7]. One of the most beautiful and profound Upaniṣads states: "In the beginning this (world) was only the self, in the shape of a person .. He, verily had no delight. Therefore, he who is alone has no delight. He desired a second"[8]. The creative role of Kāma is often underscored, for instance, in the *Śiva Purāṇa* we are told that he will "carry on the eternal task of creation... that is to last for ever"[9]. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* expresses itself in almost similar terms, Kāma starts creation and is responsible for creation which will last for ever[10].

The association of Love and wisdom is a recurring theme in the various myths which define the nature of these two divinities. Plato, again in his *Symposium* reminds us "Wisdom is a most beautiful thing, and Love is of the beautiful; and therefore, Love is also a philosopher or lover of wisdom" (204b). In both the *Ṛgveda*, and—the *Atharvaveda* Kāma, the first origin of this creation", is "the primal seed and germ of Mind (*manaso retaḥ*)"[11].

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5. *BG*, VII : 6-10.
6. *MB*., XII.161.30-33; XIV.13.91.
7. *US*, 29.13, 15.
8. *Br.U*, I.4.1, 3.
9. *RSS*, II.2.37, 40.
10. *KP*, I.5), 61.
11. X.129.7, 4 ; *AV*, XIX.52.1.

This aspect of Kāma, as "primal seed of Mind", recurrs also in the *Atharvaveda* when Kāma is identified as the father of knowledge: "She, Kāma ! she is called the Cow, thy daughter, she who is named *Vāc* and *Virāj* by sages"[12]. In some tantric texts Kāma, as personification of eroticism, is associated to the uranic awareness (represented by Indra), and to love passion–pleasure. Thus a text from the *Varāha Tantra* which prescribes the recitation of the *mantra Klīṃ* in order to obtain transcendental knowledge explains that "*K* represents Kāma or Kṛṣṇa who embody divine eroticism. *L* is Indra. *I* is satisfaction"[13].

The iniatic role of Kāma is also often recalled, he is called *Saṃsāra-Guru*; in the *Atharvaveda* he is asked to "attend us with his gentle guidance"[14]. In his comment to the *Lalitā-Sahasranāma*, Bhāskararāya points out that Kāma is synonymous with intelligence[15]. This last aspect of Kāma is evidenced also by one of his genealogies when he is said to be born from the mind of Lakṣmī. Here Lakṣmī is not associated to her customary role of fortune, but rather to her earlier aspect of Great Mother goddess, as is implied by the fact, among other, that she arose from the ocean in the course of the *samudra-manthana*, a fate which is a classical trait of other Mother Goddesses involved both with Love and Awareness, such as the Greek Aphrodite and the Hittite sun-goddess Arinna.

The binomial light-awareness expresses itself in Kāma as the cognitive trend which is implicit in the sexual trend. In turn, the cognitive trend implies the aspiration to immortality. When Kāma becomes the bearer of knowledge (and sexual knowledge, as already recalled is the archetypal knowledge) he exemplifies the equation awareness—androginy—immortality, where androginy implies the state of integrity, of totalizing completeness. In fact, the divinity is often androgynous because bi-sexuality implies completeness, and this, in turn, signifies perfection which entails immortality.

This equation is illustrated when Kāma manifests himself as Soma Pavamāna, he then embodies the association immortality-awareness, and for this reason is invoked in these striking terms: "Make me immortal in that realm of eager wish and strong desire. The region of the radiant

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12. IX.2.5.
13. Quoted by Danielou 1975 : 513.
14. XIX.4.4.
15. *LS*, 52, p. 18.
16. *TR*, XII.63, 64.

Moon, where food and full delight are found...Make me immortal in that realm where happiness and transports, where Joys and Felicities combine, and longing wishes are fulfilled"[17]. Quite a few genealogies underscore the relationship of Kāma with knowledge or cosmogonic power. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* he is born of Saṅkalpa[18], namely the deity presiding over the process of thought and who embodies Thinking in its aspect of Resolution—Decision.

Many texts mention the direct relationship between Kāma and Brahmā who personifies knowledge: the god of Love is thus born, according to some versions, either from the heart of Brahmā[19] or from Brahmā's mind[20]. The *Śiva Purāṇa*[21], and the *Skanda Purāṇa*[22] also attribute to Brahmā the paternity of Kāma. Two of his epithets confirm that Kāma is born from the mind or the heart : *Bhava-Ja* and *Mano-Ja*. In the *Kālikā Purāṇa* he is invoked as Manobhava : "He who is born from the mind (*manas*)"[23], or Manmatha when it is said that he is the son of the *Ṛṣi*[24]. His association with Brahmā is also revealed by the epithet Kandarpa : He who inflames—stirs up desire—in Brahmā and in all human beings.

The apparition of Kāma is often accompanied by the blowing of fragrant winds[25]. The solidarity between Kāma and the wind is highly significant when we remember that the initiatic value of wind in the mythological, religious and esoterical traditions is extremely widespread. For instance, Vāyu, the Vedic divinity of wind is assimilated to the breath of the Puruṣa[26]. Two of his epithets, Kusumāyudha (armed with flowers) and Anaṅga (bodiless), underscore the identification of Kāma with intellect, thought, creative desire and especially his more mental than corporal aspect.

The great majority of the divinities of the Indian pantheon have among their attributes a *physical* weapon, Kāma's instead is purely imaginary. His bow (*ikṣukodaṇḍa*) is made of a sugar-cane, the flavour of which evokes

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17. *ṚV*, IX.113.10-11.
18. VI.6.10.
19. *BP*, VI.6.10.
20. *KP*, I.42, II.4.
21. *RSS*, II.2.23.
22. 5.2.13.2-20.
23. *KP*, II.5.
24. *Ibid.*, II.4.
25. *LM*, 44.44, *RSS*, II.3.18; 8.42, etc.
26. *ṚV*, X.90.13.

that of love; its string is a row of buzzing bees: bees are associated with solar awareness—this is why this insect is the theriomorphic aspect of Indra, Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa —and immortality. Furthermore, the fact that the bow's string is resonant suggests the creative power of the primal sound (*nāda*). Finally, his five arrows (Pañcabāṇa is another of his epithets) are tipped by five flowers: arabinda (a white lotus), aśoka (*Jonesia asoka*), āmra (mango-flower), navamallikā (jasmine) and nīlotpala (blue lotus) whose effect are: *Harṣaṇa* (delighting), *Rocana* (appealing), *Mohana* (deluding), *Śoṣaṇa* (withering) and *Māraṇa* (killing)[27].

The number of the arrows is not casual. Five alludes not only to the 5 senses, but also to love both indirectly: the quintessence—the fifth essence produced as a result of the four preliminary stages of the alchemical process is assimilated to love—and directly: *Pañcama*, the fifth note of the Indian musical scale is the tonic note of the erotic dance that Kṛṣṇa plays on his flute, and at the same time it connotes awareness: *Ṣaḍjā*, the prime-tone of the range of *Pañcama* is "next to Brahmā... and Fire is its divinity"[28].

In the Egyptian esoteric tradition the number five is the symbol of love and of the vital principle; and it was also the number sacred to the Assyrian-Babylonian goddess of love, Īśtar, who was identified to the planet Venus. In more recent times, Goethe, in his *Elective Affinities* states that five is "a beautiful number, odd and sacred" to which should be limited the number of years of an amorous union. Jung has pointed out the traditional association between this number and flaming desire or erotic demand (1950:373).

The three main variants of the Anaṅga myth point still more directly to the mental aspect of Kāma. Having interrupted Śiva's meditation with the intent to kindle his passion for Pārvatī, Kāma is reduced to ashes by the fire that sprang from Śiva's third eye[29]. In a first version Śiva yielding to the supplications of Rati and of the gods, concedes that Kāma will remain bodiless only until Kṛṣṇa marry Rukmiṇī, hence Kāma will be reborn as Pradyumna[30]. According to another version Kāma resuscitates because Śiva, who is celebrating his marriage is moved by the faithfulness and the love of Rati and agrees to resuscitate Kāma without imposing upon him the long wait of a future reincarnation: "Thanks to the nectarine glance of the Trident-bearing lord, Kāma came out of the ashes, a comely wonder-

27. *RSS*, II.3.11-12.
28. *VP*, 3.50, see also *Bharata-bhāṣya*, 4.24.
29. *RPS*. 19.3-36.
30. *Ibid.*, 19.38-40.

inspiring body with splendid dress and features"[31]. In both cases Kāma, the god of love, rises again, thanks to love.

A third variant of the myth, the most significant one, in my opinion, is summarised in a single sentence: "I (Śiva) shall resuscitate Kāma within myself; he will be one of my Gaṇas and will sport about always"[32]. Therefore, as O'Flaherty pointedly observes, Śiva burns Kāma to ashes only to resuscitate him more powerful than before; when Kāma is reborn in Śiva, the latter becomes a lover as fascinating as Kāma, Śiva becomes Kāma. This manifestation of Śiva recurs in the Purāṇas, for instance, in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Śiva is called Kāmeśvara by Brahmā[33].

When Kāma manifests himself as Indra, he is the desire-awareness who feeds on the elixir of immortality: "As a thirsty steer who roams the deserts may he drink eagerly the milked-out Soma"[34]. This thirst of love-immortality is the feeling that animates and gives vigour to desire. It is hence logical, in this context, that the daughter of Kāma and Rati, the fruit of love-desire and of passion, be called Tṛṣā (thirst).

In Kāma the aspects which identify him to mental energy and desiring-love seem to predominate, while in Kṛṣṇa those of physical energy and realised love seem to prevail. Let me make it clear that I do not wish to draw an over-simple contrast between Kāma and Kṛṣṇa, such a contrast would not stand a more careful examination of the complex structures of the two divinities that personify love; I would rather like to note that the mental-corporal, as well as the desire-actuation polarities are assumed and transcended by Kāma and Kṛṣṇa with a connotation more spiritual for the first and more tangible for the second. These two aspects are closely related, just as theory and practice. In this context Kṛṣṇa—love realised on the corporal level, the *physice*, the *pràxis*—is as fundamental as Kāma—the *ethice*, the *logos*.

We find in Kṛṣṇa also the associations evidenced in Kāma. The post-vedic Kṛṣṇa is the sum of three different protagonists of Indian mythology: the hero of the Vedas; the *kosmogonos*, depositary and transmitter of supreme awareness who appears in the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Mahābhārata*; and finally the eternal lover of the Viṣṇuite tradition who is described in the Purāṇas. For instance, the *Liṅga Purāṇa* attributes him 16,100 wives and

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31. *RPS*, 51.2-15.
32. *RPS*, 19.48,
33. *LM*, 14.17-21.
34. *ṚV*, V.36.1.

16,100 lovers[35], and as the eighth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu he is deemed to be the inventor of ever new erotic games (*līlā*) to revive the sexual energy.

The cosmogonic aspect Kṛṣṇa is reminded in the *Bhagavadgītā*[36], and in the Purāṇas where he is assimilated to Śiva, while his bride, Rādhā, is called the mother of the universe[37]. Elsewhere he is assimilated to the primordial Puruṣa[38] or to the Lord of the universe (idem 72), or still, to Nārāyaṇa–Viṣṇu under his aspect of creative principle and personification of solar awareness[39].

However, Kṛṣṇa's complex personality, and especially his dual aspect of bearer of life (and knowldge) and of death, is best expressed in the *Bhagavadgītā*. In fact, in this text, he is identified both to the vital principle, to solar awareness and to perfect bliss[40], and to the death principle, to obscurity and to time (*kāla*)[41]. The last two assimilations allude to Kṛṣṇa's name which signify "black", of dark colour, just as *kāla* means time but also black.

The same ambivalence is evidenced by Kāma (as well as Eros). Yama, the ruler of the dead, is often associated to Kāma. Among the tasks of the first mythic ancestor of mankind is that of the preservation and reproduction of the human species. Yama greets the justs with these words: "Ascend the celestial chariot and go to heaven to enjoy the pleasures in the company of celestial damsels and fulfil your cherished desires..Men who have been virtuous are treated as friends by Yama. They see Yama with a gentle face. Men who have been guilty of cruelties see him in a terrible form"[42].

Yama's homologation with Kāma rests also on the logic of the myth. As progenitor of mankind, Yama was the first being who enjoyed sexual love, and since he was the first to experience death, his will be the task to guide exceptional persons to the realm of death (*Yamaloka*), acting as a psychopomp. This association of love and death is underscored both in the sacred texts and in the secular literature. The fundamental identity between Yama, as god of death, and Kāma as god of love is frequently

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35. I.69.68, 82.
36. 7.6-9, 12.
37. *RYS*, 29.51, 53.
38. *LP*, I.69.50.
39. *LP*, II.1.5.
40. XV.12-15; XIV.27.
41. XI.35-55.
42. *US*, 7.46, 48-49.

recalled in the *Gitāgovinda*[43]. In the Buddhist mythology we find the same identification : Māra (who corresponds to Yama) manifests himself also as Kāma: "He whom they call in the world Kāmadeva...they also style Māra"[44].

Giuseppe Tucci had observed that it is in the Indian religion that this association is expressed with greatest originality and the most vigorous terms: "Death is not only a point of arrival, it is also a point of departure since death is born from the desire of being : *thànatos* is the inseparable companion of *éros*...This eternal antinomy between hunger and nourishment, death and life, Kāma who stirs up everything and *thànatos* who masks, cancells and upsets everything, constitutes the plot of India's thought and religion" (1969:127).

Reverting to Kṛṣṇa, and switching from the life-death duality to the female-male polarity, we may note that in the couple Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā the most important allegorical role is reserved to Rādhā who personifies the regenerative power of love in both its emotional and sensual aspects. Their carnal union, a metaphor for the conciliation of the opposites, has an immediate and transcendental significance for mankind.

Eliade observes: "Woman participates in the nature of Rādhā and man in the nature of Kṛṣṇa; hence the 'truth' concerning the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā can be known only in the body itself, and this knowledge on the plane of 'corporeality' has a universal metaphysical validity" (1954:265). S. B. Dasgupta, quoting the *Ratnasāra* confirms: "If one can realise the truth of the body (*bhāṇḍa*) one will be able to realise the truth of the universe (*brahmāṇḍa*). The realisation of the truth of the body leads to the realisation of the truth of the self and the truth of the self is the truth of Vṛndāvana. All truth of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā is to be known from the own body" (1946:141-42, see also 127-138).

We thus come back to the mythologem which associates awareness to love. The nature of the relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā is of the same kind as that between Pārvatī (as *Śakti*) who is an aspect of Śiva (the *Śaktimat*) and vice versa. The one is part of the other, also because in love the one *is* the other. The love which unites the divine couple is communion in addition to being merely union, this is the pattern that the religious thought of India offers to mankind.

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43. 4.10, 12.12. etc.
44. *ABC*, XIII.2.

The luminous aspect of Kṛṣṇa mentioned in the *Bhagavadgītā* quoted before: "I am the light in the moon and the sun,"[45] hints also at the dual character of knowledge that Kṛṣṇa—like Kāma—embodies: the moon standing for the feminine system of awareness, and the sun for the male one. Kāma's radiant nature is confirmed by the very etymology of his name. The *Amarakoṣa* informs us that Kāma (deriving from √*kam-u* and hence √*kam*) signify "shining", while in *kam kantau* the root *kamu* is used in the sense of "to shine" and *kānti* means "splendour"[46]. We find the same association in one of his many epithets *Madhu-Dipa* "the lamp (or light) of honey (or spring)".

Reference to the luminous quality of Kāma is made quite frequently in the *Atharvaveda*: "he shines forth the sole imperial Lord of all that is and is to be"[47], elsewhere he is assimilated to the "heavenly light"[48], or it is said that he is the father of Aniruddha, Lord of Dawn and consort of Uṣas, his female aspect[49]. The *Śiva Purāṇa* too confirms Kāma's luminosity, he "shines well"; with Rati they "illuminate each other", and he appears "bright as the morning sun"[50]. He is also described in the following terms: "He had a golden complexion...His face shone like the full moon...His hands, eyes, face, legs and fingers were red in colour[51]. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* too reproposes the association of Kāma with gold and the light of the full moon : "His complexion is golden like gold powder..his face is like the full moon (*pūrṇacandra*)"[52].

The image of Kāma "whose form is like the splendour of the sun (*arka-prabhāva-ākāra*)" appears also in the *Skanda Purāṇa* where his theophany is described as being of a "marvellous splendour"[53]. Kāma's luminous quality is likewise emphasized by the tradition of Kaśmīr Śaivism where he is called Mahākāmeśvara (the Great Lord who is Kāma) and is identified to light (*Prakāśa*) who in turn is a manifestation of Kāmakalā's Śiva : the symbolic union of Kāma (Kāmeśvara-Śiva) with Kalā (Kāmeśvarī-Lalitā).

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45. 7.8.
46. *AMK.* 1.7.28; 2.9.57; 3.3.138.
47. VI.36.3.
48. XIX.52.3.
49. XVI.6.5.
50. *RSS*, II.8.25-26, 39.
51. *RSS*, II.2.24-29.
52. *KP*, I.43.
53. *SKP*. 5.2.13/2-20; see also *LM*, 44:34.

In his *Kumārasambhava*, Kālidāsa describes the splendour of Kāma's limbs[54], mentioning that he is the guide of the lovers "when the night is veiled by darkness"[55]. In the preceding canto we are told that Kāma commands the wind that "helps fire to blaze up"[56]. Kāma's association with fire, that we already found in the *Bhagavadgitā* : "I am brightness in fire"[57], is backed by some of his epithets, he is thus invoked as Darpaka or Dīpaka (literally, he who inflames, or the Enlightner), Titha (Fire), Murmura (the flame which crackles, but also the name of one of the Sun's horses). Quite often he is connected to, or invoked together with Agni[58]. Finally also Kāma's amorous arrows are "aglow"[59]. The same illuminating-initiatic dimension can be found in the texts that describe the morphologic frame of the Greek god of love.

The iconographical tradition represents Eros armed with golden arrows, and raising a torch, while with the funerary Eros, the torch is upside down, as if to express the paradoxical unity of life and death. Aristophanes describes him as "the Desired whose shoulders are bright with golden wings" and who was the first to lead mankind to light[60]. According to Clement the golden wings stand for the intellect[61], and this interpretation is confirmed by the almost universal symbolism of wings that, nearly everywhere, are associated with spirituality that elevates, to imagination, and thought. Plato tells us that the wings are the symbol of imagination[62]. In the alchemical tradition wings correspond to the uranic active principle, thus the mythical bird Phoenix represents the spiritual aspect of the Philosopher's Stone. The associations wings-knowledge surfaces also in the Brāhmaṇas : "By means of the wings (of knowledge) the Sacrificer, having become a bird, goes to the world of heaven"[63], and the *Ṛgveda* reminds us, with a poetic metaphor, "Among all things that fly the mind is swiftest"[64].

The same symbolism is current in China, Taoists believe that when a man achieves *tao*, feathers start to grow on his body. Eliade informs us that

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54. IV.5.
55. IV.11.
56. III.21.
57. 7.9.
58. *AV*, III.21.4; VI.36.3; XI.2.9; *TS*, II.2.3:1.
59. *AV*, III.25.3.
60. *The Birds*, 693-702.
61. *Stromata*, VI. IV.
62. *Phaedo*, XXXVI.
63. *PB*, V.1.10.
64. VI.9.5.

in Australia it is believed that when the neophyte reaches the final stage of his instruction, feathers start growing on his arms and, two days later he develops wings (1972:137).

In the later Gnostic tradition, Eros is the son of the Angel of Light (Adam-Light, the 'man whose blood is luminous') and of Prônoia, bearer of light and of the divine breath. More pointedly; Eros originates from the light particles which were left on Prônoia when she admired and desired Adam-Light with whom she was unable to unite. Thus Eros, he who "transmits fire", is "the lamp that does not fail and which lights more lamps (so that) the result is a single light", that of love[65].

According to more ancient genealogies, Eros is born from the radiant Aphrodite and from a father who is also, very often, associated to light and fire. This is the case for Sappho for whom Eros was born Aphrodite and Uranus[66]. For Ibycus, as well as for almost all the other poets, he was the son of Aphrodite and Hepaestus, the creator of the first woman, smith and Lord of fire[67]. For Simonides he descended from Aphrodite and Ares, the god of war[68]. Pindar and Apollonius the Rhodian say he is the son of Aphrodite, without specifying who was the father[69]. Plato underscores Eros's association with Aphrodite when he makes Pausanias say "We all know that Love is inseparable from Aphrodite"[70]. We may also recall Eros's two luminous *alter egos*; Pòthos, personification of sexual longing (or according to Plato, the amorous desire aimed at a distant being) and Himeros—the fire that comes from light[71] who embodies longing and desire of love.

Summing up I might say that Kāma, and his Occidental homologue Eros, illustrate perfectly the complexity of the widely disseminated mythologem according to which sexuality and love are the source of knowledge and awareness—Light and Fire—and of creativity in all areas. As androgine beings they do not only express perfection through their enjoying both sexes, but, from a historical point of view, they represent a transitory stage which sees the great Mother Goddess of Neolithic and Paleolithic

65. *Origin of the World*, 109, pp, 227-28.
66. Lobel—Page, fr. 198,
67. Page, fr, 43.
68. *Idem*. fr. 70.
69. Sckroeder, fr. 122, 124 128; *Arguments*, III.26,
70. *Symposium*, 180d.
71. *Origin of the World*, 109, p. 227,

matricentric ages displaced by a patriarchal culture which will systematically substitute a female dominated pantheon by a male oriented assembly of gods.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	Aśvaghoṣa
AMK	Amara Siṃha : *Amarakoṣa*
AV	*Atharvaveda*
BG	*Bhagavadgītā*
BP	*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*
BrP	*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*
BṛU	*Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*
GG	*Gītagovinda*
KP	*Kālikā Purāṇa*
KS	*Kumārasambhava*
LAS	*Lalitā-Sahasranāma*
LM	*Lalitā-Māhātmya*
LP	*Liṅga Purāṇa*
MB	*Mahābhārata*
PB	*Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*
RPS	*Rudreśvara Saṃhitā*
RSS	*Rudra Saṃhitā*
RV	*Ṛgveda*
RYS	*Rudra Samhitā Yuddhakhaṇḍa*
SKP	*Skanda Purāṇa*
SP	*Śiva Purāṇa*
TS	*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*
US	*Umā Saṃhitā*
VP	*Vāyu Purāṇa*

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Gitagovinda (XII)
(*GG*) *Jayadeva*, see Siegel 1978.

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KRAUÑCAVADHA PASSAGE IN *DHVANYĀLOKA*—A REVIEW OF READING

S. Sankaranarayanan

Ānandavardhana refers in his *Dhvanyāloka* to the episode of killing the curlew, that resulted in the birth of the great epic *Rāmāyaṇa*. A sentence of his in this context has raised during the past seventy years a controversy among the scholars, who, after much discussion, have suggested different interpretations, readings and emendations for the passage. The present paper attempts to understand the problem, to evaluate the views of some of the scholars and to suggest solutions from different angles.

I

As the students of the *Rāmāyaṇa* know, the second canto in the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the epic contains a story of the birth of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. According to the popular text, the story goes like this: One day when Vālmīki was about to take his midday bath in the river Tamasā, he witnessed a distressing scene on the banks of the river: A couple of curlews (*krauñca*-s) was on the branch of a tree. When they were making love singing melodiously, there suddenly appeared a hunter. He shot down the he-curlew. The wounded bird fell down and died. In the meanwhile the she-curlew seeing her lover struggling for life, started crying pathetically. This scene tossed the sage from one extreme to the other—love and pathos. At that juncture, as if his very grief flowed out, from the mouth of grief-stricken Vālmīki gushed out, on its own accord, this verse,

मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।
यत् क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम् ॥

The sage was now wonderstruck by his own composition. Soon he learnt from Brahmā, the Creator, that only on His order Goddess of Speech Herself had flowed through his mouth in the form of the verse. Then,

Brahmā blessed the sage with the insight into all the characters of Rāma's story and the latter composed on the basis of the story given to him earlier by Nārada, the glorious epic *Rāmāyaṇa*, with the 24,000 verses—on the model of the *Mā niṣāda* verse,—having lovely metres, honey-like words and sublime ideas.

Under the fifth verse *Kāvyasyātmā* etc. in the first *Uddyota* of the *Dhvanyāloka* (hereafter called *Dhvani*) refers to this episode in a single sentence, that runs according to a major number of editions, as follows :

तथा चादिकवेः निहतसहचरीविरहकातरक्रौञ्चाक्रन्दजनितः शोक एव श्लोकतया परिणतः

'Hence generated by the wail of the he-curlew, that had been afraid of the separation from its female partner struck down, the First Poet's sorrow transformed itself into a verse'.

While glossing on this sentence Abhinavagupta writes :

···निहतसहचरी इत्यनेन विभाव उक्तः, आक्रन्दितशब्देनानुभावः

'The condition causing the emotion is mentioned by the expression "the female partner killed", and the external indication of the feeling, by the word "cry"

Abhinavagupta's commentator Uttuṅgodaya too glosses :

सहचरीहननमत्र विभावः

'In the present context the killing of the female partner is the condition causing emotion'.

From what we have seen above this much is quite clear : the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* speaks of the killing of the he-curlew while the *Dhvani* text—if it is to be understood in a straightforward way—describes the shooting down of the she-curlew. This discrepancy has naturally attracted the attention of the scholars. Discussions have risen and they are rising and ought to be arrested.

Here is the *Saṅgraha-śloka* :

विगानुमित्थं पश्यामः क्रुङ्वधाश्रयवाक्ययोः ।
ध्वनौ रामायणेऽत्रैतद्यथाशक्ति विचार्यते ॥

'Thus we find discrepancy among the *krauñcavadha* passages in the *Dhvani* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*; and this is being examined here as far as possible'.

II

In 1937 Pandit Badrinath Sarma brought out his edition of the *Dhvani* with his commentary *Dīdhiti* (Chowkhamba). In the above passage of the *Dhvani*, Pandit Sarma deliberately substitutes *sahacara* for *sahacarī* and *krauñcyākranda* for *krauñcākranda* and condemns the usual texts of the *Dhvani* and of its commentaries as wrong readings crept in due to the ignorance of the copyists. For, he argues, they go against the *Rāmāyaṇa* text. But, as we shall see in the sequel, Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* text at times is at variance with Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. But on that account no one so far dared to suggest an emendation to or condemnation of the former.

In 1940, Pandit Pattabhirama Sastri brought out an edition of the *Dhvani* with *Locana* and *Bālapriyā* (Chowkhamba). Here the editor has retained the *Dhvani* text, under question, as given above. And in an editorial note (pp. 88-89) he argues : All the available books and manuscripts of the *Dhvani* read *nihatasahacarī* and *krauñcākranda* only and the commentators support that reading only; all these readings cannot be due to the ignorance of the copyists and hence they should not be brushed aside as wrong. By way of solving the problem of the said discrepancy, Pandit Sastri suggests this: Ānandavardhana, the great master of the *dhvani* school intends to give us, in the above passage not the obvious meaning of the verse *Mā niṣāda*, but only its implied meaning (*dhvanyartha*) i.e. Rāvaṇa's stealing away—which was in fact worse than actual killing—Sītā, the female partner of the pair viz. Sītā and Rāmā, who were the *krauñca*-s or those emaciated due to forest-dwelling. To this argument the editor draws in a support from the famous *Rāmāyaṇa* commentators, like Govindarāja etc., who too find the said *dhvanyartha* in the *Mā niṣāda* verse. But it is quite obvious that the so-called implied meaning of the verse and the Pandit's interpretation of the *Dhvani* passage *vācyārtha* or direct meaning of another *Rāmāyaṇa* verse in the context, where it is clearly stated that the hunter shot down the *male* bird only.

तस्मात्तु मिथुनादेकं पुमांसं पापनिश्चयः ।
जघान वैरनिलयो निषादस्तस्य पश्यतः ॥

Further, the context of the *Mā niṣāda* verse in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is this : It is an outpour of the poet's sorrow. And it is viewed in the tradition as a flow of the Goddess of Speech Herself. Hence one may find it convenient to read here the said *dhvanyartha* or the suggestion of the basic theme of the

epic (*kāvyārthasūcanā*) viz. the separation of Sītā and Rāma. But the context of the disputed passage in the *Dhvani* is altogether different. It is of a human agency and it is concerned only with the causes that kindled the poet's sorrow and it is not meant to speak of or hint at the meaning of the verse that was yet to be born.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri's *Upalocana* commentary along with the *Dhvani* and with the *Locana* and *Kaumudī* commentaries appeared in 1944[1]. But Prof. Sastri's view on the passage in question seems to have been widely known among the scholars much earlier (i.e. at least since 1912) through his students.[2] MM. Sastri accepts the reading

निहतसहचरी···क्रौञ्चाक्रन्द ·· etc.

He seems to believe that the discrepancy between the *Dhvani* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* is only apparent and not real. He construes the word *nihata*, not with the immediately following *sahacarī*, but with distant *krauñca* in the compound, so that what is said to have been struck down could only be the he-curlew. Similarly *nihatasahacarī* in Abhinavagupta's *Locana* stands, according to MM. Sastri, for the *Dhvani* passage *nihatasahacarī-virahakātara*, and it does not signify that *nihata* must be construed with *sahacarī*. The same idea was echoed ten years earlier i.e. in 1934 by K. S. Ramasvami Sastri Siromani in his notes on the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, he edited.[3] K.S.R. Sastri was MM. Sastri's student.[4] In 1959 G. H. Bhatt underlined[5] MM. Sastri's another suggestion that the disputed passages of the *Dhvani* and *Locana* must have originally read *nihatasahacāri*, "companion killed", so that these passages may not contradict the *Rāmāyaṇa* text.

But all this text-twisting appears to be of no avail : Firstly to construe *nihata* with the far off *krauñca* instead of the next following *sahacarī* is to ignore the style of the *Dhvani*. Secondly, to describe the he-curlew as being afraid of separation of his female partner (*sahacarī-viraha-kātara*) is to go counter to the Epic where we find that the struck down he-curlew, struggled for life and died and he did not have time or mind even to think of his partner's separation,

Thirdly to construe the word *krauñca* with either of the only available two succeeding words in the compound of the *Dhvani* passage is to overlook

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1. Pub. Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras.
2. See *JOI*, Baroda, IX, p. 151, n. 12.
3. Third Ed. *GOS*, 1934, p. 144.
4. See *JOI*, Baroda, IX, p. 151, n. 12.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

a series of difficulties, textual and syntactical. If it is to be connected with the next following *ākranda* by a *Tatpuruṣa* compound (*krauñcasya ākrandaḥ*), then it would violate the *Rāmāyaṇa* text according to which the he-curlew made no cry. On the other hand, if *krauñca* and *ākranda* were to be connected by a *Dvandva* and the entire thing by a *Tatpuruṣa* with *janitaḥ* (*krauñcaś ca ākrandaś* ca ; *tābhyāṃ janitaḥ*), then it would again contradict the *Rāmāyaṇa* where we read that only the sight of the physical suffering of the struck-down he-curlew kindled the sense of sorrow in the poet, while the hearing of the pathetic cry of the surviving she-curlew caused the sage to pour out a verse[6]. Further the construction and interpretation of the passage in this manner may not be syntactically very happy. For, *ākranda* or the act of cry requires a word expressing its author viz. *krauñcī*, not found in the compound.

In 1974 Prof. K. Krishnamoorthy brought out a critical edition of the *Dhvanyāloka* with his scholarly English Translation and Notes.[7] He discusses the problem of the present text at length[8]. Rightly he disapproves the forced and far-fetched explanations given by Sastri and G. H. Bhatt on the ground that they are hardly permissible in the uniformly straightforward style of the *Dhvanyāloka*. For his support he quotes P. V. Kane in this regard. The Professor confesses his difficulty in fixing the reading of the passage in question. Yet, in preference to निहतसहचरी, he accepts the reading संनिहितसहचरी etc. found in some of the MSS. and certified by P. V. Kane as more genuine.

The advantage of this reading is quite obvious. For the passage संनिहितसहचरीविरह does not speak of any bird being killed; hence it does not go counter to the *Rāmāyaṇa* text. But this advantage is only negative in nature. And it does give us enough scope to charge Ānandavardhana with the serious omission of the most important item in the episode, viz. shootidg down a curlew. For it is this act that kindled Vālmīki's emotion-of-pity. Cf.

तथा तु तं द्विजं दृष्ट्वा निषादेन निपातितम् ।
ऋषेर्धर्मात्मनस्तस्य कारुण्यं समजायत ॥[9]

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6. *Bāla*, ii. 12 and 15.
7. Pub. Karnatak University, Dharwar.
8. Pp. 311 ff.
9. *Bāla*. ii. 12.

And it is this emotion-of-pity that transformed itself into the verse *Mā niṣāda* etc. Further as in the earliar cases, so in the present one also क्रौञ्चाक्रन्दजनितः शोकः etc. violates the *Rāmāyaṇa* according to which Vālmīki's emotion-of-pity, that was born as stated above on seeing the dying he-curlew, transformed itself into the verse on hearing the pathetic cry of the she-curlew. Further in the passage संनिहितसहचरीविरह etc. the adjective *saṃnihita* seems to be redundant as it serves practically no purpose.

Above all, echoing Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* (or perhaps independently) Rājaśekhara writes in his *Kāvyamimāṃsā*[10] as :

स (वाल्मीकिः)··· निषादनिहतसहचरीकं क्रौञ्चयुवानं करुणकेङ्कारया गिरा क्रन्दन्तमुद्वीक्ष्य शोकवान् श्लोकमुञ्जगाद मा निषाद···

'Having witnessed the he-curlew-youth, whose female mate had been struck down by the hunter and who was (therefore) crying a pathetical note of *kreṅ*, Vālmīki became remorseful and cried out the verse *Mā niṣāda—*'.

It is needless to point out that the above text of Rājaśekhara goes against Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* text much more openly than Ānandavardhana's text. No ordinary text-twisting can work out a compromise. Some have summarily rejected (*apahastitāiva*)[11] the *Kāvyamimāṃsā* text, because it violates the *Rāmāyaṇa* text. Feeling helpless, some others simply point out the discrepancy between the two texts.[12]

However, MM. Kuppuswami Sastri has ventured to suggest[13] that Rājaśekhara's text must have originally read as :

निषादनिहतसहचरीकं क्रौञ्चयुवानं करुणकेङ्कारया गिरा च क्रौञ्चीं क्रन्दन्तीमुद्वीक्ष्य···

'Having observed the youthful he-curlew whose association (or company i.e. associate or companion) had been struck down by the hunter, as well as the she-curlew crying a pathetical *kreṅ* note'.

With satisfaction G. H. Bhatt has underlined[14] this emendation. However, even accepting that one has full licence to emend the *Kāvyamimāṃsā* text as one wants, we are at a loss to know whether this emended text could bring the expected solution of the problem. For *niṣādanihatasahacarikam*, a

10. *Op. cit.*, p. 7.
11. Pandit Badarinath Sarma, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
12. K. S. Ramasvami Sasti, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Prof. K. Krishnamoorthy, *op. cit.*, p. 311.
13. *Op. cit.*, p. 164
14. *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

Bahuvrīhi compound word, is qualifying *krauñcayuvānam* 'youthful he-curlew'. Hence the latter's companion struck down by the hunter must have been only she-curlew—which again does not agree with the *Rāmāyaṇa* text. If the emended passage were to be interpreted in such a way as to denote what was struck down by the hunter was only the association or company and not associate or companion, then it would not suit such a beautiful, vivid and simple style of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* text. Further to strike down a company, killing of either of the partners is not necessary. Rāvaṇa struck down the company of Sītā and Rāma by merely kidnapping the former. By deporting Yakṣa to Rāmagiri, Dhanada struck down the association of the Yakṣa and Yakṣī. Similar destruction of the association alone of the curlew couple is a thing quite unsuitable to the present context of the *krauñca* episode. If Rājaśekhara's text is to be faithful to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it must be drastically corrected to read as :

निषादनिहतक्रौञ्चयुवानमुद्वीक्ष्य शोकवान् करुणक्रेङ्कारया गिरा क्रन्दन्तीं च क्रौञ्चयुवतीं संश्रुत्य श्लोकमुज्जगाद···

And no one would like to take this drastic step. Thus all attempts of scholars to strike a unanimity between the *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* texts have borne no fruits. Here is the *Parikara śloka* :

ध्वनौ रामायणे चैव क्रुङ्वधाश्रयवाक्ययोः ।
एकार्थीकरणे व्यग्राः सूरयो भग्नकामनाः ॥

> 'As they are busy in achieving a unanimity among the sentences of the *Dhvanyāloka* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, describing curlew-killing, they have their desire unfulfilled'.

III

Thus it is futile to twist or tamper with texts of Ānandavardhana, Rājaśekhara etc. in order to make them fall in line with the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Let us now try an altogether different strategy. All the scholars, who have dealt with the problem so far, had assumed that the text of Vālmīki remained the same and pure and that corruption could have entered into the texts of Ānandavardhana etc. However, it is but logical to hold that being much more popular, Vālmīki's text could have absorbed into itself slightly different regions of the vast Bhārata down the ages. It is but logical to believe that being well known for their critical approach to their subject and for their veneration to Vālmīki, writers like Ānandavrdhana etc. would not have ignored the *Rāmāyaṇa* text they had with them.

Now it may be noted that from the Critical Edition of the *Bālakāṇḍa*[15] of Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* we come to know of some of the MSS of the Northern, Western, North-Western and Bengal groups, probably reading निशम्य करुणं क्रौञ्चम् in the place of निशम्य रुदतीं क्रौञ्चीम् that decides the sex of the surviving curlew, in verse no. 13, just preceding *Mā niṣāda* etc. Again in verse no. 10, some of the Devanāgarī MSS. seem to read तस्मात्तु मिथुनादेकं सुरम्यं पापनिश्चयः for तस्मात्तु मिथुनादेकं पुमांसं पापनिश्चियः which clinches the sex of the bird shot down by the hunter. We also learn that there are MSS. in which all the thirteen verses preceding the *Mā niṣāda* verse, or some of them, are missing; and in some other MSS. there are additions in this section. Hence, it is highly probable that the *krauñcavadha* text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which Ānandavardhana etc. had with them described the killing of the she-curlew and the lamenting of her male partner. Or their *Rāmāyaṇa* text was simply neutral on the point of the sex of the bird killed, as it is the case, for example with the *Mā niṣāda* verse itself. For क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकम् 'one among the pair of the curlews' cannot itself decide the issue. This fact has been the primary cause of our present controversy. This indecisive nature of the text of this portion is perhaps reflected by Bhoja by writing

कञ्चन क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकं पञ्चशरविद्धमपि व्याधेनानुविद्धम् etc.[16]

However, Ānandavardhana and Rājaśekhara seem to have ventured to write that it was the female-bird that was shot down. Perhaps, they took a clue from another equally famous and tragic *kapotavadha* episode, narrated by Rāma in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (canto 18) where we read that a heartless hunter killed the female partner of a dove-pair.

Further it is also good to bear in mind another fact : "The portion consisting of the first four cantos of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, where the *krauñcavadha* episode occurs, is the composition not by Vālmīki, but by one of the students of his; however, because it has been added as a prologue to the sage's work, that portion also came to be known as the work of Vālmīki himself". This is the verdict of Rāma, the author of the famous *Tilaka* commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. If this observation is correct and if that student (we do not

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15. See Baroda Ed. canto 2.
16. *Campū Rāmāyaṇa*, NSP 1924, p. 7. On the other hand if *kaṃ cana* here is to be necessarily taken to speak of the male bird, then Bhoja's text may be deemed to follow the *Rāmāyaṇa* text.

know whether he was Vālmīki's direct disciple or one belonging to a subsequent age) had the freedom to think of the he-curlew being shot down, then is it improbable or incongruous that Ānandavardhana and Rājaśekhara, also faithful students of Vālmīki—of course centuries later—could have taken equal liberty to describe the she-curlew as the one shot down by the hunter? They seem to have thought that in spite of the available different text of the prologue, every student of Vālmīki, whether direct or distant, can independently conceive of the circumstances that led to the birth of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. That is why Rājaśekhara gives, in his own way, some more details of the circumstances, not found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* prologue. For example, he speaks of Vālmīki receiving boon from Goddess of Speech (*Vāgdevi*) by helping Her in locating Her lost child viz. *Kāvyapuruṣa*.[17] This description, if it is to be understood in normal way, does not at all suit the text and tenor of the prologue of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Above all, is it a sin on the part of a poet or a writer to say something contradicted by the Epic? If the answer is 'Yes', then Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti would be great sinners for writing respeetively the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala* and the *Uttararāmacarita* where many details are contradicted by the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Further, the former commits sin by not following Vālmīki's Epic in the details of apportioning the *pāyasa* by Daśaratha among his three wives[18] and in describing Ahalyā as having been transformed into stone (*śilāmayī*) due to her husband's curse.[19] Bhoja has taken an oath that he would follow Vālmīki in his *Rāmāyaṇa Campū*. Yet in the *pāyasa*—episode[20] he commits a sin by being faithful to Kālidāsa and not to Vālmīki. Their commentators, however, tell us that these poets are following in these instances some *purāṇa* and not the *Rāmāyaṇa*. If in this manner Kālidāsa etc. could be absolved of their alleged sin, why not then Ānanndavardhana and Rājaśekhara ? May be they too had some cue in some *purāṇa* to support their way of presenting the *krauñcavadha* episode.

At any rate the much discussed and protracted controversy, we are studying, seem to be '*much ado about nothing*'. First of all why should the texts of Ānandavardhana and Rājaśekhara be viewed as problem texts ? In the field of poetry and poetics one should appreciate variety much more than uniformity. For, the great poets are totally immersed in nature and the

17. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
18. *Raghuvaṃśa*, X.54-57.
19. *Ibid.*, XI·34.
20. *Campū Rāmāyaaṇa*, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

nature abounds in diversity and variety. So while studying Ānandavardhana, Rājaśekhara etc. it is enough if one satisfies the science of *Sāhitya* and the *sahṛdaya*-s. This task itself is difficult enough. Here one need not take too much pain to satisfy the *Mīmāṃsā* and the *Mīmāṃsaka*-s also, who insist on uniformity and unanimity (*ekavākyatā*) and abhor diverse views (*vākyabheda*).

Of course one could argue : While writing creative works like *Raghuvaṃśa* etc., the poets do have liberty to be original even in the epic themes. But in writing scientific research treatises like *Dhvanyāloka*, *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* etc. the authors are expected to fall in line with the original sources. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is the most original source in the field of *Sāhitya*. Hence *ekavākyatā* between the *Rāmāyaṇa* prologue, *Dhvanyāloka* and *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* is to be worked out. But let us keep into the camp of the *Mīmāṃsaka*-s themselves who hold high the principle of *ekavākyatā* above every other thing. Here we find not all, not even all the Bhāṭṭas, talking in one voice. The disagreements among the Bhāṭṭas and Prabhākaras are proverbial. In this camp these differences are not only tolerated, but also appreciated and perpetuated. In that case, should the literary men make a mountain out of the mole hill of this small difference between the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka* and of the *Rāmāyaṇa* prologue ? The great commentator Abhinavagupta was obviously mindful of the necessity and utility of this approach and hence he did not find any problem in Ānandavardhana's *krauñcavadha* text. Let me conclude this section with this *Saṅgraha śloka* :—

घट्टोपविष्टानिव वाग्भिरर्थैः
काव्यागमज्ञानिह सान्त्वयामः ।
आप्लुत्य भल्लूकवदापतन्तः
कथं नु जय्या इव जैमिनीयाः ॥[21]

'Here (in our field of literature) masters of poetics look like the officials seated in the customs office and we may satisfy them with appropriate words and ideas (or gifts). But how to silence the followers of Jaimini who jump and pounce upon us like bears' ?

IV

On the other hand if one feels a problem in the *Dhvanyāloka* text and also feels to solve it in a typical *Mīmāṃsaka* way, then one may do so, but by following an altogether different path. Let us try that too :

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21. This verse is of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita's *Śivalīlārṇava* (Srirangam, 1911) canto 1, verse 71, which, however, reads *Gautamīyāḥ* instead of our *Jaiminīyaḥ*.

We have seen above that there could have been two types of texts of *krauñcavadha* episode—the first one with the description of the he-curlew being killed, and the second one with that of the she-curlew. If they were reports on certain event, then out of the two, only one could be right and the other must be necessarily wrong. How to decide which one is authentic ? For, while the first text appears to be popular among the *Rāmāyaṇa* commentators, the second one has been certainly very much favoured by a series of great authorities (*śiṣṭaparigṛhīta*) like Ānandavardhana, Rājaśekhara, Abhinavagupta, Uttuṅgodaya etc. Thus, it would appear that both the texts carry equal weight. Hence we cannot straightaway pass any judgement without scrutinizing the problem more fundamentally.

No doubt the killing of one partner of a couple of some living beings requires to be introduced in the *Rāmāyaṇa* prologue in order to kindle the poet's passion of sorrow, the basic sentiment of the Epic (*Vipralambha-śṛṅgāra*). But should this couple be of curlews ? From the Sanskrit works we come to know that deer had been always dearer to and more popular in the Indian hermitages. Earlier we have also referred to the dove episode found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself. So why should not we find a pair of deer or doves instead of curlews in the prologue ? The author could have as well composed the *Mā niṣāda* verse with the third quarter यस्मान्मृगयुगादेकम् or यत् कपोतयुगादेकम्

Further, in the prologue we read that the hunter killed only one bird of the pair. (For the time being it is immaterial for us whether he killed the male or female bird). Why is he not depicted to have shot down the other bird also ? In fact the other bird did not fly off in terror from the scene; but it was very much there in the neighbourhood pathetically crying. Cf.

भार्या तु निहतं दृष्ट्वा रुराव करुणां गिरम् ।[22]
निशाम्य रुदतीं क्रौञ्चीमिदं वचनमब्रवीत् ॥[23]

A hunter who was a confirmed sinner (*pāpaniścayaḥ*) and was a permanent abode of hatred (*vairanilayaḥ*) would not have normally spared the other bird available so nearby. Why did he not shoot down that also ? These are the fundamental questions and they cannot be answered without examining the context still further. For, as I have said elsewhere [24] there lies a secret in the context :

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22. *Bāla.*, ii.11.
23. *Ibid.*, ii.13.
24. See *Purāṇa*, Vol, XXIII, No. 1, p. 23.

Just before the *krauñca* affair, Vālmīki had got the plot of Rāma's story from Nārada; immediately after that affair the sage was going to be blessed by Brahmā with an extraordinary power to know all past movements—both physical and mental—of all characters connected with Rāma's story. In between these two events Vālmīki was to win the grace of the Goddess of Speech, so that he could get the ability to compose the Epic in all its sublimity. This ability was most essential for the birth of the Epic. Hence, Vālmīki had to win the grace of the Goddess. That could not be won except by gratifying Her. According to the tradition of the ancient Indian sages gratification of a god or goddess is not possible without a *yajña* i.e. sacrifice; and *yajña* is nothing but an act of offering a prescribed commodity aiming a deity in question, as the *Mīmāṃsaka*-s would say.[25] If so, a question would naturally come up as to what commodity should be offered to the Goddess of Speech. Now, because the question is concerned with *yajña*, one may have to turn to the Veda for necessary guidance. The tradition too tells us that the Veda itself came out from Vālmīki in the form of the *Rāmāyaṇa* :

वेदः प्राचतेसादासीत् साक्षात् रामायणात्मना ।

Now it could be suggested, on the basis of the Vedic injunctions, that a *krauñca* must be offered to the Goddess of Speech as enjoined in the Veda. Most probably thinking in terms of the Vedic traditions only, the killing of curlew, instead of anything else, has been introduced in the *Rāmāyaṇa* prologue. For, while prescribing lists of different creatures (*paśu*) to be offered to different subordinate gods and goddesses connected with Aśvamedha sacrifice, the Veda prescribes curlew as a creature to be offered to the Goddess of Speech : वाचे क्रौञ्चः[26]

This vedic injunction gives a definite clue to decide the question of correctness or otherwise .of the two different readings or traditiosn of the *Rāmāyaṇa* texts mentioned above. For, in the said Vedic injunction वाचे क्रौञ्चः the word *krauñcaḥ* denoting the object of injunction is in the Masculine gender and in the Singular number. The experts in the fields of *Mīmāṃsā* and of the sacrificial lore (*Śrautasūtra*) affirm that the number, in which an object of injunction is found occuring, must be necessarilly taken into account.

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25. देवतोद्देशेन द्रव्यत्यागो यागः

26. A list comences as मनुः प्राजापत्यः and ends with वाचे क्रौञ्चः *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, ५.५.१२.

विधेयगतलिङ्गसंख्ययोर्विवक्षितत्वात्

Thus, according to the said Vedic injunction, one should offer[27] one (not two) male (not female) curlew alone (nothing else) to win the grace of the Goddess of Speech and it is only proper to believe that the passages in the *krauñcavadha* episode in the *Rāmāyaṇa* prologue and elsewhere have been influenced by the said and other Vedic injunctions and traditions. In this context it would be of much interest to hear the great *Mīmāṃsāvārtikakāra* Kumārila Bhaṭṭa saying that the sentences of Vālmīki, Dvaipāyana etc. are very much influenced by the Vedic passages they had studied :

वेदप्रस्थानाभ्यासेन हि वाल्मीकिद्वैपायनप्रभृतिभिः तथैव स्ववाक्यानि प्रणीतानि…[28]

Therefore, it is natural that being a conformist to the Vedic authority, the *Mīmāṃsaka* would approve only that text which contains the description of he-curlew as being killed. For it is *vaidika* or confirmable to the Veda. He would reject the other reading as *avaidika*, even though it has been favoured by great authorities in the field of poetics. He would also think it futile to strike a compromise between these two conflicting texts. Now it is worth-while to recall how a more or less a similar problem of some conflicting Smṛtis (authorities on *Dharma*) has been decided in the same way by Śaṅkarācārya following certain *Mīmāṃsā* dictum.

विप्रतिपत्तौ च स्मृतीनां अवश्यकर्तव्येऽन्यतरपरिग्रहे अन्यतरपरित्यागे च श्रुत्यनुसारिण्यः स्मृतयः प्रमाणम्, अनपेक्ष्या इतराः ।[29]

> 'when there is conflict among the Smṛtis and when one is to be necessarily accepted and the other rejected, then those Smṛtis conforming to the Śruti are authentic and others irrelevant'

Here is the *Saṅkṣepa-śloka* :

पाठानां मातृकास्थानां विरोधे हि परस्परम् ।
निषादेन हतः क्रौञ्चोऽथवा क्रौञ्चीति संशये ।
इतिकर्तव्यतां तत्र मीमांसा बोधयिष्यति ।।

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27. Now one may naturally ask : The hunter had sacrificed the male curlew as per the Vedic injunction. But by that act, how could Vālmīki be benefitted and get the grace of the Goddess to compose the Epic ? I have answered this pertinent question at great length in the *Purāṇa*, Vol. XXIII, no. 1, pp. 30 ff.
28. See *Mīmāṃsāvārttika* under I.11.7.
29. See Śaṅkarācārya under *Brahmasūtra*, II.1.1.

'when there is mutual contradiction among the readings of the manuscripts and there is a doubt whether the *krauñca* or *krauñcī* was shot down by the hunter, then *Mimāṃsā* will teach us what to do'.

Now on the basis of the above detailed discussion, we may conclude : If we are interested only in treading upon the monotonous path of the *Mimāṃsaka*-s we may have to discard or drastically mend the *Dhvanyāloka* passage and its source, viz. the unconforming text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* prologue. On the other hand, if we choose to proceed on the variform path of the poets, then there is no problem at all in the *Dhvanyāloka* text. Whether the bird shot down by the hunter was male or female, it makes no difference. For in either case the result, viz. kindling of the poet's sorrow, is the same.

विरुद्धधर्मद्वयसंनिपाते-
ऽप्यभेदबुद्धिं फलतो दधानम् ।
मां पातु भेदप्रतिभासशून्यं
स्त्रीपुंसरूपं शिवयोः शरीरम् ॥[30]

30. This is an adaptation from my revered teacher Sri Paṇḍitarāja V. Subrahmaṇya Sastri's verse (*Khyātitattvasaṅgaraha*, Trichy, 1982, p. 1, verse 2).

RUKMIṆĪ, KṚṢṆA'S BROTHER'S WIFE (*JĀYĀ*)

Biswanarayan Shastri

Rukmiṇī, the daughter of Bhīṣmaka, the king of Vidarbha, is the one of the eight principal consorts and the chief queen of Kṛṣṇa. The story is well known and told in the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṃśa* and a number of purāṇas. However, one of the verses quoted in the eleventh story of the *Śukasaptati* speaks of illicit *affaire de couer* of Kṛṣṇa with Rukmiṇī, the wife of Kṛṣṇa's brother (*bhrātṛjāyā*).

> *Śukasaptati*, a compilation of seventy rebald stories depicting mainly the tricks played by the unfaithful wives on their husbands and paramours, is of unknown date and author. Though the present redaction is ascribed to one Cintāmaṇibhaṭṭa, and placed in the twelfth century A.D., the stories were current since long in the society and were handed down generation after generation till they were compiled, perhaps in Prakrit, before the Sanskrit redaction, which is available to us today. There were, it seemed, more than one versions of those stories, and also more than one compilations, atleast one abridged and the other elaborate, called *Simplicior* and *Ornator* by Richard Schmidt.[1]
>
> The seventy stories put in the mouth of a parrot are in Sanskrit prose interspersed with Sanskrit and Prakrit verses. Although the Sanskrit verses at the beginning of each story are composed by the compiler or by some original author, not named, the Sanskrit verses quoted in the body of the text are from different authorities, such as the *Mahābhārata*, the purāṇa-s, *kāvya*-s, *nāṭaka*-s, *Arthaśāstra*, *Kāmasūtra*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*

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1. *Die Śukasaptati* (Textus ornatior), Richard-Schmidt, Stuttgart, 1899.
   Der Textus Ornatior, Çukasaptati, Stuttgart, 1896.
   Vier *Erzahlungen Aus Der Çukasaptati*, Sanskrit und Deutshu, Keil 1890.

and similar works, while the origin of all the Prakrit verses is not easily traceable : some of them are incomplete or unintelligible.

For proper appreciation of the verse in question, the context of the story is to be stated, and hence, the said story is retold here briefly.[2]

Once there was a village called Dāhila. There in that village lived one Vilocana, the village chief. His young wife Rambhikā was unfaithful to him and always desired to enjoy the sexual pleasure with other men, but none dared respond to her gestures and enticement out of fear of her husband. One day she, pretending to fetch water, went to the village tank. There she met a handsome *brāhmaṇa* youth, whom she brought home with the instruction that he should follow her and concur with what she would say. On reaching home Rambhikā, pointing to the youth, asked her husband smilingly :

"Look, dear, who has come ?"

"I do not know", said the unsuspecting husband.

"He is my mother's sister's son", said Rambhikā, "separated from me in my childhood. Now he has come here in search of me".

"I am glad. Take good care of your relation", said the husband.

In the night she went to the bed of the youth for having the sexual enjoyment with so fine a youth. The youth, however, refused to enjoy pleasure of her and declined the approach saying that she was his sister.

"You have introduced me to your husband as your brother, hence, you are my sister. How could I enjoy sexual pleasure with my sister? Words once spoken and accepted, are to be honoured even at the cost of life".

Rambhikā pleaded with the youth. "When a woman under the influence of *Kāma* approaches a man for having sex, but refused, the woman is hurt, she heaves sighs in pain, and the man is bound to be burnt by those hot sighs". Moreover, it is said :

"It is heard that in the ancient times Kṛṣṇa had accepted love-sick Rukmiṇī for having sex, though she happened to be his brother's wife; who can ignore the influence of *Kāma*" ?

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2. Motilal Banarsi Dass, Delhi.

> "*śrūyate Rukmiṇī pūrvaṃ Kṛṣṇena madanāturā |*
> *gṛhītā bhrātṛjāyāpi kaḥ kāmamatilaṅghayet ||*"

She then speaks about the lapses of Brahmā, who chased his daughter in a lustful desire, and ejaculated having seen the beauty of Pārvatī at her marriage with Hara, wherefrom the Bālakhilyas were born.

> "*Viriñcirapi kāmārtaḥ svasutāmabhilāṣukaḥ |*
> *dṛśyate'dyāpi viyati hāriṇīṃ tanumāśritaḥ ||*
> *vivāhe Pārvatīm dṛṣṭvā Harasya haravallabhām |*
> *caskanda retastasyāpi bālakhilyāstadudbhavāḥ ||*"

The youth was not convinced; he was blackmailed and he submitted. Evidently these verses are from the *purāṇas,* however the three are together or separate, is not clear. (We could not trace as yet the first). Citation of mythological stories to illustrate the illicitt sex relation within the prohibitive degree is a common practice with the classical authors.

Vātsyāyana, the author of *Kāmasūtra* advises of citing the instances of Śakuntalā[3], Ahalyā, Avimāraka etc.[4] *Kandarpacūḍāmaṇi*[5] explains this as "*Śakuntalādi-kathayāviṣayāsoktām*"[6] and

> "*puratāścaritāni parapuruṣanāriṇām |*
> *ādau kṛtvā'halyām munivanitāṃ viśrutāṃ loke*". ||[7]

Apart from such works on sexology as deal with the seduction of other's wives, the *paurāṇic* mythology is also full of such references. The arguments put forward, in places, by the woman is rather queer. For instance, Śarmiṣṭhā, the daughter of the king Vṛṣaparvan, who was compelled to accompany Devayānī as the maid in waiting to the royal palace of Yayāti, the husband of Devayānī. Apprehending misconduct on the part of the king Yayāti Śukra, father of Devayānī warned him "not to summon her (Śarmiṣṭhā) to his bed". However, once Śarmiṣṭhā, finding the king in a secluded place, approached him to have sexual intercourse with her in the following words ;

"It hath been said, 'O king! it is not sinful to lie on the occasion of a joke in respect of women sought to be enjoyed, on the occasion of marriage,

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3. 3.55.
4. 5.4.14. Pañcānan Tarkaratna, edt. with Bengali translation.
5. *Kandarpacūḍāmaṇi*, Banarasi Dass Sundarlal, Lahore, 1926.
6. 3.3.19.
7. 5.4.15.

in the peril of immediate death, and of the loss of one's whole fortune...... O king! it is not true that he is fallen who speaks not the truth, when asked. Both Devayānī and myself have been called hither as companion to serve the same purpose. When, therefore, thou hadst said that thou wouldst confine thyself to one only amongst us, that was a lie thou hadst spoken".

To this Yayāti replied. "That monarch certainly meets with destruction who speaks an untruth. As for myself, I do not dare speak untruth... .'[8]

To this Śarmiṣṭhā put an argument with a strange reasoning. "O monarch! one may look upon her friend's husband as her own. One's friend's marriage is the same as one's own. Thou hast been chosen by my friend as her husband. Thou art as much my husband, therefore".---- "Absolve me O king, from sin ! protect my virtue; becoming a mother by thee, let me practise the highest virtue.."[9] Yayāti had to comply with the request and summoned Śarmiṣṭhā to his bed and the consequence followed.

* * * *

In the verse referring to Rukmiṇī as the wife of Kṛṣṇa's brother's it is to be seen if it is an exaggeration of the mythology or a parallel mythology was current at a certain point of time.

Rukmiṇī's marriage to Kṛṣṇa, or her abduction, is well known to be repeated here. Rukmiṇī has been deified in the *Mahābhārata* and the *purāṇa*-s. The *Mahābhārata* says that *Śrī devī* by her portion, took birth in the earth as Rukmiṇī in the family of Bhīṣmaka.[10] *Viṣṇupurāṇa* says that in the incarnation of Śrī Rāma Lakṣmī became Sītā and in that of Śrī Kṛṣṇa she was Rukmiṇī"[11] *Padmapurāṇa* also speaks in the same tune. *Kalkipurāṇa* prescribes *Rukmiṇīvrata* [12]

"*Rāghavatve'bhavat Sītā Rukmiṇī Kṛṣṇajanmani*" /
"*Kamalāṃśena sambhūtā sarva-lakṣaṇa-śobhitā*" /[13]

The *Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa* gives the details of the marriage.[14] Rukmiṇī, the youngest of the six children of the king Bhīṣmaka was forcibly taken

8. *The Mahābhārata, Ādi*. p. LXXii, P. C. Roy, Calcutta, Second edn.
9. *samāvetau matau rājan patiḥ sakhyāśca yaḥ patiḥ /*
samaṃ vivāhamityāhuḥ sakhyā me'si vṛtaḥ patiḥ. //
The *Mahābhārata*, Gītā Press, *Ādi*, ch. 82.19
10. *Mbh. Ādi.*, ch. 67.
11. *VP., Aṃśa.* 1, ch. 9.
12. *KP.*, ch. 39.
13. *Padma. P.* ch. 67.
14. *Bh. Sk*, 10.

away by Kṛṣṇa from the nuptial hall. Her eldest brother wanted to give her in marriage to Śiśupāla. Can it be construed that Rukmiṇī was betrothed to Śiśupāla ? Even it was so, she cannot be described as '*jāyā*' of anybody, and for that matter of Śiśupāla. Śiśupāla is the son of the king Damaghoṣa of Cedi, by his wife Śrutasravā.[15] Śrutasravā is Kṛṣṇa's father's sister, hence, Śiśupāla is the first cousin of Kṛṣṇa. [He abducted the wife of Babhru of the Yādava clan and also the daughter of his uncle, the king of Viśālā[16]. He was killed by Kṛṣṇa. It is to be noted that the daughter of Rukmī was married to Pradyumna, the son of Kṛṣṇa by Rukmiṇī. Rukmi was killed by Balabhadra].

It may be argued that the author of the *Śukasaptati* has stretched the innocent proposal of Rukmī, his intention of giving his sister to Śiśupāla, which had not been materialised, as the relation between the two as that of husband and wife, and projected Rukmiṇī as the wife of Śiśupāla, the brother of Kṛṣṇa. However, this seems to be too farfetched. Considering the context, and also the other two verses, along with this one, one may like to draw the conclusion that there was a parallel story to the one told in the *purāṇa*-s, which was referred to in the *Śukasaptati*.

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15. *Ibid.*, 9.
16. *Mbh. Sabhā*, 45.

KĀLIDĀSA'S ṚṢIS

Satya Vrat Shastri

Whenever a writer writes something, consciously or unconsciously he weaves his thoughts into it. His work is in a way an extension of his personality. His creation, it reflects his mind.

Unlike modern writers Kālidāsa has said nothing about himself with the exception of a bare mention of his name in one of his dramas but in the course of his works he has left sufficient hints about his way of thinking, the working of his mind to help us sketch a picture of his personality, what he likes and dislikes, his preferences and priorities.

A study of his works reveals that the Ṛṣis occupy quite a substantial part of his thinking. As a matter of fact, the story of the best of his plays, the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* he has woven round Ṛṣis, one Ṛṣi who gives birth to Śakuntalā, another one who brings her up, still another one who pronounces a curse on her and the fourth one who affords her shelter after her repudiation.

The position of Ṛṣis in Kālidāsa is that while some find a bare mention in his works in connection with some incident or the other, others find a detailed delineation or play a major role in his themes which runs through them to a considerable extent. In the first category too the Ṛṣis could be subdivided into two, those who fell a victim to the charm of the nymphs and those who could resist it. To the first subdivision belong Ṛṣis like

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Note: The references and the quotations in the article are from Kālidāsa's text as given in the *Kālidāsagranthāvalī*, edited by Rewa Prasad Dwivedi, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 1976. The Act number from the dramas and the Canto number as also the verse number from the poems have been added to facilitate consultation from other editions

Viśvāmitra and Māṇḍakarṇi who were enticed by Menakā[1] and five nymphs[2] respectively. To the other belong Sutīkṣṇa whom the blandishments of the nymphs were not able to corrupt[3] as also Tṛṇabindu who felt so bad with the nymph Hariṇī that he cursed her to be born a mortal female on the earth.[4]

Kālidāsa utilizes the opportunity of describing Rāma's return to Ayodhyā in the aerial car for referring to a number of Ṛṣis and their Āśramas as the car overflies them. Apart from the Ṛṣis referred to above, with the exception of Viśvāmitra, those who find mention in the description are Agastya, not referred to by name but by his unique actions of displacing Nahuṣa with a mere frown from the position of Indrahood and clearing turbid water[5] and Śarabhaṅga who made an oblation of his own body

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1. अनसूया—अस्ति कोऽपि कौशिक इति गोत्रनामधेयो राजर्षिः । गौतमीतीरे पुरा किल तस्य राजर्षेः उग्रे तपसि वर्तमानस्य किमपि जातशङ्कैर्देवैर्मेनका नामाप्सराः प्रेषिता नियमविघ्नकारिणी । ततो वसन्तोदाररमणीये समये तस्या उन्मादयितृ रूपं प्रेक्ष्य…… ।

   Abhijñānaāśkuntala (*Abh.Ś.*), Act I. p. 440.

2. पुरा स दर्भाङ्कुरमात्रवृत्तिश्चरन् मृगैः सार्धमृषिर्मघोना ।
   समाधिभीतेन किलोपनीतः पञ्चाप्सरोयौवनकूटबन्धम् ॥

   Raghuvaṃśa (*Raghu*), XIII.39. p. 205.

3. असौ तपस्यत्यपरस्तपस्वी नाम्ना सुतीक्ष्णश्चरितेन दान्तः ।
   — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
   नालं विकर्तुं जनितेन्द्रशङ्कं सुराङ्गनाविभ्रमचेष्टितानि ॥

   Ibid., XIII.42, p. 205.

4. चरतः किल दुश्चरं तपस्तृणबिन्दोः परिशङ्कितः पुरा ।
   प्रजिघाय समाधिभेदिनीं हरिस्मै हरिणीं सुराङ्गनाम् ॥
   स तपःप्रतिबन्धमन्युना प्रमुखाविष्कृतचारुविभ्रमाम् ।
   अशपद् भव मानुषीति ताम्,

   Raghu, VIII.80, p. 163.

   The reference to Hariṇī occurs in the context of Indumatī's sudden death from the accidental fall of a wreath from Nārada's Vīṇā. Vasiṣṭha in his words of consolation to Aja recounts the incident to tell him of the actual position with his wife, who, being in reality a nymph turned into a human being through curse, had to go back to heaven. The inevitability of it he should accept and not grieve. The curse was limited by the sage to the sight of divine flowers.

   Ibid., XIII.412, p. 205.

5. भ्रूभेदमात्रेण पदान्मघोनः प्रभ्रंशयां यो नहुषं चकार ।
   तस्याविलाम्भःपरिशुद्धिहेतोर्भौमो मुनेः स्थानपरिग्रहोऽयम् ॥

   Ibid., XIII.45, p. 206.

consecrated with Mantras into the holy fire having for long propitiated it with sacred fuel.[6]

The Ṛṣis in the second category, those who find detailed delineation or even if no detailed delineation, play a major role in his works can, on the basis of their temperament and behaviour, be divided into two, those of the fierce type and those of the benign type. In the first category can be put Ṛṣis like Durvāsas and Paraśurāma and in the second Ṛṣis like Kaṇva, Mārīca, Vālmīki and Vasiṣṭha.

Durvāsas who had earned the reputation of quickly flying into rage, सुलभकोपो महर्षिः[7] finds mention in Kālidāsan works at least twice, once, in the context of the pronouncement of the curse on the absent-minded Śakuntalā who could not notice his presence though properly announced : अयमहं भोः[8], the curse that changed the very course of her life and at another time in the context of Lakṣmaṇa on Rāma's door violating the condition for fear of the curse : भीतो दुर्वाससः शापाद्रामसन्दर्शनार्थिनः,[9] in that while Kāla in the guise of a Muni would be having secret discussions with Rāma anybody seeing them would have to be discarded.

Like Durvāsas Paraśurāma too is mentioned twice. First time in the context of his sudden appearance and challenge to Rāma, being incensed at the latter's breaking of Śiva's bow at the Sītā Svayaṃvara, to put the string on his bow and to pull it[10] which he did and sparing his life, he being a Brāhmaṇa, barred his way to the regions, लोक, earned by him through sacrifices saving for him his movement, गति, at his request, he having been allowed to choose between the two.[11] The second time in the context

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6. अदः शरण्यं शरभङ्गनाम्नस्तपोवनं पावनमाहिताग्नेः ।
   चिराय सन्तर्प्य समिद्भिरग्निं यो मन्त्रपूतां तनुमप्यहौषीत् ॥
   Ibid., XIII.45, p. 206.
7. *Abh.Ś.*, p. 478.
8. *Ibid.*, Act IV, p. 477.
9. *Raghu.*, XV.94, p. 227.
10. मैथिलस्य धनुरन्यपार्थिवैस्त्वं किलानमितपूर्वमक्षणोः ।
    तन्निशम्य भवता समर्थये वीर्यशृङ्गमिव भग्नमात्मनः ॥
    Ibid., XI.72, p. 189.
11. न प्रहर्तुमलमस्मि निर्दयं विप्र इत्यभिभवत्यपि त्वयि ।
    शंस किं गतिमनेन पत्त्रिणा हन्मि लोकमुत ते मखार्जितम् ॥
    Ibid., XI.84, p. 190.

of Rāma's command to Lakṣmaṇa to drop Sītā in the forest. Lakṣmaṇa had heard of Paraśurāma having dealt a blow to his mother as to a foe at the command of his father : स शुश्रुवान् मातरि भार्गवेण पितुर्नियोगात् प्रहृतं द्विषद्वत्.[12] He agreed to do what his brother had asked him to. Killing by Paraśurāma of his mother by cutting off of her head is referred to at his sudden appearance before Rāma as mentioned above : पितुः शासने स्थितिभिदोऽपि तस्थुषा वेपमानजननीशिरश्छिदा.[13] He is described as रोषपरुषात्मन्,[14] stern in rage and unkind, merciless : येन प्रागजीयत घृणा ततो मही,[15] who first subdued the feeling of kindness and then the earth.

Apart from being mentioned in the context of being enticed by Menakā, Viśvāmitra also finds mention in the context of asking Daśaratha for Rāma for warding off obstruction to his sacrifice[16] on the conclusion of which he took him together with Lakṣmaṇa who had accompanied him from Ayodhyā to Mithilā on an invitation from Janaka to take part in a sacrifice. When the same was over, he conveyed to Janaka Rāma's wish to see the bow. Feeling unsure of his capacity to handle it for his tender age, he could somehow persuade himself to do so by the confidence expressed in him by the sage which he fully justified by lifting the bow and putting the string on it. While taking Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa from Ayodhyā to his Āśrama the sage is said to have been telling them old tales, पूर्ववृत्तकथितैः, he being well-versed in legendary lore : पुराविदः[17]

Of benign Ṛṣis out to help people in distress, we may first take up Kaṇva who picks up an infant Śakuntalā whom even her mother had forsaken, उज्झितायाः, and brings her up and adopts her as his daughter : शरीरसंवर्धनादिभिस्तातकाश्यपोऽस्याः पिता,[18] though unmarried, शाश्वते ब्रह्मणि स्थितः. He looks to her wellbeing. Sensing that some evil is to befall her he goes on a pilgrimage to Somatīrtha to mitigate it. When of age, he thinks of finding for her a suitable match : अनुरूपवरप्रदाने सङ्कल्पः,[19] सङ्कल्पितं प्रथममेव मया त्वदर्थे भर्तारमात्मसदृशं सुकृतैर्गता त्वम् ।[20]

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12. *Ibid.*, XIV.46, p. 215.
13-15. *Ibid.*, XI.65, p. 188.
16. कौशिकेन स किल क्षितीश्वरो राममध्वरविघातशान्तये ।
    काकपक्षधरमेत्य याचितस्तेजसां हि न वयः समीक्ष्यते ॥
    Ibid., XI.1., p. 183.
17. *Ibid.*, XI.10, p. 183.
18. *Abh.Ś*, Act I, p. 440.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, Act IV, p. 488.

Overflowing with the milk of human kindness, he approves of Śakuntalā's choice made in his absence, without his knowledge and consent and sends her to her husband's home with all the blessings and words of advice. He feels her absence as any father would do. Though a recluse given to hard penance, तपश्चरणपीडितं तातशरीरम्,[21] he gives himself over to so much of emotion that it comes to stand in the way of his practice of austerities : काश्यपः–वत्से ! उपरुध्यते तपोऽनुष्ठानम्.[22] He is a picture of kindness, gentleness and holiness, the picture that Kālidāsa draws with a consummate skill.

It was Kālidāsa's penetrating vision which could bring forth a Ṛṣi when Śakuntalā was forsaken by her mother. It is that same vision which could bring forth another Ṛṣi, this time Mārīca, interestingly of the same *Gotra* as Kaṇva : दुष्यन्तः–भगवन् ! इमामाज्ञाकरीं वः प्रत्यादिशन्नपराद्धोऽस्मि **युष्मत्सगोत्रस्य कण्वस्य**[23], when she was forsaken by her husband. He gave her shelter and brought up, as she was earlier by Kaṇva, her son whose rites also he performed[24] and solicitous of his well-being gave him a protective rosary, रक्षाकरण्डक, which when picked up by a person from the earth other than one's own self or parents would turn into a snake and bite.[25]. It was in his Āśrama that Śakuntalā was united with her husband. It is he who gives the forecast about Duṣyanta's son that he is going to be a Cakravartin : तथा भाविनमेनं चक्रवर्तिनमवगच्छतु भवान्[26] to be called Bharata by bringing about the welfare of his subjects, though called Sarvadamana in the Āśrama : पुनर्यास्यत्याख्यां भरत इति लोकस्य भरणात्.[27]

It is given to the Ṛṣis of Kālidāsa to give shelter and protection to the forsaken, the cast out. After Kaṇva and Mārīca comes Vālmīki. While her husband forsakes Sītā in an advanced stage of pregnancy in a dreary forest, it is Vālmīki who following her cries, तद्रुदितानुसारी,[28] comes to her and takes her to his Āśrama. So intesely does he feel for the hapless lady

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21. *Ibid.*, p. 493.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 492,
23. *Ibid.*, Act VIII, p. 557.
24. मारीचः—वत्स ! कच्चिदभिनन्दितस्त्वया विधिवदस्माभिरनुष्ठितजातकर्मादिक्रियः पुत्र एष शाकुन्तलेयः ?

    राजा—भगवता कृतसंस्कारे सर्वमस्मिन्नाशास्महे ।

    Ibid., p. 558,
25. *Ibid.*, p. 551.
26-27. *Ibid.*, p. 558.
28. *Raghu.*, XIV.70, p. 217.

that he is resentful of Rāma for being unreasonable to her for no cause : त्वां प्रत्यकस्मात् कलुषप्रवृत्तावस्त्येव मन्युर्भरताग्रजे मे.[29] He acts as a father to her and asks her to feel that she has come to her father's house with only a different location. That he was a father to her is acknowledged by Rāma as well when he speaks of Sītā as his (Vālmīki's) daughter-in-law : तात शुद्धा समक्षं नः स्नुषा ते जातवेदसि.[30] With none to look to, it was Vālmīki who had come to Sītā's rescue. So complete was his owning of Sītā and the intensity of his desire that she should be rehabilitated that when Rāma offered him his kingdom[31]. on being told by Kuśa and Lava that the *Rāmāyaṇa* that they were singing and which had captivated his heart was composed by him (Vālmīki), he, the tender-hearted one, कारुणिकः, asked for only the acceptance by him of Sītā : ऋषिः कारुणिको वव्रे सीतायाः सम्परिग्रहम्.[32]On Rāma promising that he would do so, on the condition that she should convince his subjects of the purity of her character, he has her brought from his Āśrama through his pupils much in the same way as he would his superhuman power, सिद्धि, through the austerities :शिष्यैरानाययामास स्वसिद्धिं नियमैरिव.[33]To refer to Sītā as the very सिद्धि, the सिद्धि which is achieved through hard penance is the height of owning somebody. Of all the sages and seers of Kālidāsa it was given to only the two, Kaṇva and Vālmīki to so completly own those forsaken by mother and husband that one, Śakuntalā for the former becomes his very life breath, भगवतः कण्वस्य कुलपतेरुच्छ्वसितम्[34] and the other, Sītā, for the latter his very superhuman power, सिद्धि . Vālmīki also performs the sacraments according to Śāstraic rites of Sītā's sons, teaches them the Vedas with their subordinate subjects and makes them sing his own composition, the path way first shown to the poets :

सञ्चस्कारोभयप्रीत्या मैथिलेयौ यथाविधि ।
साङ्गं च वेदमध्याप्य किञ्चिदुत्क्रान्तशैशवौ ॥
स्वकृतिं गापयामास कविप्रथमपद्धतिम् ॥[35]

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29. *Ibid.*, XIV.73, p. 217.
30. *Idid.*, XV.72, p. 225.
31. अथ सावरजो रामः प्राचेतसमुपेयिवान् ।
ऊरीकृत्यात्मनो देहं राज्यमस्मै न्यवेदयत् ॥
Ibid., XV.70, p. 225.
32. *Ibid.*. XV.71, p. 225.
33. *Ibid.*, XV,74, p. 225.
34. *Abh.Ś.*, Act. III, p. 459.
35. *Raghu.*,XV.31, p. 221.

The next one in the series of shelter-givers is Cyavana in whose Āśrama Urvaśī leaves her son secretly as a trust with Satyavatī, one of the female ascetics, as soon as born, on account of the compulsion of the curse that she would have to be back to heaven the moment she were to see his face : उर्वशी—ततो महाराजवियोगभीरुतया जातमात्र एव विद्यागमनिमित्तं भगवतश्च्यवनस्याश्रमे एष पुत्रक आर्याया: सत्यवत्या हस्ते अप्रकाशं निक्षिप्त:.[36]

It is the sage who performs his birth rites : जातकर्मादिविधानं तदस्य भगवता च्यवनेनाशेषमनुष्ठितम्, teaches him and trains him in archery : गृहीतविद्य: धनुर्वेदेऽभिविनीत:.[37]

Every Āśrama has its code of conduct. Anyone violating it has no place in it. Both Sarvadamana and Āyus being Kṣatriya lads had violated it in that they were found to have been oppressing the animals and birds in it. Theirs was the आश्रमविरुद्धवृत्ति[38]. They, therefore, had to leave their respective Āśramas. In the case of one, things were so arranged that the father took him away. In the case of the other, he was returned to his mother under the orders of the sage : तत उपलब्धवृत्तान्तेन च्यवनेनाहं समादिष्टा—निर्यातय एनमुर्वशीहस्ते न्यासमिति.[39]

The creatures in the Āśrama were looked upon as the very children of the hermits : न: अपत्यनिर्विशेषाणि सत्त्वानि.[40] Even if wild, they would get tamed by contact with the hermits : तपस्विसंसर्गविनीतसत्त्वे तपोवने[41] and were not to be killed. That is why the request of the hermits to Duṣyanta not to kill the Āśrama deer : आश्रममृगोऽयं न हन्तव्यो न हन्तव्य:.[42]

It is meditation, ध्यान, that they practise, that the Ṛṣis come to have superhuman powers. The seers, they are able to see through the past, present and the future with their eye of knowledge[43] which they come to

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36. *Vikramorvaśīya* (Vikr.), Act. V. p. 418.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 414.
38. *Abh.Ś.*, Act VII, p. 549.
39. *Vikr.*, Act V, p. 415.
40. *Abh.Ś.*, Act VII, p. 549.
41. *Raghu.*, XIV.75, p. 217.
42. *Ibid*,. Act I, p. 431.
43. पुरुषस्य पदेष्वजन्मन: समतीते च भवच्च भावि च ।
    स हि निष्प्रतिघेन चक्षुषा त्रितयं ज्ञानमयेन पश्यति ॥
    Raghu., VIII.78, p. 163.
    Though said with reference to Vaisiṣṭha it can apply to any Ṛṣi.

acquire through ध्यान or प्रणिधान. When Dilīpa approaches Vasiṣṭha and tells him of his issuelessness, he goes into meditation for a moment : क्षणमात्रमृषिस्तस्थौ ध्यानस्तिमितलोचनः[45] and then everything is clear to him : सोऽपश्यत् प्रणिधानेन सन्ततेः स्तम्भकारणम्.[46] The issuelessness is due to the curse that the divine cow had pronounced on him due to her non-circumambulation by the king on his way to the earth.[47] The sad condition of Aja at the sudden loss of his wife also he comes to know while in his Āśrama through meditation : प्रणिधानाद्गुरुराश्रमस्थितः विजज्ञिवान्.[48] Vālmīki too comes to know through meditation जाने विसृष्टां प्रणिधानतस्त्वां मिथ्यापवादक्षुभितेन भर्त्रा,[49] of the foresaking of Sītā by her husband disturbed by false slander. Mārīca too comes to know through meditation, when Menaka comes to his wife Dākṣāyaṇī with repudiated Śakuntalā that she has been refused by Duṣyanta on account of Durvāsa's curse which is to terminate with the sight of the ring ;

यदैवाप्सरस्तीर्थावतरणात्प्रत्याख्यानवैक्लव्यां शकुन्तलामादाय मेनका दाक्षायणीमुपगता तदैव ध्यानादवगतोऽस्मि दुर्वाससः शापादियं तपस्विनी सहधर्मचारिणी त्वया प्रत्यादिष्टा, नान्यथेति, स चायमङ्गुलीयकदर्शनावसानः.[50]

In the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* at the time of Śakuntalā's departure when the two sons of the Ṛṣis, the Ṛṣiskumāras, go, on being asked by Kaṇva to gather

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44. There is a picturesque description of the meditation practised by the Ṛṣis through the Posture called Vīra, requiring as it does tremendous fortitude with its total stillness in the context of the mention of the penance grove of Atri by Rāma on the way from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā. It is said that even the trees standing in the middle of altars with their stillness for absence of wind appear to be practising Yoga :

    वीरासनैर्ध्यानजुषामृषीणाममी समध्यासितवेदिमध्याः ।
    निवातनिष्कम्पतया विभान्ति योगाधिरूढा इव शाखिनोऽपि ॥
    Raghu., XIII.52, p. 206.

45. *Ibid.*, I.73, p. 109.
46. *Ibid.*, I.74, p. 109.
47. धर्मलोपभयाद्राज्ञीमृतुस्नातामिमां स्मरन् ।
    प्रदक्षिणक्रियार्हायां तस्यां त्वं साधु नाचरः ॥
    अवजानासि मां यस्मादतस्ते न भविष्यति ।
    मत्प्रसूतिमनाराध्य प्रजेति त्वां शशाप सा ॥
    Ibid., I.
48. *Ibid.*, VIII.75, p. 163.
49. *Ibid.*, XIV.72, p. 217.
50. *Abh.Ś.*, Act VII, p. 557.

for Śakuntalā flowers from trees something unusual happens. The trees bring forth to them the silken garment, the lac dye as also the ornaments which are the presents from sylvan deities through them for the departing lady.[51] Due to his power even the trees are at the command of Kaṇva and render him service, the सेवा, referred to by one of the Ṛṣis : एह्येहि, अभिषेकोत्तीर्णाय भगवते काश्यपाय निवेदयाव यावदिमां वनस्पतिसेवाम्.[52] When Duṣyanta enquires of the sages escorting Śakuntalā of the well-being of Kaṇva their reply is that those possessed of the superhuman powers have their well-being under their control : स्वाधीनकुशला: सिद्धिमन्त:.[53]

Through their सिद्धि, the superhuman power itself they can ward off any evil. In their presence the evilminded demons can cause no obstruction to the sacrifices. The sons of the Ṛṣis while approaching Duṣyanta with the request to stay on in the Āśrama for a few days refer to the fact of the absence of Kulapati (Kaṇva) for the obstruction to their sacrifices : तत्रभवत: कुलपतेरसान्निध्याद्रक्षांसि न इष्टिविघ्नमुत्पादयन्ति.[54] Had Kaṇva been present, the demons, as is deducible from their remarks, would not have been able to do so and through his superhuman power itself he would have kept them at bay.

It was this superhuman power again which had enabled him to know what had happened to Śakuntalā and why. At the suggestion of Aditi after the union of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā that Kaṇva be made acquainted with the accomplishment of the wishes of his daughter Mārīca's comment is : तप: प्रभावात् प्रत्यक्षं सर्वमेव तत्रभवत:,[55] through the power of penance every thing is present before the eyes of His Reverence, thus solving the mystery as to why Kaṇva whose very life-breath Śakuntalā was : सा खलु भगवत: कण्वस्य कुलपतेरुच्छ्वसितम्,[56] had not reacted at the most cruel treatment that Duṣyanta

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51. क्षौमं केनचिदिन्दुपाण्डु तरुणा माङ्गल्यमाविष्कृतं
    निष्ठ्यूतश्चरणोपभोगसुलभो लाक्षारस: केनचित् ।
    अन्येभ्यो वनदेवताकरतलैरापर्वभागोत्थितै-
    र्दत्तान्याभरणानि तत्किसलयोद्भेदप्रतिद्वन्द्विभि: ॥
    Ibid., Act IV, p. 485.

52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*, Act V, p. 50:.
54. *Ibid.*, Act II, p. 456.
55. *Ibid.*, Act VII, p. 559.
56. *Ibid.*, Act III, p. 459.

had meted out to her. This also comes as an explanation to Duṣyanta as to why the sage had not been very angry with him : अत एव खलु मम नातिक्रुद्धो मुनिः[57] Though realizing that Kaṇva is in the know of everything, Mārīca agrees with Aditi's suggestion to convey the news to him and asks Gālava to go by the aerial path for the purpose : गालव ! इदानीमेव विहायसा गत्वा तत्रभवते कण्वाय प्रियमावेदय[58]. Going by the aerial path also is a proof positive of the superhuman power of the Ṛṣis.

The superhuman power is referred to in the *Raghuvaṃśa* as well. When Dilīpa goes to Vasiṣṭha's Āśrama and has to stay on there for sometime to render service to Nandinī, the latter makes arrangement for his stay that is suited to a forest life though having तपः सिद्धि superhuman power, due to ripe asceticism, (he could well have made other types of arrangements as well which could have been befitting his royal status) :

सत्यामपि तपःसिद्धौ नियमापेक्षया मुनिः ।
कल्पवित् कल्पयामास वन्यामेवास्य संविधाम् ।।[59]

The Ṛṣi was so powerful that his animals were safe from attack from any quarter. Nandinī refers to this when she calls out to the king expecting the swoop of the lion on him, to get up and the king does not find the lion. According to Nandinī on account of the power of the Ṛṣi even the god of death cannot strike her, much less other destructive animals : ऋषिप्रभावान्मयि नान्तकोऽपि प्रभुः प्रहर्तुं किमुतान्यहिंस्राः.[60]

Kālidāsa's study reveals that there were certain Ṛṣis who were associated with some royal families as their preceptors. As Kulagurus they looked to their well-being. Whenever the kings were in difficulty, they repaired to them for help and assistance which they provided through advice and spiritual power. One such Ṛṣi was Vasiṣṭha. Dilīpa refers to what he means to him and his family. He is the averter for him of the divine and man-made calamities ; दैवीनां मानुषीणां च प्रतिहर्ता त्वमापदाम्.[61] Through his *Mantra*-s alone he would discomfit his enemies : तव मन्त्रकृतो मन्त्रैर्दूरात्प्रशमितारिभिः.[62] For the scions of the race of Ikṣvāku the achievement of anything difficult just depended on him : इक्ष्वाकूणां दुरापेऽर्थे त्वदधीना हि सिद्धयः.[63]

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58. *Ibid.*,
59. *Raghu.*, 1.94, p. 111.
60. *Ibid.*, II.62, p. 117.
61. *Ibid.*, I.60. p. 108.
62. *Ibid.*, 1.61, p. 108.
63. *Ibid.*, I.72, p. 109.

The efficacy of the *Mantra*-s of Vasiṣṭha is referred to in the case of king Atithi, the son of Kuśa, too with the only difference that there is no mention of the futility of the arrows : प्रत्यादिश्यन्त इव मे दृष्टलक्ष्यभिदः शराः[64] referred to in the case of Dilīpa. There is reference, however, of the combination of the two, the *Mantra*-s and the arrows which would accomplish just anything :

वसिष्ठस्य गुरोर्मन्त्राः सायकास्तस्य धन्विनः ।
किं तत्साध्यं यदुभये साधयेयुर्न सङ्गताः ॥[65]

While in the case of Dilīpa he himself goes to Vasiṣṭha and places his problem before him, in the case of his grandson Aja it is Vasiṣṭha who sends one of his pupils with words of consolation to steady him while he was completely distraught at the sudden loss of his beloved wife to the point of losing all interest in life.[66] Nobody had reported the condition of the king to the Ṛṣi. He had come to know, as stated earlier, of it while in his Āśrama through contemplation and thinking that as the family preceptor it was his duty to stabilize the king had sent his pupil, showing thereby as to how solicitous he could be as a family priest of the king and what kind of relationship subsisted between the two. So concerned was he of the disturbed condition of the king that he would have himself come along to him but for the fact that he was tied up with a sacrifice which was still unfinished : असमाप्तविधिर्यतो मुनिः.[67]

Since the Ṛṣis as preceptors were doing so much for the kings, it was but natural that they (the kings) should show them utmost respect. When they see Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī, Dilīpa and Sudakṣiṇā fall at their feet : तयोर्जगृहतुः पादान् राजा राज्ञी च मागधी.[68] It is only after Vasiṣṭha has allowed him that he takes Nandinī's milk that she had offered him : स नन्दिनीस्तन्यमनिन्दितात्मा ·····पपौ वसिष्ठेन कृताभ्यनुज्ञः[69]

It was not only to the family preceptors, the कुलगुरुs, alone that the utmost respect was shown even by the mightiest of the mighty, it was shown

64. *Ibid.*, I.61. p. 108.
65. *Ibid.*, XVIII.38, p. 239.
Ibid., VII.75, p. 163.
66. अभिषङ्गजडं विजज्ञिवानिति शिष्येण किलान्वबोधयत् ।
67. *Ibid.*, VIII.76, p. 163.
68. *Ibid.*, I.57, p.107.
69. *Ibid.*, II.69, p. 118.

to any Ṛṣi, even while he was not present. When the young sages like Śārṅgarava and Śāradvata in Kaṇva's Āśrama proceed to tell Duṣyanta of his message, the latter says : किमाज्ञापयति भगवान्,[70] what does His Reverence command ? He always addresses Mārīca as भगवन्.[71] Not only to a Ṛṣi, due respect would be shown even to his pupils. An emperor like Raghu would himself come out to receive a young graduate like Kautsa, the pupil of the sage Varatantu with an honorific offering.[72] When the young sages Śārṅgarava and Śāradvata approach Duṣyanta, he is found already to have left his seat and waiting for them : पुरोहितः भो भोस्तपस्विनः ! असावत्रभवान्... प्रागेव मुक्तासनो वः प्रतिपालयति.[73] He also bows to them : सर्वान् अभिवादयते.[74] Earlier he asks the royal priest to introduce them to him after receiving them with Vedic rites while he would wait for them in a place proper for meeting the ascetics.[75]

As the preceptors were exerting so much for the kings even to the extent of using their spiritual power for their well-being acquired by them after hard penance and austerities, they could not evidently put up with any kind of offence or dereliction on their part. They probably would have flared up at this which would have brought the chill down the spine of the kings for, anything could happen to them then. The lion in his advice to Dilīpa to desist from offering himself in exchange for the cow refers to this: **अथैकधेनोरः-पराधचण्डाद्** गुरोः कृशानुप्रतिमाद् बिभेषि,[76] in case you dread the fire-like preceptor who with an only cow will be burning with anger at your offence.

While some of the Ṛṣis were family priests to the kings, the others were having friendly relations with them. Vālmīki, while addressing Sītā, refers

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70. *Abh.Ś.*, Act V, p. 501.
71. *Ibid.*, Act VII, p. 557-8. When Mārīca asks Duṣyanta to leave for his capital he says :

    यदाज्ञापयति भगवान् ।
72. स मृन्मये वीतहिरण्मयत्वात्पात्रे निधायार्घ्यमनर्घशीलः ।
    श्रुतप्रकाशं यशसा प्रकाशः प्रत्युज्जगामातिथिमातिथेयः ॥

    Raghu., V.2. p. 134.
73. *Abh.Ś.*, Act V. p. 501.
74. *Ibid.*
75. राजा—तेन हि मद्वचनाद्विज्ञाप्यतामुपाध्यायः सोमरातः अमूनाश्रमवासिनः श्रौतेन विधिना सत्कृत्य स्वयमेव प्रवेशयितुमर्हति इति । अहमप्यत्र तपस्विदर्शनोचिते प्रदेशे स्थितः प्रतिपालयामि ।

    Abh.Ś., Act V, p. 498.
76. *Raghu.* II.49, p. 116.

to his friendship with her father-in-law (Daśaratha) : तवोरुकीर्तिः श्वशुरः सखा मे[77] (which is an additional reason for him to be kind to her). The fact is referred to again in the context of the performance of the purificatory ceremonies of Lava and Kuśa where in addition to Daśaratha he is said to be a friend of Janaka as well : सखा दशरथस्यापि जनकस्य च मन्त्रकृत्[78] Viśvāmitra too is referred to as the friend of Daśaratha : पूर्ववृत्तकथितैः पुराविदः सानुजः पितृसखस्य राघवः.[79] As it is, the word सखा carries in it an element of intimacy.

The Ṛṣis seemed to have very long lives. In the *Raghuvaṃśa* there is mention for the first time of Vasiṣṭha in the context of Dilīpa. The last time that he is mentioned is in the context of Atithi, the son of Kuśa who is seventh in line from Dilīpa. It is interesting that the same Ṛṣi continues for seven generations!

As for the word Ṛṣi it is variously used. Sometimes the same person is referred to as Ṛṣi at one place and Muni at another. The sons of Ṛṣis. the Ṛṣikumāras, coming to Duṣyanta with the request to stay in the Āśrama refer to Kaṇva as Maharṣi : ततभवतः कण्वस्य महर्षेरसान्निध्यात्.[80] At other places he is referred to as Muni, e.g., अनुयास्यन् मुनितनयाम्,[81] अतः खलु मम नातिक्रुद्धो मुनिः[82]. It is not only the holiest of the holy like Kaṇva or Mārīca, who are referred to as Ṛṣis, even their young pupils are done so. Duṣyanta refers to them as such : वेत्रवति ! किमुद्दिश्य भगवता काश्यपेन मत्सकाशमृषयः प्रेषिताः स्युः.[83] for what purpose the revered Kāśyapa would have sent the Ṛṣis to him ? Vetravatī too calls them as such : सुचरितनन्दिन ऋषयो देवं सभाजयितुमागता इति तर्कयामि,[84] methinks, rejoicing at the good conduct of His Majesty the Ṛṣis have come to congratulate him; also देव प्रसन्नमुखवर्णा दृश्यन्ते, जानामि विश्रब्धकार्या ऋषयः,[85] the Ṛṣis have bright facial expression, methinks, they have come on peaceful errand. The royal priest presenting them to the king refers to them as तपस्विन्s : एते विधिवदर्चितास्तपस्विनः,[86] here are the ascetics

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77. *Ibid.*, XIV.74, p. 217.
78. *Ibid.*, XV.31, p. 221.
79. *Ibid.*, XI.10, p. ;83.
80. *Abh.Ś.*, Ac II, p. 456.
81. *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 442.
82. *Ibid.*, Act VII, p. 559.
83. *Ibid.*, Act V. p. 498.
84. *Ibid.*
85. Act V, p. 500.
86. *Ibid.*, Act V, p. 501,

given due honour. The king enquiring of them of the well-being of the inhabitants of the Āśrama refers to them as Munis : अपि निर्विघ्नतपसो मुनयः ?[87] That all the ascetics carried the appellation of Ṛṣis, is clear from their sons being referred to as Ṛṣikumāras or Ṛṣikumārakas.[88] That the words Ṛṣi and Muni were promiscuously used is also clear from the seven Ṛṣis sent by Śiva to Himālaya for begging the hand of his daughter for him. They are referred to at one place as Ṛṣis : ऋषीन्ज्योतिर्मयान् सप्त सस्मार स्मरशासनः[89] and at another place as Munis : गगनादवतीर्णा सा रेजे मुनिपरम्परा.[90]

The same also is clear from Viśvāmitra being referred to in the *Raghuvaṃśa* in the same context as Ṛṣi in some places : धन्विनौ तमृषिमन्वगच्छताम्[91], नेतुमैच्छदृषिः[92], तत्र दीक्षितमृषिं ररक्षतुः[93],प्रत्युवाच तमृषिर्निशम्यताम्[94] and Muni at others : तं दिदेश मुनये सलक्ष्मणम्,[95] मुनेस्तौ प्रपद्य पदवीम्,[96] विद्ययोः पथि मुनिप्रदिष्टयोः, मुनेः प्रापदस्त्रम्,[97] आससाद मुनिः शिष्यवर्गपरिकल्पिताईणम्,[98] राघवान्वितमुपस्थितं मुनिम्[99].

A further proof for this are the remarks of one of the two Ṛṣikumāras who came to the king with the request to stay in the Āśrama for a few days. The majestic figure of the king at the first sight so impresses him that he finds him in no way different from Ṛṣis : उपपन्नमेतद् ऋषिभ्यो नातिभिन्ने राजनि .[100] Finding in him all that goes with a holy person he calls him in the subsequent remarks as मुनि with the only difference that the word राजन् precedes it : पुण्यः शब्दो मुनिरिति मुहुः केवलं राजपूर्वः .[101] At a number of places Duṣyanta for his being a Kṣatriya is called राजर्षि. The same is the

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87. *Ibid.*
88. *Ibid.*, Act II, p. 455; Act IV, p. 485.
89. *Ku. Sam.*, VI.3, p. 76.
90. *Ibid.*, VI.49, p. 80.
91. *Raghu.*, XI.5. p. 183.
92. *Ibid.*, XI.6, p. 183.
93. *Ibid.*, XI.24, p. 185.
94. *Ibid.*, XI.41, p. 186.
95. *Ibid.*, XI.2, p. 183.
96. *Ibid.*, XI.7, p. 183.
97. *Ibid.*, XI.21, p. 184
98. *Ibid.*. XI.23, p. 185.
99. *Ibid.*, XI.35. p. 186.
100. *Abh. Ś.*, Act II, d. 455.
101. *Ibid.*

case with Viśvāmitra. The above analysis would lead us to conclude that according to Kālidāsa all the holy people in the Āśram, the Tāpasas, could be alternatively designated as Ṛṣis, seers or Munis, sages, possessing as they did through the austerities that they practised the characteristics of both. The only difference between them and the seniors like Kaṇva, Mārīca, Viśvāmitra and so on was that the latter were almost always referred to with the honorifics like भगवान्, तत्रभवान्. Further, they were not simply called ऋषिs, they were called महर्षिs.

Some of the Ṛṣis like Vasiṣṭha, Mārīca and others were married and had wives like Arundhatī and Aditi, who were themselves highly revered for their spiritual attainments.[102] While one, Arundhatī, sitting behind her husband is compared to svāhā, the wife of Agni : अन्वासितमरुन्धत्या स्वाहयेव हविर्भुजम् the other, Aditi, is spoken of as sharing the offerings in the sacrifices with her husband : यज्ञभागेश्वरम् · द्वन्द्वं दक्षमरीचिसम्भवम्. The householder's life

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102. *Raghu.*, I.56, p. 107. Interestingly the word used for अग्नि here is हविर्भुज् which is just the right one to compare the Ṛṣi with.

The couple born of Dakṣa and Marīci is said to be removed just one degree from the Creator :

द्वन्द्वं दक्षमरीचिसम्भवमिदं तत्स्रष्टुरेकान्तरम्,

Abh. Ś., Act VII. p. 556.

As a devoted wife Dākṣāyaṇī wants to know from her husband the duties of the wives devoted to the husbands which he explains to her with the other wives of the Ṛṣis :

मातलिः—अये वृद्धशाकल्य ! किमनुतिष्ठति भगवान् मारीचः ? (आकर्ण्य) किं ब्रवीषि ? दाक्षायण्या पतिव्रताधर्ममधिकृत्य पृष्टस्तस्यै महर्षिपत्नीसहितायै कथयतीति ।

Ibid., p. 546.

Apart from the expression महर्षिपत्नीसहितायै, accompanied with the wives of the Maharṣis, with reference to Dākṣāyaṇī above there is reference to the wives of the Ṛṣis in the *Raghuvaṃśa* in the description of the Āśrama of Vasiṣṭha who looked up on the deer as their offspring :

आकीर्णमृषिपत्नीनामुटजद्वाररोधिभिः ।
अपत्यैरिव नीवारभागधेयोचितैर्मृगैः ॥

came in no way in the performance of austerities of the Ṛṣis.[103] They had children, as should be clear from the frequent mention of the Ṛṣikumāras and engaged themselves in teaching, performing sacrifices and practising penance. Some other Ṛṣis like Kaṇva were total celebates : भगवान् शाश्वते ब्रह्मणि स्थित इति प्रकाशः.[104] They looked upon the whole Āśrama as their family, though having no family of their own.

Three of the Ṛṣis are mentioned by Kālidāsa as Kulapatis : Kaṇva,[105] Vasiṣṭha[106] and Viśvāmitra.[107] A special designation, Kulapati is explained both by the *Padmapurāṇa* and some other Purāṇas quoted in the *Arthadyotanikā* commentary of Rāghavabhaṭṭa. According to the *Padmapurāṇa* a Kulapati is one who teaches a large number of pupils, is foremost among Munis and is occupied with Vratas and Yajñas :

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103. The classic example in this case could be Mārīca whose hard penance is described by Mātali in the following stanza :

वल्मीकाग्रनिमग्नमूर्तिरुरसा सन्दष्टसर्पत्वचा
कण्ठे जीर्णलताप्रतानवलयेनात्यर्थसम्पीडितः ।
अंसव्यापि शकुन्तनीडनिचितं बिभ्रज्जटामण्डलं
यत्र स्थाणुरिवाचलो मुनिरसावभ्यर्कबिम्बं स्थितः ॥

"Immovable like the trunks of the tree, stands the yonder sage, facing the sun's orb with his body half-buried in an ant-hill, with his breast closely covered over with sloughs of serpents, hard pressed at the throat with a ring of withered tendrils of creepers, and wearing a mass of matted hair overspreading his shoulders and closely filled with birds' nests (Translation from M. R. Kale). Duṣyanta also calls the Ṛṣis as कष्टतपस्, of hard penance : नमोऽस्मै कष्टतपसे.

104. *Abh.Ś.*, Act I. p. 440.

105. For Kaṇva :

(i) वैखानसः—एष खलु कण्वस्य कुलपतेरनुमालिनीतीरमाश्रमो दृश्यते ।
राजा—अपि संनिहितोऽत्र कुलपतिः ?

(ii) राजा—अपि नाम कुलपतेरियमसवर्णक्षेत्रसम्भवा स्यात् ?

Abh, Ś., Act I, pp. 432, 436.

106. For Vasiṣṭha :

निर्दिष्टां कुलपतिना स पर्णशालाम्

Raghu., 1.95, p. 111.

107. For Viśvāmitra :

ऋत्विजः कुलपतेर्यथाक्रमं वाग्यतस्य निरवर्तयन् क्रियाः

Ibid., XI.30, p. 185,

आचार्यो वहुशिष्याणां मुनीनामग्रणीस्तु यः ।
व्रतयज्ञादिकर्माढ्यः स वै कुलपतिः स्मृतः ।।[108]

According to the other Purāṇa quoted in the *Arthadyotanikā* Kulapti is that Brahmarṣi who teaches ten thousand Munis by providing them food, etc. :

मुनीनां दशसाहस्रं योऽन्नदानादिपोषणात् ।
अध्यापयति विप्रर्षिरसौ कुलपतिः स्मृतः ।।[109]

Three of the Rṣis are mentioned by Kālidāsa to whom the Mantras were revealed : Vasiṣṭha,[110] Varatantu[111] and Vālmīki.[112] Of these Varatantu is spoken of as the foremost.

A lady, and a young one at that, practising severe penance must have been rather unusual to excite the curiosity of the Ṛṣis who are said to have come to see her brushing aside all considerations of age :

कृताभिषेकां हुतजातवेदसं त्वगुत्तरासङ्गवतीमधीतिनीम् ।
दिदृक्षवस्तामृषयोऽभ्युपागमन् न धर्मवृद्धेषु वयः समीक्ष्यते ।।[113]

Whenever kings arranged big sacrifices, they invited Ṛṣis to them. Janaka invited Viśvāmitra to his sacrifice : तं न्यमन्त्रयत सम्भृतक्रतुर्मैथिलः.[114] Rāma invited to his sacrifice Maharṣis from several quarters : दिग्भ्यो निमन्त्रिताश्चैनम-

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108. *Abh. Ś.* ed. M. R. Kale. Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay, 1920
109. *Ibid.*, Text. p. 14.
110. For Vasiṣṭha :
तव मन्त्रकृतो मन्त्रैर्दूरात्प्रशमितारिभिः
Raghu., I.61, p. 108.
111. For Varatantu :
अप्यग्रणीर्मन्त्रकृतामृषीणां कुशाग्रबुद्धे कुशली गुरुस्ते
Ibid.' V.4, p. 134.
112. For Vālmīki :
सखा दशरथस्यापि जनकस्य च मन्त्रकृत्
Ibid., XV.31, p. 221.
113. *Ku. Sam.*, V.16, p. 70.
114. *Raghu.*, XI, 32, 185.

भिजग्मुर्महर्षयः.[115] They were shown great reverence[116] and at the conclusion of the sacrifice were given a send off with gifts.[117]

Once in the works of Kālidāsa the Ṛṣis are shown on a different mission viz., begging the hand of Pārvatī for Śiva from Himālaya. On this mission they are accompanied with Arundhatī who could be, as Śiva thought, particularly useful as an elderly lady for the purpose.[118]. Angiras served as their spokesman on the occasion.

Not all the Ṛṣis had their abode on the earth. Some had it on the stars. Invited by Rāma the Ṛṣis had come to him leaving not only their earthly abodes but also the starry ones :

न भौमान्येव धिष्ण्यानि हित्वा ज्योतिर्मयान्यपि ।[119]

Since they had their abode on the stars, the seven Ṛṣis, are said to be of the luminous form : ऋषीञ्ज्योतिर्मयान् सप्त सस्मार स्मरशासनः.[120] When they made their appearance before Śiva they are said to have illumined the sky with their halos :

ते प्रभामण्डलैर्व्योम द्योतयन्तस्तपोधनाः ।[121]

Some of the Ṛṣis were quite adept in handling arms along with practising penance and austerities. It was Cyavana who had trained Āyus,

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115. *Ibid.*, XV.59. p. 224.
116. Rāma is said to have given a send off to the Ṛṣis at the conclusion of his sacrifice where the gifts are said to have been the tears of the friends :

    ऋषीन् विसृज्य यज्ञान्ते सुहृदश्रुपुरस्कृतान्

    Ibid., XV.86. p. 226.

    Nandargikar reads here सुहृदश्च पुरस्कृतान् in place of Rewa Prasad Dwivedi's सुहृदश्रुपुरस्कृतान्, Whatever the reading, the Ṛṣis being पुरस्कृतs honoured, with gifts at the conclusion of the sacrifice is evident from it.
117. Rāma's grandson Atithi at the conclusion of his sacrifice is said to have honoured priests with rich gifts :

    ऋत्विजः स तथाऽऽनर्च दक्षिणाभिर्महाक्रतौ ।
    यथा साधारणीभूतं नामास्य धनदस्य च ॥

    Raghu., XVII.80, p. 243.
118. आर्याऽप्यरुन्धती तत्र व्यापारं कर्तुमर्हति ।
    प्रायेणैवंविधे कार्ये पुरन्ध्रीणां प्रगल्भता ॥

    Ku. Sam., XI.32, p. 78.
119. *Raghu.*, XV.59, p. 225.
120. *Ku. Sam.*, VI.3, p. 76.
121. *Ibid.*, VI.4. p. 414.

the son of Urvaśī in archery : धनुर्वेदेऽभिविनीतः.[122] It was from Viśvāmitra that Rāma had got the missile with its Mantra which was capable of destroying demons : नैर्ऋतघ्नमथ मन्त्रवन्मुनेः प्रापदस्त्रमवदानतोषितात्.[123] Paraśurāma carried both a rosary of beads in his right ear : अक्षबीजवलयेन निर्बभौ दक्षिणश्रवण-संस्थितेन यः. [124] also arms like the battle axe to which he refers in the context of the possibility of Rāma feeling scared of it : कातरोऽसि · तर्जितः परशुधारया मम[125] and the bow. It was the latter which he had placed before Rāma asking him with a view to testing his strength, to put the string on it and applying the arrow on it draw it : तन्मदीयमिदमायुधं ज्यया सङ्गमय्य सशरं विकृष्य-ताम् [126]. A great warrior, his missile had remained unimpeded even against the Krauñca mountain : बिभ्रतोऽस्त्रमचलेऽप्यकुण्ठितम्.[127]

Even though recluses, leading a secluded life in a forest, the Ṛṣis were, conversant with worldly affairs. Kaṇva's statement : वनौकसोऽपि सन्तो लौकिकज्ञा वयम्[128] is fully corroborated by the advice that he, the bachelor one, gives to the young bride Śakuntalā as she is getting ready to leave for her husband's home which draws the remark from even the seasoned lady like Gautamī that that was all the advice that could be given to a bride :एतावान् वधूजनस्योपदेशः[129]. After going through it one comes to agree fully with Śārṅgarava's comment that there is nothing beyond the reach of the wise : न खलु धीमतां कश्चिदविषयो नाम,[130] the comment that he had offered on Kaṇva's statement as quoted above.

There is reference in the context of the Ṛṣis to the Vedas, the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* in the works of Kālidāsa. The sage Vasiṣṭha is said to be the repository of the Ātharvaṇic lore : अथर्वनिधिः[131]. The sage Vālmīki coming to Rāma with Sītā and her two sons is said to be approaching the refulgent sun with Ṛgvedic Mantra (*Sāvitrī*) accompanied by proper intonation and purity :

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122. *Vikr.* Act V, p 414.
123. *Raghu.*, XI.21, p. 184.
124. *Ibid.*, XI.66, p. 188.
125. *Ibid.*, XI.78, p. 189.
126. *Ibid.*, XI.77, p. 189.
127. *Idid.*, XI.74, p. 189.
128. *Abh. Ś.*, Act IV, p. 491.
129. *Ibid.*
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Raghu.*, I.59, p. 108.

स्वरसंस्कारवत्यासौ पुत्राभ्यामथ सीतया ।
ऋचेवोदर्चिषं सूर्यं रामं मुनिरुपस्थितः ॥[132]

While Śakuntalā is getting ready to leave for her husband's home, Kaṇva pronounces blessings on her in Ṛgvedic metre ऋक्छन्दसाऽऽशास्ते.[133]

A couplet in the *Raghnvaṃśa* mentions the hermits returning from other forests being welcomed by the holy fires in invisible forms : पूर्यमाणमदृश्याग्निप्रत्युद्यातैस्तपस्विभिः.[134] Mallinātha reproduces here two quotations which uphold the poet's statement, one, प्रोष्यागच्छतामाहिताग्नीनामग्नयः प्रत्युद्यान्ति, when those who keep fires return after being away, the holy fires receive them, two, कामं पितरं प्रोषितवन्तं पुत्राः प्रत्याधावन्ति, एवमेतमग्नयः प्रत्याधावन्ति, just as sons run to the out father returning from a visit from outside, so do the fires him (who keeps them).

Kālidāsa has the greatest respect for the holy people of whatever age group. If there be ascetics on the one hand and the king on the other, it is the king who has to bow to them. It is he who has to leave his seat. The request of the ascetics he has to take as command. The contribution of the ascetics is more valuable to him than even the heap of jewels. Their share to the State is their penance which is imperishable.[135] It is they who sustain it. At the back of the State power lies the spiritual power.

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132. *Ibid.*, XV.76, p. 225.
133. *Abh. Ś.* Act. IV, p. 486.
134. *Raghu.*, I.49, p. 107.
135. राजा—मूर्ख ! अन्यमेव भागमेते तपस्विनो निर्वपन्ति यो रत्नराशीनपि विहायाभिनन्द्यते । पश्य……

यदुत्तिष्ठति वर्णेभ्यो नृपाणां क्षयि तत्फलम् ।
तपःषड्भागमक्षय्यं ददत्यारण्यका हि नः ॥

Abh. Ś. Act II, p. 454.

कालिदास और अभिनवगुप्त

रमाशंकर तिवारी

(क)

गीर्वाणगिरा के आचार्यों ने साहित्यशास्त्रीय विवेचना में कालिदास को बहुधा उद्धृत किया है। रस–प्रकरण में राम–सीता के साथ दुष्यन्त–शकुन्तला प्रायः उदाहृत किये गये हैं। "ध्वन्यालोक" में ध्वनि को काव्य की आत्मा बताते हुए यह कारिका उपनिबद्ध हुई है—

"काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।
क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्ववियोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥"

इसकी दूसरी पङ्क्ति कालिदास के निम्नलिखित श्लोक से स्पष्टतः अनुप्राणित है—

तामभ्यगच्छद्रुदितानुसारी
कविः कुशेध्माहरणाय यातः ।
निषादविद्धाण्डजदर्शनोत्थः
श्लोकत्वमापद्यत यस्य शोकः ॥[1]

महाकवियों की सरस्वती की अलोकसामान्य अभिव्यक्ति वाली अगली कारिका की वृत्ति में कालिदास का स्पष्ट उल्लेख हुआ है—

"येनास्मिन्नतिविचित्रकविपरम्परावाहिनि संसारे कालिदासप्रभृतयो द्वित्रा पञ्चषा वा महाकवय इति गण्यन्ते।" अत एव, यह निर्विवाद रूप से माना जा सकता है कि "ध्वन्यालोक" का "शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः" कालिदास के "श्लोकत्वामापद्यत यस्य शोकः" का प्रत्यक्ष संस्करण है।

"ध्वन्यालोकलोचन" में अभिनवगुप्त ने "आदिकवि का शोक श्लोक बन गया," इस पङ्क्ति की व्याख्या में यह स्वीकार करते हुए भी कि वह शोक प्राचेतस का शोक नहीं था,

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१. रघुवंश १४.७०

"न तु मुनेः शोक इति मन्तव्यम्," उसे अलौकिक बताकर, यह प्रतिपादित किया है कि क्रौञ्च का शोक, उसके क्रन्दनादि अनुभावों की चर्वणा से मुनि के अन्तःकरण में हृदयसंवाद तथा तन्मयीभाव के द्वारा समास्वाद्य बन गया था, और तब वही "मा निषाद" की छन्दोमयी वाणी में प्रस्फुटित हो गया था। इस प्रकार, अभिनवगुप्त ने कविगत रस के कविता के आविर्भाव का निरूपण किया है। इस प्रसङ्ग में उन्होंने अपने उपाध्याय भट्टतौत का यह कथन उद्धृत किया है—"नायकस्य कवेः श्रोतुः समानोऽनुभवस्ततः।"

भट्ट तौत के इस कथन से केवल इतने का बोध होता है कि कवि, नायक तथा सामाजिक के अनुभवों में सामान्यतः समानता होती है, क्योंकि तभी काव्य में सच्चाई तथा विश्वसनीयता का अवतरण हो सकता है और पाठक काव्यार्पित नायक से तादात्म्य स्थापित कर अपेक्षित रसानुभूति कर सकता है। लेकिन, अभिनवगुप्त ने कविगत रस और नायकगत रस का उपपादन कर स्थिति उलझा दी है। "कवरेन्तर्गतं भावं भावयन् भाव उच्यते" भरतमुनि के इस कथन में केवल कवि के अन्तरीण "भाव" का कथन हुआ है, "रस" का नहीं।

(ख)

"अभिनवभारती" में रसनिष्पत्ति की प्रक्रिया समझाते हुए, अभिनवगुप्त ने कालिदास के "ग्रीवाभङ्गाभिरामं" आदि वाले "शाकुन्तल" के प्रसिद्ध श्लोक को उद्धृत करते हुए यह प्रतिपादित किया है कि विभावादि का साधारणीकरण हो जाने से देश-काल से अनालम्बित भय स्थायी निर्विघ्नप्रतीतिग्राह्य बनकर, साक्षात् के समान हृदय में प्रविष्ट होता हुआ तथा आँखों के सामने घूमता हुआ-सा, भयानक रस बन जाता है। अनादि संस्कारों से चित्रित चित्त वाले सभी सामाजिकों को एक जैसी रसानुभूति होती है और वह विघ्न-रहित प्रतीति "चमत्कार" कहलाती है—"सर्वेषामनादिवासनाचित्रीकृतचेतसा वासनासंवादात्। सा चाविघ्ना संवित् चमत्कारः।[२]

जैसा अभी कहा जा चुका है, "लोचन" में कविगत रस के साथ अभिनवगुप्त ने नायकगत रस का भी परोक्षतः उपपादन किया है। "अभिनवभारती" में उन्होंने अपने वक्तव्य को और अधिक प्राञ्जलता-पूर्वक निरूपित किया है। "नाट्यशास्त्र" की "यथा बीजाद् भवेद् वृक्षः"[३] वाली कारिका की व्याख्या में उन्होंने कविगत रस की निर्भ्रान्त स्थापना की है जिसके औचित्यानौचित्य की परीक्षा करने का वर्तमान अवसर नहीं है। सम्प्रति नायकगत रस का परोक्ष अनुमोदन करते हुए, उन्होंने "शाकुन्तल" से जो उद्धरण लिया है, उसी का परीक्षण हमारा अभीष्ट है।

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२ हिन्दी अभिनवभारती (आचार्य विश्वेश्वर), पृ० ४७

३ नाट्यशास्त्र (चौखम्बा) ६.३८

रसानुभव को चमत्कार बताते हुए, अभिनवगुप्त ने उसे "भोगावेश" भी कहा है और उसकी साक्षात्कार-स्वभावता का उल्लेख कर, उसे मानस अध्यवसाय, सङ्कल्प अथवा स्मृति रूप से स्फुरणशील बताया है—"स च साक्षात्कारस्वभावो मानसोऽध्यवसाय वा संकल्पो वा स्मृतिर्वा तथात्वेन स्फुरन्नस्तु ।"[४]

इस उपपत्ति के परिपोष में अभिनवगुप्त ने "शाकुन्तल" के पञ्चम अंक से यह श्लोक उद्धृत किया है—

रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान्
पर्युत्सुको भवति यत्सुखितोऽपि जन्तुः ।
तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं
भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि ॥[५]

"सुन्दर वस्तुओं को देखकर और मधुर शब्दों को सुनकर सुखी मनुष्य भी जो उत्सुक अथवा व्याकुल हो जाता है, वह इस कारण कि समझ में न आने वाले पूर्वजन्मों के प्रेम-संस्कार, जो उसके अन्तःकरण में स्थित होते हैं, उसे सहसा स्मरण हो जाते हैं ।"

अभिनवगुप्त ने इस श्लोक की व्याख्या में कहा है कि दुष्यन्त की वर्तमान स्मृति न्याय में प्रसिद्ध "तार्किकप्रसिद्धा" स्मृति नहीं है (जो पूर्वज्ञात विषयों से सम्बद्ध होती है— "ज्ञात-विषयं ज्ञानं स्मृतिः") । अतः उनके अनुसार, यह स्मृति अलौकिक है, जिसकी अपर संज्ञा "प्रतिभान" है और जो "साक्षात्कारस्वभावा" होती है । सुतराम्, यह स्मृति आस्वादस्वरूप है, जिसमें रति—स्थायी—का ही भान होता है—"अत्र हि स्मरति या स्मृतिरूपदर्शिता सा न तार्किकप्रसिद्धा पूर्वमेतस्यार्थस्याननुभूतत्वात् । अपितु प्रतिभानापरपर्यायसाक्षात्कारस्वभावेय-मिति । सर्वथा तावदेषास्ति प्रतीतिरास्वादात्मा यस्यां रतिरेव भाति ।"[६] इसी कारण, अभिनव-गुप्त उसे अन्य विशेषणों से रहित, रसनीय होती हुई बताते हैं ।—"तत एव विशेषान्तरानुपहितत्वात् सा रसनीया सती न लौकिकी, न मिथ्या नानिर्वाच्यिा, लौकिक-तुल्या, न तदारोपादिरूपा" ।[७]

अभिनवगुप्त की प्रस्तुत व्याख्या से यह ध्वनि स्पष्ट निकलती है कि वे नायकरस भी मानते हैं । तब, यह प्रश्न उत्पन्न होता है कि क्या कालिदास को दुष्यन्त के विवेच्य कथन में रसानुभूति की वह दशा विवक्षित है जिसे अभिनवगुप्त ने भोगावेश, चमत्कार अथवा साक्षा-त्कारात्मिका प्रतीति बताया है । उसी से सम्बद्ध यह प्रश्न भी उपस्थित होता है कि क्या दुष्यन्त की वर्तमान स्मृति "प्रतिभान" कही जा सकती है ।

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४. हिन्दी अभिनवभारती, पृ० ४७२
५. अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल, ५.२
६. हिन्दी अभिनवभारती, पृ० ४७३
७. वही ।

यहाँ विवेच्य श्लोक के पूर्वापर प्रसङ्गों को ध्यान में रखना उपयोगी होगा। रानी हंसपादिका ने एक मधुर उपालम्भात्मक गीत गाया है। दुष्यन्त इस "रागपरिवाहिनी गीति" को सुनकर अतिशय उत्कंठित हो जाता है, यद्यपि उसके इष्टजन उसके पास हैं—"किं न खलु गीतार्थमाकर्ण्य इष्टजनविरहादृतेऽपि बलवदुत्कण्ठितोऽस्मि।" अपनी इस व्याकुलता का प्रकृत कारण न समझकर, उसने उपर्युक्त कथन किया है और यह समाधान व्यक्त किया है कि पूर्वजन्मों के प्रेम-संस्कार जो उपचेतन में सोये पड़े होते हैं, सुन्दर वस्तुओं के दर्शन अथवा मधुर शब्दों के श्रवण से अनायास उद्‌बुद्ध हो जाते हैं। यह कहते-कहते वह व्याकुल हो जाता है—"इति पर्याकुलस्तिष्ठति।"

इसी समय कञ्चुकी प्रवेश करता है और यह सूचना देता है कि महर्षि कण्व का संदेश लेकर कुछ तपस्वी स्त्रियों के साथ आये हैं। यह सुनकर दुष्यन्त तपस्विजनोचित स्थान पर बैठ जाता है और जब उससे शकुन्तला के साथ पूर्वसम्पन्न गान्धर्व विवाह की बात कही जाती है, तब वह झटिति इसे अस्वीकार कर देता है। "रम्याणि वीक्ष्य" वाले कथन की कवि द्वारा अभीष्ट व्यञ्जना पर इसी परिप्रेक्ष्य में विचार करना वाञ्छनीय है। क्या दुष्यन्त की वर्तमान स्मृति अथवा प्रतीति वास्तव में पूर्ण रसभोग की दशा है जिसकी चर्वणागोचरता अभिनवगुप्त आवश्यक मानते हैं?

हमारा मत है कि कालिदास की विवक्षा यह नहीं है। विवेच्य श्लोक से केवल इतना निश्चित है कि दुष्यन्त का वह पर्याकुली–भाव प्रणयानुभव से सम्बद्ध है, क्योंकि उसको उत्पन्न करने वाला उद्दीपन हंसपादिका की "रागपरिवाहिनी गीति" है। दुष्यन्त को रतिभाव की आस्वादस्वरूपा प्रतीति हो रही है—ऐसा मानने का कोई औचित्य, पूर्वापर प्रसङ्‌गों की दृष्टि से, भासित नहीं होता है। कम से कम नाट्यकार तो ऐसी धारणा के पोषण के लिए कोई सङ्केत नहीं देता है।

पूर्वजन्म के सम्बन्धों की बात कालिदास ने "रघुवंश" के सातवें सर्ग में, पुर-सुन्दरियों द्वारा अज और इन्दुमती के परिणय की युक्तता की सराहना करते हुए कहलायी है—

रतिस्मरौ नूनमिमावभूतां
राज्ञां सहस्रेषु तथाहि बाला।
गतेयमात्मप्रतिरूपमेव
मनो हि जन्मान्तरसंगतिज्ञम् ॥ ८

"ये दोनों पिछले जन्म में रति और कामदेव रहे होंगे। इसी कारण, हजारों राजाओं के बीच इन्दुमती ने अज को प्राप्त कर लिया, क्योंकि पूर्वजन्म के संबन्धों को मन भलीभांति पहचान लेता है।"

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८. रघुवंश ७.१५

ध्यातव्य है कि यहां अज तथा इन्दुमती के पूर्वजन्म में कामदेव तथा रति रहे होने का उल्लेख कर, कालिदास जब यह कहते हैं कि मन पूर्वजन्म के सम्बन्धों को जानता है, तब वह अभिनव द्वारा निरूपित "अनादिवासनाचित्रीकृत" चित्र की धारणा-शक्ति के सामान्य स्वभाव को नहीं कहते हैं, प्रत्युत उसकी व्यापकता को सीमित कर, एक सम्बन्ध विशेष का रेखांकन कर रहे हैं—इस सम्बन्ध का कि पूर्वजन्म में अज–इन्दुमती कामदेव-रति रहे होंगे। इसी प्रकार, 'रम्याणि वीक्ष्य' वाले श्लोक में 'भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि' कह कर, कालिदास "अनादिवासनाचित्रीकृत" चित्त को एक विशेष निश्चित सन्दर्भ में ले रहे हैं, जिसका सम्बन्ध दुष्यन्त से है, उसके निजी पुराने अनुभव से है।

"नूनमबोधपूर्वम्" (नूनम् अबोधपूर्वम्) में उपपन्न नञ् तत्पुरुष पर विचार करना अपेक्षित है। यह दो प्रकार का होता है, "पर्युदास" और प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध"। जहां नञ् का सम्बन्ध पद के साथ होता है, वहाँ "पर्युदास" होता है और जहाँ नञ् का सम्बन्ध क्रिया के साथ होता है वहाँ "प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध" होता है। प्रस्तुत पदावली में नञ् का सम्बन्ध पद (बोध) के साथ है, अतः यहां 'पर्युदास" हुआ है। भर्तृहरि ने पर्युदास नञ् के पांच अर्थ बताये हैं। तत्-सदृश, तदल्प, तद्विरुद्ध, तदनौचित्य और तद्भिन्न। कवि ने यहाँ "नूनमबोधपूर्वम्" में नञ् का प्रयोग "अल्प" अर्थात् "ईषत्" अर्थ में किया है और उसका विवक्षितार्थ है, अल्प अथवा ईषद् बोध वाला स्मरण—"तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वम्।" अत एव, यहां उपदर्शित स्मृति अभिनव के शब्दों में पूर्णतः "तार्किकप्रसिद्धा" भले न हो, वह रसनीयता से संसिक्त "प्रतिभानापरपर्याय-साक्षात्कारस्वभावा" तो नहीं ही है, जिसे "चमत्कार" कहा जा सके। और यदि यह कहा जाये कि अभिनव का अभिप्राय यहाँ काव्यार्पित अथवा लौकिक नायक दुष्यन्त से नहीं है, हृदयसंवादी सामाजिक से हैं; तब तो बात और भी बेतुकी हो जाती है।

हम विद्वत्-परिषद् का ध्यान इस तथ्य की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहते हैं कि प्रस्तुत सन्दर्भ में स्मरण अथवा "चेतसा स्मरति" का बिंदु ही महत्वपूर्ण है। इसी स्मरण पर तो "शाकुन्तल" का समग्र अभिज्ञान केन्द्रित है। "नूनमबोधपूर्वम्" से कालिदास का अभिप्राय यह है कि वह कर्णपेशल गीत सुनकर दुष्यन्त को किसी प्रणय सम्बन्ध-विशेष की ईषत्, धुंधली स्मृति उद्विग्न करने लगी है जिसे यह पहचान नहीं रहा है। यहां हम देखते हैं कि कालिदास ने आधुनिक मनोविज्ञानियों के लिए स्मृति (मेमरी) के रहस्यों के उन्मीलनार्थ एक उपयोगी सूत्र सन्निविष्ट किया है। वर्तमान काल में अमेरिका—जैसे समुन्नत देशों में स्मृति-विषयक जो परीक्षण तथा अनुसंधान किये जा रहे हैं, उनसे यह बात पूर्णतः प्रमाणित है कि जीवधारियों में पुराने अनुभव किसी कारण-विशेष से विस्मृति के गर्भ में चले जाते हैं और पुनः सामान्य स्वास्थ्य की अवस्था में वे शनैः-शनैः उपचेतन से निकलकर चेतन प्रदेश में आ जाते हैं।[९] दुष्यन्त

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९. द्रष्टव्य– *'Contemporary Readings In General Psychology.'* second Editions. Ed. by Robert S. Daniel, University of Missouri (U. S. A), Essays No, 19, 20 and 21.

की प्रस्तुत स्मृति उसके पूर्वानुभूत "सौहृदानि", प्रणय सम्बन्ध के स्मरण में पहला सोपान है। सुतराम, यह स्थल अर्थों में "तार्किक-प्रसिद्धा" होते हुए भी, वास्तविक अर्थों में अवश्य "ज्ञातविषया" है, अत एव अलौकिक नहीं है।

गौतमी द्वारा शकुन्तला का घूंघट हटाये जाने पर दुष्यन्त की मनोदशा का चित्रण कालिदास ने इस प्रकार किया है—

इदमुपनतमेव रूपमाक्रुष्टकान्ति
प्रथमपरिगृहीतं स्यान्न वेत्यव्यवस्यन् ।
भ्रमर इव विभाते कुन्दमन्दस्तुषारं
न च खलु परिभोक्तुं नैव शक्नोमि हातुम् ॥[10]

शकुन्तला को ध्यान से देखकर दुष्यन्त मन में सोचता है—"मैं ठीक-ठीक निश्चय नहीं कर पा रहा हूँ कि अपने-आप आ पहुँची इस रूपशालिनी से मैंने कभी विवाह किया है या नहीं। इसी कारण, जैसे प्रातः काल के तुषार से आच्छन्न कुन्द-पुष्प पर भौंरा न बैठता ही है, न उसे छोड़ कर जाता-हो है, वैसे ही मैं भी न इसे ग्रहण ही कर पा रहा हूँ और न छोड़-ही पा रहा हूँ।" वह यह सोचता ही रह जाता है—"इति विचारयन्स्थितः।" स्मृति को कवि कैसे शनैः-शनैः जगाता है, यह अवधेय है।

शार्ङ्गरव के पूछने पर कि हे राजन्! आप चुप क्यों हो गये, दुष्यन्त कहता है—"भो तपोधनाः। चिन्तयन्नपि न खलु स्वीकरणमत्रभवत्याः स्मरामि। तत्कथामिमामभिव्यक्तसत्त्वलक्षणां प्रत्यात्मानक्षेत्रिणमाशङ्कमानः प्रतिपत्स्ये।"

"हे तपस्वियो! बार बार स्मरण करने पर भी इस देवी के साथ विवाह करने की बात मुझे स्मरण नहीं हो रही है। तब बतायें, गर्भ के स्पष्ट लक्षणों वाली इस देवी को स्वीकार कर, मैं अन्य पुरुष का गर्भ धारण करने वाली स्त्री का पति कहलाने का अपयश क्योंकर धारण करूँ।"

अँगूठी न पाकर जब शकुन्तला दुष्यन्त के पूर्व प्रणय से सम्बद्ध प्रसङ्ग सुनाने लगती है, तब भी, दुष्यन्त प्रकाश्यतः उस पर विश्वास न कर, स्त्रियों की छलमयी चातुरी की बात करने लगता है। तब शकुन्तला ने क्रोध से तिलमिलाकर उसकी भर्त्सना की है और आंचल से मुँह ढक कर रोने लगी है। पुरोहित ने जब यह सूचना दी कि एक ज्योति शकुन्तला को गोद में उठाकर अप्सरातीर्थ की ओर लेकर चली गयी है, तब दुष्यन्त पुनः पर्याकुल हो जाता है और प्रतिहारी की सहायता से शयनगृह में चला जाता है। इस समय, देखिये, वह क्या सोच रहा है—

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१०. अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्, ५.१९

कामं प्रत्यादिष्टां स्मरामि न परिग्रहं मुनेस्तनयाम्
बलवत्तु दूयमानं प्रत्यायतीव मे हृदयम् ॥[11]

"विवाह की याद न होने से मैंने उस ऋषिकन्या का तिरस्कार कर दिया है, तथापि मेरा अतिशय कसकता हुआ हृदय, न जाने क्यों, उसकी बातों में विश्वास करने के लिए मचल रहा है।"

उल्लेखनीय है कि "अनिर्वर्णनीयं परकलत्रम्" तथा "शान्तं पापम्" कहने वाला दुष्यन्त धर्मभीरु नरेश है, और ये वाक्य वह केवल उपचारवशात् कह रहा है, अन्यथा उसके अन्तस्तल में तो पूर्वानुभूत शकुन्तला-सम्बन्ध की धुँधली प्रतीति छटपटा रही है जिसे वह पूरी तरह पकड़ नहीं पा रहा है। ध्यान देने का बिन्दु यह भी है कि शकुन्तला-प्रत्याख्यान के पूरे सन्दर्भ में वह कभी दृढ़ नहीं रहा है, सदा निश्चय-अनिश्चय के बीच दोलायमान रहा है। उसकी इस मनःस्थिति के मूल में उसकी अपरिभाषेय स्मृति ही कार्य-शील समझी जायेगी। आधुनिक मनोविज्ञान की अभिधा में, वह इस समग्र प्रकरण में "दुहरी चेतना" (डबल कॉंशसनेस) से आक्रान्त बन गया है—यद्यपि इन दोनों चेतनाओं के पारस्परिक अनुपात में घोर असमानता है।

इस प्रकार, "शाकुन्तल" के पञ्चम अंक का सम्पूर्ण व्यापार स्मृति का ही खेल है जो मूलतः मौलिक है, आस्वादस्वरूपा "प्रतिभान" नहीं, जो "अनादिवासनाचित्रीकृत" चित्त की निर्विशेष प्रसूति होता है। यह मूलतः सविकल्पक प्रतीति है जिसे निर्विकल्प समझना कवि के विवक्षितार्थ का अपलाप होगा। दुष्यन्त की धुंधली, ईषत् स्मृति शनैः-शनैः अपने पूर्वानुभूत प्रणय-सम्बन्ध को पकड़ने के लिए प्रयत्नशील है और शकुन्तला के प्रत्याख्यान की घड़ी तक वह पूर्ण स्मरण के धरातल तक पहुंचने की प्रक्रिया में क्रमशः धीरे-धीरे आगे बढ़ती गयी है। यह कालिदास की नाट्यकला का सुकुमार निर्देशन है। पञ्चम अंक की अन्तर्व्यापी इसी पीठिका से "रम्याणि वीक्ष्य" वाले श्लोक के "चेतसा स्मरति" की व्यञ्जना मार्गणीय है। इस अपरिभाषित, अविविक्त प्रतीति का कारण दुर्वासा का शाप है जो उसने शकुन्तला को दे दिया है, इस कारण कि दुष्यन्त की चिन्ता में मग्न उस भोली युवती ने ऋषि के प्रति सम्मानपूर्वक व्यवहार नहीं किया है—

विचिन्तयन्ती यमनन्यमानसा
तपोधनं वेत्सि न मामुपस्थितम्।
स्मरिष्यति त्वां न स बोधितोऽपिसन्
कथां प्रमत्तः प्रथमं कृतामिव ॥[12]

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११. वही, ५.३१

१२. वही ४.१

दुर्वासा का यही शाप, "स्मरण दिलाने पर भी तुम्हारा प्रिय जिसकी चिंता में मग्न होकर तुमने मुझ तपस्वी की सुधि न ली, तुम्हें स्मरण नहीं करेगा", दुष्यन्त की विस्मृति का कारण बना है। कालिदास की अलोकसामान्य अभिव्यक्ति में निपुण सरस्वती "स्मरिष्यति त्वां न" के शाप का अपलाप करना चाहती है, किन्तु उस कलात्मक सौंदर्य के साथ जो शापपालन से शृंखलित नैतिक अनुरोध का उल्लंघन न करे। और "तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वम्" का कथन कर, साथ ही, वह यह उद्घोषित करना चाहती है कि मुनियों का शाप भी उस प्रेम के अन्तर्निष्ठ संस्कार को बिलकुल विनष्ट नहीं कर सकता जिसका स्फुरण, पल्लवन तथा आभोग अंतःकरण की सहज-स्वाभाविक प्रेरणाओं से हुआ है— "सतां हि संदेहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः।" आँग्ल कवि कीट्स हृदय-रागों की पवित्रता ('होलीनेस आफ हार्ट्स अफेक्शंस') में आस्था रखता था। कालिदास ने वर्तमान सन्दर्भ में इसी आस्था से अनुप्राणित होकर, ऋषि-शाप की दुर्निवारता को "चैलेंज" किया है। स्मृति या स्मरण का जो सूक्ष्म सूत्र प्रस्तुत सन्दर्भ में अनुस्यूत है, वह निश्चित ही निर्विशेष नहीं है, आस्वादरूप "प्रतिभान" नहीं है। छठे अंक में अंगुलीयक के मिल जाने से दुष्यन्त की धुंधलो, अविविक्त स्मृति पूर्ण स्मरण का आयाम ग्रहण कर चुकी है जिससे दुष्यन्त का परिताप भी मुखर बन गया है—

स्वप्नो नु माया नु मतिभ्रमो नु
क्लिष्टं नु तावत्फलमेव पुण्यम्।
असंनिवृत्त्यै तदतीतमेते
मनोरथानामतटप्रपाताः ॥[13]

शकुन्तला का वह मिलाप स्वप्न था, या माया थी, अथवा मतिभ्रम था—यह कथन "तच्चेतसा स्मरति" का ही पूर्ण प्रतिफलन है जो नितान्त वैयक्तिक है और इसी कारण, यह स्मृति "प्रतिभान" नहीं है, 'भोगावेश' वाला चमत्कार नहीं है। वह मनोविज्ञान का एक गूढ़ रहस्य है जिसका बीज दुष्यन्त के पूर्व घटित अनुभव-विशेष में सन्निहित है। अभिनव ने ही उसी सन्दर्भ में, आगे चलकर कहा है कि लौकिक चित्तवृत्तियों के अनुमान में रसत्व नहीं होता, इसलिए अलौकिक चमत्कारस्वरूप रसास्वाद को स्मृति आदि से भिन्न समझना चाहिए—"यदा हि लौकिकचित्तवृत्त्यनुमाने का रसता। ......न च सा चर्वणा प्राङ्मानान्तरात् येनाधुना स्मृतिः स्यात्।"[14]

अभिनवगुप्त ने कैसे, क्यों "तच्चेतसा स्मरति" में चर्वणागोचर रसास्वाद की व्यञ्जना खोज ली, समझ में नहीं आता है। हमारा अनुमान है कि "अनादिवासनाचित्रीकृत" चित्त की अपनी उपपत्ति के उपपालन में उन्हें "रम्याणि वीक्ष्य" वाले श्लोक का स्वभावतः स्मरण हो

१३. वही, ६.१०
१४. हिन्दी अभिनवभारती, पृ० ४८५

आया जिसमें—"भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि" का कथन उपलब्ध था। "तार्किकप्रसिद्ध" और अनादिवासनात्मक स्मृति को मिलाने वाली कोई मध्यवर्ती स्मृति-दशा भी हो सकती है, इस सम्भावना की ओर उनका ध्यान नहीं गया था। कालिदास का अपना प्रयोजन क्या था स्मृति-विस्मृति की इस आंख-मिचौनी के उपनिबन्धन में, उधर भी आचार्य-पुङ्गव का ध्यान नहीं जा सका था।

ऋक्संहिता में मरणोत्तर जीवन

(श्रीमती) शशी तिवारी

देवताओं के माहात्म्य का प्रधानतया गुणगान करने वाली ऋक्संहिता में स्पष्ट रूप से निश्चित कोई दर्शन अथवा चिन्तनधारा नहीं है, परन्तु इसमें उत्तरवर्ती दार्शनिक चिन्तन के बीज अवश्यमेव पाये जाते हैं। शत्रु के विरुद्ध सहायता, विजय, वैभव, सम्पत्ति, रत्न, सुवर्ण, पशु, वर्षा, सुखी परिवार, दीर्घायु आदि अभीप्सित भौतिक पदार्थों की प्राप्ति के प्रति सावधान और अत्यन्त उत्सुक होते हुए भी ऋग्वैदिक आर्य जीवन की क्षणभंगुरता से परिचित थे और इसीलिए उन्होंने जन्म-मरण और मरणोत्तर जीवन के विविध पक्षों पर यथावसर विचार किया था। ऋचाओं के समीक्षात्मक विवेचन द्वारा मरणोत्तर जीवन और उससे सम्बद्ध विषयों पर ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों के जो अनेक विचार प्रकाश में आते हैं, निस्सन्देह उनमें से अधिकांश विचार उत्तरवर्ती विकसित विचारधाराओं के प्रारम्भिक रूप प्रतीत होते हैं। विचारणीय है कि मरणोत्तर जीवन से सम्बद्ध अधिकतर उल्लेख ऋग्वेद के प्रथम और दशम मण्डलों में उपलब्ध हैं जिन्हें, कई पाश्चात्य विद्वानों ने अपेक्षाकृत परवर्ती माना है। ये उल्लेख विशेषतया सोम[1], विष्णु[2] और यम[3] से सम्बद्ध दिखाई देते हैं।

अ. मर्त्य और अमृत

मनोयोगपूर्वक एक सुखद, लौकिक जीवन व्यतीत करते हुए और निराशावाद तथा भावी जीवन के प्रति चिन्ता से पर्याप्त दूर होते हुए भी ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों ने लोकोत्तर जीवन की परिकल्पना की थी। मन्त्रों में देवताओं की दिव्यता उनके द्वारा बहुचर्चित ही नहीं, स्पृहणीय भी है। "मृत्यु" की विपरीत अवस्था है "अमरता"। ये दोनों ही सृष्टि से पूर्व अवस्थित नहीं थी—

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१. ऋग्वेद, ९.११३.७-११
२. वही, १.१५४.५-६
३. वही, १०.१४

सृष्टि के अन्तर्गत ही इन्होंने विस्तार पाया है ।[४] सामान्यतया मनुष्य को मर्त्य माना गया है[५] और देवों को "अमृत"[६] । सभी देव अमर्त्य हैं और विशेषकर उषस् ।[७] अग्नि अमृतों में प्रथम है ।[८] अमृत अविनाशी देवता मर्त्य मनुष्यों से उत्कृष्ट हैं, तभी तो वे मनुष्यों के स्थानों पर दृष्टि रखते हैं ।[९] इन्द्र प्रभृति देवता मनुष्यों और पशुओं के जन्म के अधिष्ठता हैं ।[१०] अविनाशी अग्नि से मरणधर्मा मनुष्यों की रक्षा की सामान्य प्रार्थना की गयी है ।[११] पुरुषसूक्त में देवताओं द्वारा किये गये सृष्टियज्ञ से विविध उत्पत्तियों के अन्तर्गत चार वर्णों में विभक्त मानवीय समाज का परिगणन[१२] मनुष्यों पर देवताओं की प्रभुता का प्रमाण है । ऋग्वैदिक मन्त्रों में देवताओं की जितनी भी सहज विशेषताएं वर्णित हैं, उनमें उनके "अमृतत्व" का विशेष स्थान है । परन्तु माना गया है कि अमृतत्व और मृत्यु दोनों ही हिरण्यगर्भ की छायामात्र हैं ।[१३]

देवों की अमरता मनुष्य जीवन की अपेक्षा अधिक नित्य और शाश्वत है, इसलिए वह "परम काम्य" है । तत्कालीन समाज में अमृतत्व की प्राप्ति को जीवन का महान् उद्देश्य समझा गया था । "शरदः शतम्" तक जीने की बहुशः व्यक्त की गई इच्छा अमृतत्व की इसी कामना का प्रारम्भिक रूप माना जा सकता है । मन्त्रों में देवताओं को जानने और अमृत तथा अमर्त्य होने की आकाङ्क्षाएं हैं । ऋषि ने अग्नि से प्रार्थना की है–'हे अग्ने ! मैं मरणधर्मा मनुष्य तुम्हारी उपासना करता हुआ तुम्हारे समान ही अमरत्व प्राप्त करे ।[१४] इसी प्रकार सोम से याचना की गयी है—हे सोम ! तुम अमृतत्व वाले हो । हम तुम्हारा पान करके ही अमर होंगे । तदन्तर हम स्वर्ग में जाकर देवताओं को जानेंगे ।'[१५] चरम ध्येय के रूप में मोक्ष की कल्पना का ऋचाओं में अभाव है, परन्तु उत्तरवर्ती भारतीय चिन्तन में निर्धारित युक्ति रूप चरम लक्ष्य मन्त्रों में प्रकट हुई अमरत्व प्राप्ति की इस प्रबल आकाङ्क्षा का ही विकसित रूप प्रतीत होता है ।

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४. न मृत्युरासीदमृतं न तर्हि । वही, १०.१२९.२
५. वही, १.१८.३, ५
६. देवासो अमृतासो अस्थुः । ऋग्वेद, १.१२३.१, और भी १.५९.१ इत्यादि ।
७. वही, १.३०.२०, ३.६१.२
८. अग्नेः वयं प्रथमस्यामृतानां मनामहे । वही । १.२४.२
९. ते धामान्यमृता मर्त्यानामदब्धा अभिचक्षते । वही, ८.१०१.६
१०. द्विपाच्च यच्चतुष्पात्सं सृजानि । वही, १०.२७.१०
११. जरिम्णेऽग्ने मता अमर्त्यस्त्वं नः । वही १०.८७.२१
१२. वही, १०.९०
१३. यस्य छायामृतं यस्य मृत्युः । वही, १०.१२१.२
१४. यदग्ने मर्त्यस्त्वं स्यामहं मित्रमहो अमर्त्यः । वही, ८.१९.२५
१५. अपाम सोमममृता अभूमागन्म ज्योतिरविदाम देवान् । वही, ८.४८.३

आ. पितर

ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों का विश्वास था कि उनके मृत पूर्वज देवताओं के लोक में विराजमान हैं। वे देवों की भांति पितरों की भी पूजा-उपासना करते थे। ऋग्वेद के अनेक सूक्तों में पितरों का स्तवन किया गया है।[१६] सोमपायी पितरों की तीन कोटियाँ बतायी गयी हैं---उत्तम, मध्यम और अधम।[१७] ग्रिसवोल्ड के मत में इसका अभिप्राय सम्भवत: पृथिवी, आकाश और अन्तरिक्ष-स्थानीय पितरों से है।[१८] एक मन्त्र के अनुसार मृत व्यक्ति पितर रूप को प्राप्त कर लेते हैं, जो देवाश्रय में रहते हे।[१९] पितर वे आदिम पूर्वज है, जो यम द्वारा सर्वप्रथम खोजे गये मार्ग द्वारा पृथिवी से स्वर्ग को जाते हैं।[२०] उनमें अङ्गिरा, अथर्वा, भृगु इत्यादि उल्लेखनीय रहे हैं।[२१] पूर्वकाल में या उसके भी पश्चात् मरने वाले पितर मनुष्यों से ऊपर हैं और लोकोत्तर जीवन-यापन करते हैं। पितृसूक्त में देवरूपों में इनका स्तवन किया गया है।[२२] मृत्यु को प्राप्त कर ये अब स्वर्गीय जीवन (असु) को प्राप्त कर चुके हैं।[२३] जिस प्रकार देवताओं को स्वाहा और आहुतियों द्वारा तृप्त किया जाता है, उसी प्रकार इनको स्वधा द्वारा। कहा गया है कि ये तो स्वर्ग में स्वधा से तृप्त होते हैं।[२४] स्वधा को ग्रहण करने के लिए इनका यज्ञ में आह्वान किया जाता है।[२५] ये देवताओं के समान कल्याण, मङ्गल, पुत्र, धन आदि प्रदान करने और पाप-निवारण के लिए प्रार्थनीय हैं। पितरों का देवताओं से सम्बन्ध है और प्राय: इनका साथ-साथ उल्लेख भी हुआ है।[२६] पितरों ने श्रेष्ठ, परम्परागत और सत्यरूप यज्ञ कर्मो को करके दीप्त स्थान और तेज प्राप्त किया था।[२७] एक मन्त्र में कहा गया है कि पितरों को देवताओं के समान महिमा मिली है।[२८] मैक्डानल का भी प्रतिपादन है कि पितर प्राय: दिव्य सम्मान के

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१६. ऋग्वेद, १०.१४, १०.१५ और १०.५६
१७. उदीरतामवर उत् परास उन्मध्यमा: पितर: सोम्यास:। वही, १०.१५.१
१८. *The Religion of the Rigveda*, H. D. Griswold, Varanasi, १९७१, p. ३२२ तुलनीय अथर्व सं० १८.२.४९
१९. ऋग्वेद १०.१६.२
२०. वही, १०.१४.१-२
२१. वही, १०.१४.६
२२. वही, १०.१५
२३. वही, १०.१५.१, *The Religion of the Rigveda*, Griswold, p. ३२१
२४. मध्ये दिव: स्वधया मादयन्ते। ऋग्वेद १०.१५.१४, १०.१४.३
२५. वही, १०.१५.२, १३
२६. मो षू णो अत्र जुहुरन्त देवा मा पूर्वे अग्ने पितर: पदज्ञा:। वही, ३.५५.२, ७.७६.४
२७. अधा यथा न पितर: परास: प्रत्नासो अग्न ऋतमाशुषाणा:। वही, ४.२.१६
२८. महिम्न एषां पितरश्च नेशिरे। वही, १०.५६.४

भागी हुए हैं। देवताओं की सी जीवन यात्रा करते हुए वे अलौकिक प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त करते हैं।[२९] उन्हें आकाश को नक्षत्रों से सुसज्जित करना, रात्रि में अन्धकार और दिन में प्रकाश को नियत करना जैसे दिव्य महान् प्राकृतिक कार्यों के कर्तृत्व का श्रेय भी यदा कदा दिया गया है।[३०] इस प्रकार ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों द्वारा मरणोत्तर जीवन में पितरों की विशेष शक्ति और महत्ता को स्वीकार किया गया था। इस पृष्ठभूमि में ग्रिसवोल्ड का पितरों को देवताओं का ही एक विशेष गण या अर्द्धदेवता (demi gods) मानना उपयुक्त प्रतीत होता है।[३१]

इ. पितृलोक और यम

कुछ ऋचाओं में तीन लोकों का उल्लेख है,[३२] परन्तु उनका स्वरूप पर्याप्त स्पष्ट नहीं है। अन्यत्र तीन द्युलोकों में से एक लोक यम का बताया गया है, जिसमें प्रेत मनुष्य जाते हैं।[३३] मन्त्रों में पितृलोक या यमलोक का वर्णन है। यमलोक यम का लोक है, जहां पितर रहते हैं। मरने के बाद जीव वहीं पर पितरों के साथ रहता है। यम पितरों या पुण्यात्मा मृत पूर्वजों के मुखिया हैं, यद्यपि यम का वरुण[३४], बृहस्पति[३५], अग्नि[३६] आदि देवताओं के साथ घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध है, तीन सम्पूर्ण सूक्तों[३७] में देवरूप में इनका स्तवन किया गया है और यम-यमी-संवाद सूक्त[३८] में यमी के साथ यम के वार्तालाप का विस्तृत वर्णन हैं, तथापि यम के लिए देव शब्द के स्थान पर राजा शब्द प्रयुक्त है।[३९]

ऋग्वैदिक विवरणों से व्यक्त होता है कि यम एक देवता-विशेष है, जिन्हें मृतक व्यक्ति स्वर्ग में पहुंचने पर वरुण के साथ देखते हैं।[४०] उन्हें हविष् दिया जाता है,[४१] यज्ञ में बुलाया जाता है[४२], और दीर्घायु बनाने के लिए उनकी प्रार्थना की जाती है।[४३] ग्रिसवोल्ड के मत से प्रथम

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२९. *Vedic Mythology*, A. A. Macdonell, Strassburg, १८९७, पृ. १७०
३०. वही, १०.६८.११, ७.७६.४
३१. *The Religion of the Rigveda* p. ३२१
३२. ऋग्वेद १.३५.६, १.१०५.५, २.३.२
३३. तिस्तो द्यावः सवितुर्द्वा उपस्थां एका यमस्य भुवने विराट्। वही, १.३५.६
३४. वही, १०.१४.७
३५. वही, १०.१३.४
३६. वही, ११.२१.५
३७. ऋग्वेद, १०.१४, १०.१३५, १०.१५४
३८. वही, १०.१०
३९. यमं राजानं हविषा दुवस्य। वही, १०.१४.१
४०. यमं पश्यासि वरुणं च देव्स। वही, १०.१४.७
४१. यमाय जुहुता हविः। वही, १०.१४.१३
४२. वही. १०.१४.४
४३. स नो देवेष्वा यमद्दीर्घयायुः प्रजीवसे। वही, १०.१४.१४

मानव के रूप में मान्य मनु यम का ही दूसरा रूप रहे हैं, क्योंकि दोनों विवस्वत् के पुत्र हैं।[४४] उनकी मान्यता है कि मनुयम ही प्रथम मानव, प्रथम यजनकर्ता, प्रथम शासक, मृत्यु के प्रथम द्रष्टा, पृथिवी से स्वर्ग तक के मार्ग के प्रथम अन्वेषक और प्रकाश के लोक में सुकर्मा मृतकों के प्रथम राजा थे।[४५] ब्लूमफील्ड ने स्वीकार किया है कि यम प्रथम दिव्य मानव था, जिसने आकाश की ऊँचाइयों तक जाकर अपने पूर्वजों के लिए पितृलोक का मार्ग खोजा था।[४६] सब प्राणी मरने के बाद यम के पास ही पहुंचते हैं, जिन्हे वह आश्रय और निवास देते हैं।[४७] यम का सदन देवमान (सायण—देवों द्वारा निर्मित) है, वह संगीत और गीत से मुखरित होता रहता है।[४८]

ऋग्वेद के मन्त्रों में यमलोक अथवा मृत्यु की भयानकता का उल्लेख प्रायः नहीं है, परन्तु यम के दूतरूप दो कुत्तों के वर्णन में इसका कुछ आभास माना जा सकता है। यमलोक के मार्ग में यमलोक के रक्षक और यम के दूत सरमापुत्र दो कुत्ते मिलते हैं, जिन्हें चार नेत्र वाला, अद्भुत और महान् बलवाला और लम्बी नाक वाला बतलाया गया है।[४९] ब्लूमफील्ड ने इन दोनों दिव्य कुत्तों को मूलतः सूर्य और चन्द्र माना है जबकि ग्रिसवोल्ड के विचार में यह मत अनिश्चित सा है।[५०] कुछ विद्वानों ने इससे क्रमशः आकाशगंगा तथा श्वन् और प्रश्वन् तारों का संकेत लिया है।[५१]

जैसे पितर मनुष्यों से उत्कृष्ट माने गये हैं, वैसे ही पितृलोक या यमलोक के सुख पार्थिव लोक की तुलना में उत्कृष्ट माने गये हैं।

ई. पितृयान और देवयान

ऋग्वेदसंहिता में मृत्यु[५२] और अन्त्येष्टि[५३] के उल्लेख हुए हैं, पर वे अत्यल्प हैं। ऋग्वेद में

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४४. *The Religion of the Rigveda*, पृ० ३२५

४५. वही, पृ० ३२७

४६. *The Religion of the Vedas*, M. Bloomfiled, Dellhi, १९७२, p.२५०; ऋग्वेद १०.१४.१-२

४७. तेऽत्रा यमः सादना ते मिनोतु। ऋग्वेद, १०.१८.१३

४८. इदं यमस्य सादनं देवमानं यदुच्यते।
इदमस्य धम्यतें नाडीरयं गीर्भिः परिष्कृतः। वही, १०.१३५.७

४९. सामेयौ श्वानौ।—वही १०.१४.१०, श्वानो यत्र रक्षितारा चतुरक्षौ। वही, १०.१४.११, उरुणसावसुतृपा उदुम्बलौ यमस्यं दूतौ। वही, १०.१४.१२

५०. *The Religion of the Rigveda*, पृ० ३२७

५१. ऋग्वेद पर एक ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि, पं० विश्वेश्वरनाथ रेउ, १९६७, पृ० २०७ पर उद्धृत

५२. ऋग्वेद, १०.१८

५३. वही, १०.१६

दाह के द्वारा[५४] अथवा गाड़ने के द्वारा[५५] शव संस्कार का विधान किया गया है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि मृतात्मा के लोकान्तर में पहुंचने के लिए दाह-पद्धति को अधिक श्रेयस्कर समझा जाता था। ऋग्वेद में देवयान और देवयान से इतर मार्ग (पितृयान) का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है। जिस प्रकार क्रव्याद अग्नि को हव्यवाट् अग्नि से विविक्त किया गया है,[५६] उसी प्रकार पितृयान को देवयान से अलग दिखाया गया है।[५७] देवयान और पितृयान मार्गों का उल्लेख करते हुए ऋषि का कथन है—"मैने पितरों, देवताओं और मनुष्यों के दो मार्गों के सम्बन्ध में सुना है, यह सब जगत् आगे बढ़ता हुआ उन्हीं मार्गों पर चलता है।[५८] पृथक् रूप से पितृयान[५९] और देवयान[६०] के उल्लेख भी प्राप्त है, परन्तु उनसे इनके किसी विशेष रूप पर प्रकाश नहीं पड़ता है। हां, उपनिषदों में बहुचर्चित दोनों मार्गों की कल्पना का सूत्रपात्र ऋग्वेद में ही हुआ है—यह निष्कर्ष सहज सम्भाव्य है।

उ. स्वर्ग और नरक

ऋङ्मन्त्रों में मरणोत्तर जीवन के अन्तर्गत स्वर्ग को विशेष महत्व दिया गया है। इसका प्रसिद्ध नाम 'नाक' है, क्योंकि यह वह लोक है जो दुःखरहित है, अर्थात् शोक से परे है।[६१] कभी स्वर्ग तीन कहे गये हैं।[६२] कभी पितृलोक और स्वर्गलोक समान प्रतीत होते हैं। सुस्पष्ट न होते हुए भी मन्त्रों में ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों का यह विश्वास ही अधिक व्यक्त हुआ है कि साधारण मनुष्य मरने के पश्चात् यमलोक में जाते हैं, जबकि दिव्य पुण्यात्मा मनुष्य स्वर्गलोक को प्राप्त करते हैं। स्वर्गलोक आकाश के मध्य में स्थित है।[६३] वह परम व्योम में है।[६४] वह आकाश के

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५४. वही, १०.१६.१

५५. वही, १०.१८.१०-१३

५६. क्रव्यादमग्निं प्र हिणोमि दूरं यमराज्ञो यच्छतु रिप्रवाहः ।
इहैवायमितरो जातवेदा देवेभ्यो हव्यं वहतु, प्रजानन् ।। वही, १०.१६.९

५७. परं मृत्यो अनुपरेहि पन्थां यस्ते स्व इतरो देवयानात् । वही, १०.१८.१

५८. द्वे सृती अश्रृणवं पितृणामहं देवनामुत मर्त्यानाम् ।
ताभ्यामिदं विश्वमेजत् समेति यदन्तरा पितरं मातरं च । वही, १०.१८.१५

५९. पन्थामनु प्रविद्वान् पितृयाणम् । वही, १०.२-७

६०. अन्तर्विद्नां अध्वनो देवयानान् । वही, १.७२.७
एह यातं पथिभिर्देवयानैः । वही, १.१८३.६
'प्र मे पन्था देवयानाः । वही, ७-७६.२

६१. कमिति सुखनाम् तत् प्रतिषिद्धं प्रतिषिध्येत् । निरुक्त, २.१४.३

६२. यत्रानुकामं चरणं त्रिनाके त्रिदिवे दिवः । ऋग्वेद, ९.११३.९

६३. मध्ये दिवः स्वधया मादयन्ते । वही, १०.५.१४

६४. सं गच्छस्व पितृभिः सं यमेनेष्टापूर्तेन व्योमन् । वही, १०.१४.८

के अन्तरतम में है, वह ज्योतिष्मान् है, अमृत है, वहां पर शाश्वत प्रकाश रहता है।[६५] स्वर्ग का जीवन उल्लास और आनन्द-प्रमोद से परिपूर्ण है, जहां प्राणियों की सभी ईच्छाएं पूर्ण हो जाती हैं।[६६] स्वर्ग में तो जीव देवों के मध्य सुखपूर्वक निवास करते हैं।[६७] यहां जीवन की सम्पूर्णता है। अतः ऋग्वेद के अनुसार स्वर्ग वह स्थान है, जहां उत्तम आत्मा पृथवी से जाकर दिव्य देवताओं के साथ सान्निध्य प्राप्त करता हैं। यह "सुकृताम् लोक" है[६८], अर्थात् सुकर्मा का लोक है। ऋग्वेद में मधु के उत्स से युक्त विष्णु के परम पद[६९] और वरुण के महान् और सहस्रद्वार वाले गृह[७०] के उल्लेख सम्भवतः इस स्वर्गलोक के ही बोधक है। ऋचाओं में मृत्यु के अनन्तर इसी अखण्ड प्रकाश वाले अविनाशी अमृत लोक में जाने की आकाङ्क्षा व्यक्त की गयी है।[७१]

सुकर्मा मृतक इष्टापूर्त (सायण-श्रौतस्मार्तदानफलेन) के द्वारा परम व्योम में पहुंचते हैं।[७२] स्वर्ग उन मनुष्यों को मिलता है जो तपस्या में अजेय हैं और ज्वलन्त तपस्याओं में रत रहते हैं अथवा जो वीर युद्धों में लड़ते-लड़ते शरीर का परित्याग कर देते हैं। दानी भी स्वर्ग को प्राप्त करते हैं।[७३] जिन्होंने देवों को हविरादि से तृप्त किया है[७४] तथा जिन्होंने विधिवत् कर्मो का अनुष्ठान किया है— वे भी स्वर्ग में जाते हैं।[७५] निस्सन्देह, महिमावान् ही स्वर्ग को प्राप्त

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६५. यत्र ज्योतिरजस्रं यस्मिन् लोके स्वर्हितम्।
तस्मिन्मां धेहि पवमानोऽमृते लोके अक्षित इन्द्रायेन्दो परिस्तव। वही, ९.११३.७
लोका यत्र ज्योतिष्मन्तस्तत्रं मामृतमं कृधि। वही, ९.११३.९

६६. यत्र कामा निकामाश्च यत्र ब्रन्धनस्ये विष्टपम्। वही, ९.११३.१०
यत्रानन्दाश्च मोदाश्च मुदः प्रमुद आसते।
कामस्य यत्राप्ताः कामाः तत्र माममृतं कृधीन्द्रायेन्दो परिस्तव। वही, ९.११३.११

६७. स नो देवष्वा यमद् दीर्घमायुः प्र जीवसे। वही, १०.१४.१४, और भी, वही, १.१२५.५

६८. ताभिर्वहैनं सुकृतामु लोकम्। वही, १०.१६.४

६९. विष्णोः पदे परमे मध्व उत्सः। वही, ९.१५४.५

७०. बृहन्तं मानं वरुण स्वधावः सहस्रद्वार जगमा गृहते। वही, ७.८८.५

७१. वही, ९.१३३.७ और भी, वही, ९.११३.८—११

७२. वही, १०.१४.८

७३. तपसा ये अनाधृष्यास्तपसा ये स्वर्ययुः।
तपो में चक्रिरे महस्तांश्चिदेवापि गच्छतात्। वही, १०.१५४.२
ये युध्यन्ते प्रधनेषु शरासो ये तनूत्यजः।
ये वा सहस्रदक्षिणास्तांश्चिदेवापि गच्छतात्।—वही, १०.१५४.३
और भी वही, १०.१०.७२,१.१२५.५

७४. नाकस्य पृष्ठे अधितिष्ठति श्रितो यः पृणाति सह देवेषु गच्छति। वही, १.१२५.५

७५. वही, १०.१५४.४—५

करते हैं।[७६] अच्छे कर्मों के फलस्वरूप स्वर्ग-प्राप्ति के इन विचारों में ही सम्भवत: उत्तरवर्ती 'कर्मवाद' सिद्धान्त का मूल निहित है।[७७]

ऋग्वेदीय विश्वास के अनुसार परलोकीय जीवन में मृत व्यक्ति का आत्मा दैदीप्यमान नवीन शरीर का लाभ करता है।[७८] वहां वैभव सम्पन्न शरीर से युक्त होकर वह देवता और पितरों का प्रेम-भाजन बनता है।[७९] अथर्ववेद में इसी प्रकार का वर्णन है कि वहां उत्तम मृतक अपने माता, पिता और पुत्रों से मिल जाते है।[८०] परलोकीय शरीर में पार्थिव शरीर की अपूर्णताएं नहीं रहती हैं।[८१] "क्षीणे पुण्ये मर्त्यलोके विशन्ति' का सिद्धान्त ऋग्वेद में सम्भवत: विचारों से परे था, इसीलिए उत्तम आत्माओं के स्वर्ग में जाने के वाद उनके लौटने की वात यहां नहीं कही गयी है।

ऋचाओं में पापमुक्ति की प्रार्थनाएं अनेकधा की गयी हैं। पापनाशन की प्रार्थना का आधार, प्रधानतया नैतिक है और यही नरक की कल्पना का आधार है। यदि पुण्यात्मा भावी जीवन में पुण्य फल का उपभोग करने के लिए स्वर्ग को जाता है तो यह विचार स्वाभाविक है कि अनैतिक आचरण करने वाला पापाचारी आत्मा पाप के फल-भोग के लिए उससे भिन्न और विपरीत लोक में जाता है। ऋग्वेद में स्पष्टत: नरक नाम से किसी लोक का वर्णन नहीं है, जबकि अथर्ववेद संहिता[८२] और वाजसनेयि संहिता[८३] में नरक लोक का उल्लेख है। यद्यपि ऋग्वेद में नरक के सिद्धान्त के द्योतक सङ्केत कम हैं,[८४] तथापि ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों को नरक का ज्ञान नहीं था—रॉथ प्रभृति विद्वानों का यह कथन उपयुक्त नहीं है। जो सङ्केत मिलते हैं, वे स्पष्ट रूप से यह तथ्य सिद्ध कर देते हैं। कहा गया है कि कुपथगामिनी, पतिद्वैषिणी मिथ्याचारिणी स्त्री और पापी, ऋतविरोधी और असत्यात्मा पुरुष गम्भीर पद को प्राप्त होते हैं।[८५] सायणाचार्य ने 'गभीरं पदम्' को 'अगाधं नरकस्थानम्' कहा है। इन्द्रासोमा से प्रार्थना की गयी है कि दुष्कर्म करने वाले पापाचारी को गर्त (वव्रे) के मध्य आलम्बनरहित घने अन्धकार

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७६. ते ह नाकं महिमान: सचन्त। वही, १०.९०.१६

७७. *The Religion of the Rigveda*, Griswold पृ० ३१८

७८. हित्वायावद्यं पुनरस्तमेहि सं गच्छस्व तन्वा सुवर्चा: । वही, १०.१४.८

७९. संवेशने तन्वश्चारुरेधि प्रियो देवानां परमे जरित्रे। वही, १०.५६.१

८०. अथर्व० सं०, ६.१२०.३; १२.३.१७

८१. ऋग्वेद, १०.१४.८, अथर्व सं०, ३.२८.५

८२. अथर्व० सं०, १२.४.३६

८३. वाज० सं०, ३०.५

८४. *Die Religion des veda*, Oldenberg, Berlin, 1894, p. 536—512, *Vedic Mythology*, Macdonell, p. 169, *The religion of the Rigveda*, Griswold, p. 319.

८५. अभ्रातरो न योषणो व्यन्त: पतिरिपो न जनया दुरेवा:।
पापास: सन्तो अनृता असत्या इदं पदमजनता गभीरम्॥ ऋग्वेद, ४.५.५

में ढकेल दें, जिससे कि उनमें से एक भी न बचने पाए ।[८६] इसी प्रकार कामनाएं हैं कि राक्षस व्याप्त तीनों लोकों के नीचे गिरे[८७] और रात्रि के समय अपने शरीर को उलूकी की भाँति छिपाकर इधर-उधर भटकने वाली राक्षसी घोर गर्त में गिरे,[८८] जिससे व्यक्त होता है कि पापाचारियों के लिए जिस लोक की कल्पना की गई थी वह पृथिवी के नीचे और सघन अन्धकार से आच्छादित था । अन्यत्र इन्द्र से शत्रुओं अथवा पापाचारियों को अन्धकारमय लोक ('अधरं तमः') में ढकेलने की प्रार्थना की गयी है ।[८९] ऋग्वेद में नरक का भीषण और पौराणिक रूप अस्तित्व में नहीं आया है । सम्भव है ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों का जीवन के प्रति आशावादी दृष्टिकोण ही इसका कारण रहा हो । यदि यह मानें कि अपराध के लिए दण्ड की भावना से ही पापियों के लिए नरक नामक लोक की प्राप्ति उत्तरकाल में परिकल्पनीय रही है, तब यह मत निश्चित है कि कुकर्मी के लिए दण्ड की विचारधारा का सूत्रपात ऋग्वेद से ही हुआ है ।

ऊ. परमतत्व— सत

ऋग्वैदिक मन्त्रों में परमतत्व का निर्देश 'सत्' या 'पुरुष' के रूप में हुआ है । परमतत्व को समझने का प्रयत्न करते हुए कहा गया है कि वैदिक ऋचाएं वह परम अक्षर धाम है, जहां सब देवताओं का वास है । जो इस बात को नहीं जानता, उसे ऋचा से कोई लाभ नहीं हो सकता है, जो इसे जानता है वही प्रसन्न रह सकता है ।[९०] सूक्त के अन्तिम भाग में उस परमतत्व का वर्णन करते हुए कहा गया कि 'सत्' एक है, विद्वान् लोग अग्नि, यम, मातरिश्वा आदि विविध नामों से उसकी विवेचना करते हैं ।[९१] इस प्रकार जगत् के आदिकारण के रूप में एक परमतत्व निश्चित किया गया था । अद्वैतवाद के प्रतिष्ठापक ऋग्वेदीय पुरुष सूक्त में उसे 'पुरुष' नाम से सम्बोधित किया गया है,[९२] तो हिरण्यगर्भसूक्त में उसे 'हिरण्यगर्भ' नाम दिया बया है ।[९३] द्वैतवाद का सूत्र मूलभूत मन्त्र 'द्वा सुपर्णा' इत्यादि जो मुण्डक ओर श्वेताश्वतर उपनिषदों में भी प्राप्त

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८६. इन्द्रासोमा दुष्कृतो वव्रे अन्तरनाम्भणे तमसि प्र विध्यतम ।
यथा नातः पुनरेकश्चनोदयत् तद् वामस्तु सहयेमन्युमच्छवः । वही, ७.१०४.३

८७. तिस्रः पृथिवीरेधो अस्तु विश्वाः । वही, ७.१०४.११

८८. प्र या जिगाति खर्गलेव नक्तयप दुहां तन्वं गूहमाना ।
वव्रां अनन्तां अव सा पदीष्ट ग्रावाणो ध्नन्तु रक्षस उपब्दैः । वही, ७.१०४.१७

८९. यो अस्मा अभिदासत्यधरं गमयातमः । वही, १०.१५२.४

९०. ऋचो अक्षरे परमे व्योमन् यस्मिन् देवा अधिविश्वे निषेदुः ।
न्न यस्तन्न वेद किमृचा करिष्यति य इत तदविदुस्ते इमे समासते । ऋग्वेद, १.१६४.३९

९१. एकं सद् बिप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः । वही, १.१६४,४६

९२. वही, १०.९०

९३. वही, १०,१२१

है, मूलत: ऋग्वेद में ही मिलता है, जिससे जीव और ब्रह्म के स्वरुप तथा सम्बन्धों पर प्रकाश पड़ता है।[९४] आत्मज्ञान ही आत्मप्राप्ति अथवा मोक्ष का आधार है—इस सिद्धान्त का प्राचीनतम सङ्केत ऋचाओं में मिलता है, जहां कहा गया है कि उसे जो जानता है वही अमृतत्व को प्राप्त करता है।[९५] ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों ने आन्तरिक जगत् की एकता आत्मा अथवा पुरुष के रूप में स्थापित की थी। ऋग्वेद के कितने ही प्रसङ्ग एकेश्वरवाद के प्रतिपादक हैं।[९६] सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति और उससे पूर्व की स्थिति का उद्भावक है—नासदीय सूक्त।[९७] हिरण्यगर्भसूक्त और पुरुषसूक्त भी इसी दर्शन परम्परा में रखे जा सकते हैं। इस प्रकार परमतत्व और जगत् से सम्बद्ध महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्नों पर ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों ने जो चिन्तन किये थे, वे इस निष्कर्ष तक पहुंचने में अवश्यमेव सहायक हैं कि मरणोत्तर जीवन की गुत्थियों को सुलझाने के लिए जगत् की पूर्व स्थिति और उसके मूल कारण जैसे अत्यन्त आवश्यक पक्ष उनके चिन्तन से उपेक्षित न रह सके थे। यह सत्य है कि यह अवस्था दार्शनिक चिन्तन की प्रारम्भिक अवस्था थी।

ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों का विश्वास था कि जीवात्मा शरीर से पृथक् है, शरीर के नष्ट हो जाने के पश्चात् भी उसका अस्तित्व बना रहता है। एक सकल सूक्त[९८] में की गयी 'मन: आवर्तन' की प्रार्थना का औचित्य इसी दृष्टि से सम्भव है। ऋग्वेद में आत्मा अथवा चैतन्य की अभिव्यक्ति अधिकतर 'असुः' या 'मनस्' शब्द रूपों से हुई है। ऋग्वेद के अनुसार 'मन' हृदय में अधिष्ठित है।[९९] 'असुः' शारीरिक जीवनी शक्ति का सूचक है।[१००] असु को ग्रिसवोल्ड ने Spirit और Breath कहा है,[१०१] तो रानाडे और वेलवेलकर ने "Breath or energising principle in man."[१०२] 'मनस्' को ग्रिसवोल्ड 'Soul, the seat of thought and emotion' के रूप में व्याख्यात किया है, तो रानाडे और वेलवेलकर ने 'mind or thinking and feeling principle in man' के रूप में। कई उद्धरणों से प्रतीत होता है कि जीवन और मरण 'असु' अथवा 'मनस्' के प्रवर्तन और निवर्तन पर निर्भर थे। मृतक को 'गतासु'[१०३] कहने से ज्ञात होता है

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९४. द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते।
तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्त्यनश्नन्नन्यो अभि चाकशीति ॥ वही, १.१६४.२०

९५. यद् वा जगज्जगत्याहितं पदं य इत् तद् विदुस्ते अमृतत्वमानशुः। वहीं, १.१६४.२३

९६. वही, १.१०१.३–६, ३.४६.२, २.२७.१०, १०.१२१.१–५

९७. वही, १०.१२९

९८. वही, १०.५८

९९. मनंश्चिम्मे हृद आ प्रत्यवोचत्। ऋग्वेद, ८.१००.५

१००. वही, १.११३.१६; १.१४०.८, *Vedic Mythology*, Macdonell, p. 165.

१०१. *Religion of the Rigveda*, p.313

१०२. *History of Indian Philosophy*, *The Creative period*, S. K. Belvalkar, R. D. Ranade, New Delhi, 1974, p. 25

१०३. गतासुमेतमुप शेष एहि। ऋग्वेद, १०.१८.८

कि असु प्राणवाचक है। 'असुनीति'[१०४] जैसे शब्द अग्नि के द्वारा मृतात्माओं के इहलोक से परलोक ले जाए जाने का सङ्केत करते हैं। अतः मनुष्य की सम्पूर्णता के लिए शरीर के साथ 'असु' और 'मन्स' भी आवश्यक अङ्ग समझे गये हैं।

ए. पुनर्जन्म का विचार

कीथ[१०५], ए० ए० मैकडानल[१०६], के० एस० मैकडानल्ड[१०७], राहुल सांकृत्यायन[१०८], घाटे[१०९], डा० राधाकृष्णन्[११०], इत्यादि कई विद्वानों ने माना है कि ऋग्वेद में आर्य पुनर्जन्म के सिद्धान्त से अपरिचित थे और वेद के प्रारम्भिक दर्शन अथवा ऋग्वेद में पुनर्जन्म के सिद्धान्त का निर्देश नहीं हुआ है। ब्लूमफील्ड ने निर्दिष्ट किया है कि भारत में पुनर्जन्म का सिद्धान्त प्रायः उपनिषदों से ही दिखाई देता है।[१११] यह सत्य है कि जीवन मरण की गुत्थी को सुलझाने वाला, भारतीय संस्कृति का सुदृढ़ विचार पुनर्जन्म ऋग्वेद के मंत्रों में एक सिद्धान्त के रूप में विशद और विकसित नहीं है, तथापि निश्चय ही यहां ऐसे कुछ विवरण उपलब्ध हैं, जहाँ इस कल्पना तक पहुंचने का प्रयास किया गया है। यह मानते हुए कि पुनर्जन्म के सिद्धान्त के आदि उद्भव का प्रश्न विवाद का विषय है। रानाडे और बेलवेलकर ने भी कुछ विद्वानों के इस मत का उल्लेख किया है कि ऋग्वेद और प्राचीन ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों में यह सिद्धान्त विद्यमान था, यद्यपि उन अंशों की व्याख्या कठिन है, जहां इसका निर्देश दिया जाता है।[११२]

ऋग्वैदिक मंत्रों में देवताओं के जन्मों का स्पष्ट उल्लेख है।[११३] साथ ही उत्पन्न हुए और होने वाले की अनेकशः चर्चा है।[११४] पुनर्जन्म की कल्पना की प्राचीनतम सत्ता के द्योतक ऋङ्मंत्रों

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१०४. यदा गच्छात्यसुनीतिमेताम्। वही। १०.१६.२

१०५. **वैदिक धर्म एवं दर्शन**, आर्थर बेरीडेल कीथ, द्वितीय भाग, अनु० सूर्यकांत, मोतीलाल बनारसीदास, १९६५, पृ० ७०८

१०५. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1900, p. 397, *Vedic Mythology* p. 165

१०६. *The Vedic Religion*, K. S. Macdonald, Calcutta, 1982, p. 19

१०७. **ऋग्वैदिक आर्य**, राहुल सांकृत्यायन, किताबमहल, १९५७, पृ० २११

१०८. **ऋग्वेद पर व्याख्यान**, घाटे, अनूदित, दिल्ली, १९६६ पृ० ३६

१०९. **भारतीय दर्शन**, डा० एस० राधाकृष्णन, प्रथम भाग, अनूदित, दिल्ली, १९३६, पृ० १०६

११०. *The Religion of the Veda*, M. Bloomfield, Delhi, 1792, p. 211, 257

१११. *History of Indian Philosophy*, *The Creative period*, S. K. Belvalker, R. D. Ranade, p. 81.

११२. न कि ह्येषां जनूंषि वेद। ऋग्वेद, ७.५६.२

११३. वही, ७.९९.२

११४. *Vedic Mythology*, Macdonell, p. 166
The Religion of the Rigveda, Griswold, p. 313

को दो भागों में बांटा जा सकता है। कुछ में पुनर्जन्म के सीधे प्रसङ्ग हैं—यद्यपि ऐसे मंत्र कम हैं, और कुछ में वे विचार प्राप्त होते हैं, जो इस धारणा का आधार प्रतीत होते हैं।

मुख्य रूप से ऋग्वेद के जिन मंत्रों में पश्चवैदिक युग में पूर्णतया विकसित हुए पुनर्जन्म सिद्धान्त का बीज सन्निहित दिखाई देता है,'[११५] उनमें से प्रथम में मृत व्यक्ति से कहा गया है–'तेरा नेत्र सूर्य सङ्गति करे, तेरा प्राण (आत्मन्) में मिले, तुम अपने धर्भ (कर्मफल-भोग) के अनुसार द्युलोक या पृथिवी को प्राप्त करो अथवा तुम्हें उचित जान पड़े तो जल अथवा वनस्पतियों में विहार करो।'[११६] इस कथन मे शरीर के भिन्न-भिन्न तत्वों से बनने और मृत्यु पर आत्मा के शरीर से सङ्क्रमण करने की धारणा व्यक्त होती है। रानाडे के अनुसार पुनर्जन्म की कल्पना का प्रथम चरण जगत् की सब वस्तुओं को सजीव मानना यहां दिखाई देता है, इसमें कर्मसिद्धान्त का प्राचीनतम स्वरूप मिलता है, जबकि आत्मा को अपने (धर्म) गुणानुसार, स्वर्ग अथवा संसार में जाने का आदेश दिया गया है।[११७] द्वितीय सङ्केत 'मनः आवर्तनम्' नामक सम्पूर्ण सूक्त[११८] में है, जहां अचेतन मनुष्य के मन (आत्मा) को सम्बोधित किया गया है और उसका पुनः आने और जीवन धारण करने के लिए आह्वान किया गया है। ऋषि कहते हैं–'हम तुम्हारे मन (आत्मा) को विवस्वान्-पुत्र यम के पास से पुनः बुलाकर यहां इस लोक में जीवन धारण कराएंगे। आत्मा जो स्वर्ग अथवा पृथिवी अथवा चतुष्कोण नभोमण्डल में जा सकता है, अथवा दिशाओं में व्याप्त हो सकता है, अथवा जल की लहरों, सूर्य की किरणों में आश्रय ग्रहण कर सकता है अथवा जल और वनस्पत्ति को अनुप्राणित कर सकता है, अथवा सूर्य या उषा में विलीन हो सकता है, अथवा पर्वत पर विश्राम कर सकता है, अथवा समस्त जगत् में फैल सकता है, अथवा भूत और भविष्य से एक रूप हो सकता है, उसी आत्मा को हम मंत्रों द्वारा आह्वान करेंगे और उसे एक निवास ग्रहण करने को बाध्य करेंगे।[११९] इससे विशेष परिस्थितियों में आत्मा के शरीर से बाहर निकल कर फिर जीवन धारण करने की मान्यता का सङ्केत मिलता है। अन्यत्र जातवेदस् अग्नि से प्रेत पुरुष को शरीर से सङ्गत करने की प्रार्थना में यही धारणा निहित है।[१२०]

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११५. सूर्यं चक्षुर्गच्छतु वातमात्मा द्यां च गच्छ पृथिवीं च धर्मणा।
अपो वा गच्छ यदि तत्र ते हितमोषधीषु प्रति तिष्ठा शरीरैः। ऋग्वेद, १०.१६.३

११६. **उपनिषद-दर्शन का रचनात्मक सर्वेक्षण**, रामचंद्र दत्तात्रेय रानाडे, अनूदित, जयपुर; १९७१, पृ० १०४–५

११७. ऋग्वेद, १०.५९

११८. **उपनिषद्-दर्शन का रचनात्मक सर्वेक्षण**, रामचंद्र दत्तात्रेय रानाडे, अनूदित जयपुर; १९७१, पृ० १०५

११९. आयुर्वसान उप वेतु शेषः सं गच्छतां तन्वा जातवेदः। वही, १०.१६.५

१२०. वही, १.१६४

परमतत्व और आत्मज्ञान जैसे गहन विषयों पर विचार करने वाले सूक्त[१२१] में दीर्घतमस् ने पुनर्जन्म के कई विपुल सङ्केत दिये हैं। ऋषि का प्रश्न है—'प्रथम जन्म वाले को किसने देखा है, जिस अन्तर्जीवन सार अस्थिविहीन ने अस्थिमय शरीर धारण किया है।'[१२२] आत्मज्ञान की महिमा का वर्णन करते हुए मन्त्र का प्रतिपादन कि, जो यह ज्ञान प्राप्त कर लेता है, वह पिता का भी पिता हो जाता है,[१२३] अप्रत्यक्षतया पुनर्जन्म का द्योतक माना जा सकता है। इस सम्बन्ध में वह ऋचा विशेषतया उल्लेखनीय है, जिसमें कहा गया है कि शरीर या इन्द्रियों के पालनकर्ता जीव का कभी नाश नहीं होता है, वह कभी पास और कभी दूर और कभी विभिन्न मार्गों में विचरण करता रहता है। उसका इस जगत् में (नाना योनियों में) आवागमन बार-बार लगा रहता है।[१२४] मन्त्रार्थ की दृष्टि से यह ऋचा अस्पष्ट और अति गूढ़ है। सायण ने इसे मुख्य रूप से आदित्य के अर्थ में लिया है, और विकल्प से प्राण के अर्थ में, परन्तु इससे पुनर्जन्म की धारणा का ग्रहण करना सर्वथा उपयुक्त है, क्योंकि इससे पूर्व की ऋचा में प्राण-युक्त, प्रगतियुक्त, चैतन्युक्त, अमर जीव का वर्णन है, जिसे शरीर में प्रतिष्ठित बताया गया है।[१२५] इसके अतिरिक्त 'वरीवर्ति' क्रियाप्रद पुनः पुनः आगमन का बोधक है। जीवन अमर है और शरीर नाशवान्। संसार शरीर को पहचानता है, जीव को नहीं। कहा गया है—'अमर्त्य यह आत्मा मर्त्य देह के साथ रहता है। अन्नमय शरीर पाकर वह कभी ऊपर, कभी नीचे जाता है। ये दोनों एक साथ रहकर भी विरुद्ध गति वाले हैं। संसार इनमें से एक को देख पाता है और दूसरे को नहीं देख पाता है।'[१२६] ऋग्वेद की दो ऋचाओं को रॉथ, बोहर्टलिंक, और गेल्डनर ने ऋग्वेद में पुनर्जन्म की कल्पना का पर्याप्त प्रमाण माना है।[१२७]

निश्चय ही उपर्युक्त ऋग्वैदिक विवरण ऋग्वेद में पुनर्जन्म की कल्पना के सूत्रपात के बोधक होने के साथ-साथ उपनिषदों में स्पष्टतया आविष्कृत और भारतीय दर्शन में बहुचर्चित पुनर्जन्म सिद्धान्त के आदि स्रोत भी हैं। मरणोत्तर जीवन सम्बन्धी चिंतन की चरम परिणति है पुनर्जन्म की विचारधारा। अतः इससे ऋग्वेद में मरणोत्तर जीवन-परक चिन्तन की व्यापकता प्रकट होती है।

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१२१. को ददर्श प्रथमं जायमानमस्थन्वन्तं यदनस्था बिभर्ति। वही, १.१६४.४

१२२. कविर्यः पुत्रः स ईमा चिकेत यस्ता विजानात्स पितुष्पितासत्। वही, १.१६४.१६

१२३. अपश्यं गोपामनिपद्यमानया च परा च पथिभिश्चरन्तम्।
स सध्रीचीः स विषूचीर्वसान आ वरीवर्ति भुवनेष्वन्तः॥ वही, १.१६४.३१, १०.७७.३

१२४. अनच्छये तुरगातुजीवमेजद् ध्रुवं मध्य आ पस्त्यानाम्। वही, १.१६४.३०

१२५. अपाङ् प्राङेति स्वधया गृभीतो मर्त्यो मर्त्येना सयोनिः।
ता शश्वन्ता विषूचीना वियन्ता न्य न्यं चिक्युर्मनि चिक्युरन्यम्। वही, १.१६४.३८

१२६. वही, १.१६४.३०,३८

१२७. **उपनिषद्-दर्शन का रचनात्मक सर्वेक्षण**, पृ० १०७ पर उद्धृत।
वैदिक धर्म एवं दर्शन, द्वितीय भाग, पृष्ठ ७०९ पर उद्धृत।

को दो भागों में बांटा जा सकता है। कुछ में पुनर्जन्म के सीधे प्रसङ्ग हैं—यद्यपि ऐसे मंत्र कम हैं, और कुछ में वे विचार प्राप्त होते हैं, जो इस धारणा का आधार प्रतीत होते हैं।

मुख्य रूप से ऋग्वेद के जिन मंत्रों में पश्चवैदिक युग में पूर्णतया विकसित हुए पुनर्जन्म सिद्धान्त का बीज सन्निहित दिखाई देता है,[115] उनमें से प्रथम में मृत व्यक्ति से कहा गया है—'तेरा नेत्र सूर्य सङ्गति करे, तेरा प्राण (आत्मन्) में मिले, तुम अपने धर्म (कर्मफल-भोग) के अनुसार द्युलोक या पृथिवी को प्राप्त करो अथवा तुम्हें उचित जान पड़े तो जल अथवा वनस्पतियों में विहार करो।'[116] इस कथन मे शरीर के भिन्न-भिन्न तत्वों से बनने और मृत्यु पर आत्मा के शरीर से सङ्क्रमण करने की धारणा व्यक्त होती है। रानाडे के अनुसार पुनर्जन्म की कल्पना का प्रथम चरण जगत् की सब वस्तुओं को सजीव मानना यहां दिखाई देता है, इसमें कर्मसिद्धान्त का प्राचीनतम स्वरूप मिलता है, जबकि आत्मा को अपने (धर्म) गुणानुसार, स्वर्ग अथवा संसार में जाने का आदेश दिया गया है।[117] द्वितीय सङ्केत 'मनः आवर्तनम्' नामक सम्पूर्ण सूक्त[118] में है, जहां अचेतन मनुष्य के मन (आत्मा) को सम्बोधित किया गया है और उसका पुनः आने और जीवन धारण करने के लिए आह्वान किया गया है। ऋषि कहते हैं—'हम तुम्हारे मन (आत्मा) को विवस्वान्-पुत्र यम के पास से पुनः बुलाकर यहां इस लोक में जीवन धारण कराएंगे। आत्मा जो स्वर्ग अथवा पृथिवी अथवा चतुष्कोण नभोमण्डल में जा सकता है, अथवा दिशाओं में व्याप्त हो सकता है, अथवा जल की लहरों, सूर्य की किरणों में आश्रय ग्रहण कर सकता है अथवा जल और वनस्पत्ति को अनुप्राणित कर सकता है, अथवा सूर्य या उषा में विलीन हो सकता है, अथवा पर्वत पर विश्राम कर सकता है, अथवा समस्त जगत् में फैल सकता है, अथवा भूत और भविष्य से एक रूप हो सकता है, उसी आत्मा को हम मंत्रों द्वारा आह्वान करेंगे और उसे एक निवास ग्रहण करने को बाध्य करेंगे।[119] इससे विशेष परिस्थितियों में आत्मा के शरीर से बाहर निकल कर फिर जीवन धारण करने की मान्यता का सङ्केत मिलता है। अन्यत्र जातवेदस् अग्नि से प्रेत पुरुष को शरीर से सङ्गत करने की प्रार्थना में यही धारणा निहित है।[120]

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११५. सूर्य चक्षुर्गच्छतु वातमात्मा द्यां च गच्छ पृथिवीं च धर्मणा।
अपो वा गच्छ यदि तत्र ते हितमोषधीषु प्रति तिष्ठा शरीरैः। ऋग्वेद, १०.१६.३

११६. **उपनिषद-दर्शन का रचनात्मक सर्वेक्षण**, रामचंद्र दत्तात्रेय रानाडे, अनूदित, जयपुर; १९७१, पृ० १०४–५

११७. ऋग्वेद, १०.५९

११८. **उपनिषद्-दर्शन का रचनात्मक सर्वेक्षण**, रामचंद्र दत्तात्रेय रानाडे, अनूदित जयपुर; १९७१, पृ० १०५

११९. आयुर्वसान उप वेतु शेषः सं गच्छतां तन्वा जातवेदः। वही, १०.१६.५

१२०. वही, १.१६४

परमतत्व और आत्मज्ञान जैसे गहन विषयों पर विचार करने वाले सूक्त[१२१] में दीर्घतमस् ने पुनर्जन्म के कई विपुल सङ्केत दिये हैं। ऋषि का प्रश्न है—'प्रथम जन्म वाले को किसने देखा है, जिस अन्तर्जीवन सार अस्थिविहीन ने अस्थिमय शरीर धारण किया है।'[१२२] आत्मज्ञान की महिमा का वर्णन करते हुए मन्त्र का प्रतिपादन कि, जो यह ज्ञान प्राप्त कर लेता है, वह पिता का भी पिता हो जाता है,[१२३] अप्रत्यक्षतया पुनर्जन्म का द्योतक माना जा सकता है। इस सम्बन्ध में वह ऋचा विशेषतया उल्लेखनीय है, जिसमें कहा गया है कि शरीर या इन्द्रियों के पालनकर्ता जीव का कभी नाश नहीं होता है, वह कभी पास और कभी दूर और कभी विभिन्न मार्गों में विचरण करता रहता है। उसका इस जगत् में (नाना योनियों में) आवागमन बार-बार लगा रहता है।[१२४] मन्त्रार्थ की दृष्टि से यह ऋचा अस्पष्ट और अति गूढ़ है। सायण ने इसे मुख्य रूप से आदित्य के अर्थ में लिया है, और विकल्प से प्राण के अर्थ में, परन्तु इससे पुनर्जन्म की धारणा का ग्रहण करना सर्वथा उपयुक्त है, क्योंकि इससे पूर्व की ऋचा में प्राण-युक्त, प्रगतियुक्त, चैतन्युक्त, अमर जीव का वर्णन है, जिसे शरीर में प्रतिष्ठित बताया गया है।[१२५] इसके अतिरिक्त 'वरीवर्ति' क्रियाप्रद पुनः पुनः आगमन का बोधक है। जीवन अमर है और शरीर नाशवान्। संसार शरीर को पहचानता है, जीव को नहीं। कहा गया है—'अमर्त्य यह आत्मा मर्त्य देह के साथ रहता है। अन्नमय शरीर पाकर वह कभी ऊपर, कभी नीचे जाता है। ये दोनों एक साथ रहकर भी विरुद्ध गति वाले हैं। संसार इनमें से एक को देख पाता है और दूसरे को नहीं देख पाता है।'[१२६] ऋग्वेद की दो ऋचाओं को रॉथ, बोहर्टलिक, और गेल्डनर ने ऋग्वेद में पुनर्जन्म की कल्पना का पर्याप्त प्रमाण माना है।[१२७]

निश्चय ही उपर्युक्त ऋग्वैदिक विवरण ऋग्वेद में पुनर्जन्म की कल्पना के सूत्रपात के बोधक होने के साथ-साथ उपनिषदों में स्पष्टतया आविष्कृत और भारतीय दर्शन में बहुचर्चित पुनर्जन्म सिद्धान्त के आदि स्रोत भी हैं। मरणोत्तर जीवन सम्बन्धी चिंतन की चरम परिणति है पुनर्जन्म की विचारधारा। अतः इससे ऋग्वेद में मरणोत्तर जीवन-परक चिन्तन की व्यापकता प्रकट होती है।

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१२१. को ददर्श प्रथमं जायमानमस्थन्वन्तं यदनस्था बिभर्ति। वही, १.१६४.४

१२२. कविर्यः पुत्रः स ईमा चिकेत यस्ता विजानात्स पितुष्पितासत्। वही, १.१६४.१६

१२३. अपश्यं गोपामनिपद्यमानया च परा च पथिभिश्चरन्तम्।
स सध्रीचीः स विषूचीर्वसान आ वरीवर्ति भुवनेष्वन्तः॥ वही, १.१६४.३१, १०.७७.३

१२४. अनच्छये तुरगातुजीवमेजद् ध्रुवं मध्य आ पस्त्यानाम्। वही, १.१६४.३०

१२५. अपाङ् प्राङेति स्वधया गृभीतो मर्त्यो मर्त्येना सयोनिः।
ता शश्वन्ता विषूचीना वियन्ता न्य न्यं चिक्युर्मनि चिक्युरन्यम्। वही, १.१६४.३८

१२६. वही, १.१६४.३०,३८

१२७. **उपनिषद्-दर्शन का रचनात्मक सर्वेक्षण**, पृ० १०७ पर उद्धृत।
वैदिक धर्म एवं दर्शन, द्वितीय भाग, पृष्ठ ७०९ पर उद्धृत।

INDIAN BRĀHMAṆA MISSIONARIES IN SIAM

Upendra Thakur

I

As is well known, the prospect of acquiring wealth tempted the Indian traders and merchants to explore unknown territories beyond their frontiers. The lands and islands beyond the sea and hills on the east were reputed to possess fabulous quantities of gold and precious minerals and were called by them *Suvarṇabhūmi* or *Suvarṇadvīpa* ("The Land of Gold"). The spices of the East were as great an attraction then as they proved to be fifteen centuries later.

The migration of the Indians on a large scale to the countries beyond the sea and colonization of this region are echoed in many legends and stories, current in India as well as in the Indianized states. Though these legends can not be regarded as history, nevertheless, they throw interesting light on the objects and motives of the early Indianised states or the new settlers, the routes followed by them and the perils and hardships encountered by them both in land and sea-routes.

The impact of the Indian establishments in South-East Asia which developed under the influence of Indian trading activities was greatly intensified during the first three centuries of the Christian era. The early settlements of traders gradually developed in wealth and cohesion, until in the fourth and fifth centuries they formed separate areas of Indian rule and centres of Indian cultural, religious and artistic activities.

A study of the literary sources, Chinese accounts and archaeological evidence found in the course of excavations conducted at the various sites in South-East Asian countries establishes beyond doubt that the Indian merchants followed by the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇa missionaries, adventurous Kṣatriya princes and enterprising emigrants sailed from India and settled

down in the main land and islands of Suvarṇabhūmi[1], or broadly speaking, the present South-East Asia comprising Burma, Vietnam (Campā), Cambodia (Kambuja), Thailand (Siam), Laos and Malay archipelago (Jāvā, Sumātrā, Bāli and Borneo). They introduced Indian customs, manners, religions and philosophy, rituals, literature, fine arts and polity. While the first phase of Indianisation was effected mainly due to the activities of the Indian merchants and traders, the later phases were dominated by the religious missionaries—Buddhist and Brāhmaṇa—who played a very significant role in the diffusion of the new culture.

II

Although we have now enormous literature on the role of Buddhism and Buddhist missionaries in South-East Asia and East Asia there is no record, worth the name, of the part played by Brāhmaṇa missionaries and Paṇḍitas whose contributions to this great cultural movement were no less important, as they dominated the South-East Asian courts for a fairly long period. The missionary zeal of the Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists caused a steady flow of Indian emigrants to various parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the East Indies. The Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas married women of the localities and permanently settled in these far-off lands. The influence of their superior culture gradually Hinduised the society with the result that the local people assumed Hindu names and adopted Sanskrit, and later Pāli language and Hindu religion, manners and customs while the Hindu emigrants imbibed local habits and social usages and merged themselves into the local communities.[2]

We have a very interesting eye-witness (contemporary) account of a small state in Malay Peninsula which throws light on a colony in the making named *Tuen-suin* by the Chinese. It says: "Its markrt was a meeting ground between the east and west, frequented every day by more than ten thousand men, including merchants from India, Parthia, and more distant kingdoms who come in large numbers to carry on trade and commerce in rare objects and precious merchandises. It contains five hundred merchant families, two hundred Buddhists and more than thousand Brāhmaṇas of India. The people of Tuen-suin follow their religion and give them their daughters in marriage, as most of these Brāhamṇas settle in the country and do not go

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1. For a detailed discussion regarding the identification of Suvarṇabhūmi or Suvarṇadvīpa, see Promsak Jersmawatdi, *Thai Art*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 16 ff.
2. For details see R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Calcutta, 1963, Chap. II.

away. Day and night they read sacred scriptures and make offerings of white vases, perfumes and flowers to the gods".[3] In Malay Peninsula (Jāvā, Sumātrā, Borneo and Bāli) the Brāhmaṇas formed an important element of the population and the Brāhmaṇical rites and ceremonies were in great favour at their courts. And, of these islands, the island of Bāli was the most important centre of Brāhmaṇism which still retains its old Brāhmaṇical culture and civilisation, at least to a considerable extent. It was here that the onrushing wave of Islam met with a dismal failure and could not penetrate into the soul of this island. Bāli still affords "a unique opportunity" to study Brāhmaṇism as it was "modified by coming into contact with the aborigines of the archipelago".[4]

Similarly Siam was also a stronghold of the Brāhmaṇas in the early-medieval period of its history. The Thai book entitled *Ruang Nang Nabamasa* (*The Story of Lady Nabamasa*)[5] describes in detail the influence of the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas in Thai Court life. This book is the best source-material for knowing the Brāhmaṇical and other traditions of the Thai royalty. The author of the book was the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa who received patronage in the court of the kings of Sukhodaya.

In Ayodhyā period also, the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas exerted tremendous influence in the court. These Brāhmaṇas are said to have been recruited sometimes from Cambodia, sometimes from the Malay Peninsula and mostly from North and South India.[6] These Paṇḍitas (or *Purohita*-s) discharged various functions at the court such as interpreting supernatural omens to the king,[7] helping in the work of calendar making and fixing auspicious days for State ceremonies. The Chief among them used to be a royal chaplain. But, their most important duty was to officiate at the State ceremonials, particularly the anointing and crowning ceremony.[8]

With the destruction of Ayodhyā in A. D. 1767 the Brāhmaṇas who had escaped the clutches of the Burmese fled to Nagara in Dharmarāja.

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3. Quoted, *Ibid.*, p. 9.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
5. Lady Nabamasa, *The Story of Lady Nabamasa* (12th edn.) Bangkok, 1961. We have mention of the various Hindu festivals in this work. Also see Dawee Daweewarn, *Brāhmaṇism in South-East Asia*, New Delhi, 1981.
6. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London, 1931, p. 54.
7. S. Singaravelu, "Some Aspects of South Indian Cultural Contacts with Thailand : Historical Background", in *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Tamil Studies*, Vol. I, Kuala Lumpur, 1966, p. 35.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

When the Kingdom was re-established King Tak recalled them and made sincere efforts to collect all that had survived of their ceremonial core. King Rāma Tibodi I promulgated the first Thai laws and he was as such revered as a great law-giver, but most of his early registration was later altered by additions from the Code of Manu.[9] All this clearly shows that the Thai kings, though followers of Buddhist faith, paid personal attention towards the welfare of the Brāhmaṇas and did a lot for the development of Brāhmaṇical gods like Śiva and Viṣṇu.[10]

Evidences from various sources make it clear that Brāhmaṇism reached Siam and Indo-Chinese Peninsula in the early centuries of the Christian era first through Kauṇḍinya (Hun-Tien), the founder of the kingdom of Funan, and then by the Indian Brāhmaṇas who followed him. This Kauṇḍinya who reached Indo-Chinese Peninsula in the first century A. D. was a son of Mithilā (north Bihar) and also the founder of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra*.[11] The members of his clan or *gotra* played a very significant role in upholding Śaivism in Indo-China. It seems that this Kauṇḍinya (of the Funan kingdom) and the Kauṇḍinya of the Cola country were two different persons, but both of them were keenly interested in promoting and safeguarding Śaivism at about the same time and as such both of them claimed descent from the same ancestry.

Kauṇḍinya, the founder of the Funan kingdom, is said to have married Liu-Yeh of Funan, and they had a son who succeeded to the throne and thus founded the first Kauṇḍinya dynasty. "Subsequently about the beginning of the fifth century an Indian Brāhmaṇa from P'an P'an in the Malay Peninsula of Thailand, who was either named Kauṇḍinya or bore the name of the earlier Indian immigrant ruler, became the king of Funan"[12].

The establishment of the first Brāhmaṇa dynasty brought about some very significant changes during this early phase of Brāhmaṇisation in Indo-Chinese Peninsula such as the systematization and extension of the worship of Brāhmaṇical deities, especially the worship of Śiva under the name of Maheśvara; the introduction of South Indian alphabet[13] and of the Śaka era

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9. W. Blanchard, *Thailand : Its People : Its Society, Its Culture*, New Haven, 1958, p. 27.
10. Dawee Daweewarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 104.
11. For details see Upendra Thakur, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian History and Culture*, New Delhi, 1974, Chap. XXI.
12. S. Singaravelu, *Op. cit.*, p. 27.
13. B. Ch. Chhabra calls it *Pallava Script* (Vide—*Journal of Proceedings, Archive Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1935, p. 56).

which was then commonly used on the South-East coast of India; conception of royalty characterised by Hindu cults: literary expression through Sanskrit language and mythology taken from the epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* —the Purāṇas and other Sanskrit texts containing a nucleus of royal tradition and the traditional geneologies of royal families of the Gaṅgā region and, finally, the observance of the Dharmaśāstra, the sacred law of Hiuduism, particularly *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* or the Law of Manu.

G. Coedes suggests that the Indian transmitters of culture were court functionaries, not missionaries. But he forgets that the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas first came as missionaries to Indo-Chinese Peninsula, spread their religion and were later honoured by kings in their courts where they introduced the grand style of the Indian courts with the result that only the Brāhmaṇas came to be employed to consecrate the king as God in accordance with the ideas and rituals of the Indian classic.[14] And, as we know, this later gave birth to the foundation of the colonies and settlements of the Brāhmaṇas in important localities.

Though it is difficult to say, in the present state of our knowledge, when Brāhmaṇism entered Siam we can, however, guess on the basis of available data that since Siam formed a part of Kambuja empire about 8th or 9th century A. D., it was naturally influenced by the religious condition of that country. It has been, therefore, rightly suggested that Siam received Brāhmaṇism indirectly through Kambuja where it was well established by that time.[15] It may also be presumed that Brāhmaṇism was introduced in Thailand when historical facts were not recorded.[16] But, considering all the aspects it seems that the former view is more plausible and nearer the truth.

The Brāhmaṇa priests and scholars (*Paṇḍitas*) played a great role in the cultural progress of Thailand like other regions of South-East Asia. Their presence at the court was indirectly responsible for much of the people's belief in this religion, and most of the royal ceremonies and activities were conducted in accordance with the Brāhmaṇical concept as interpreted by these scholars. In fact, Brāhmaṇism influenced every aspect of Thai life—arts, rites, festivals and ceremonies.[17] The Brāhmaṇa priests officiated at the king's coronation, tonsorial ceremonies, oaths of allegiance to the king taken

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14. D. G. E. Hall. *A History of South-East Asia*, New York, 1968, p. 19.
15. Dawee Daweewarn, *Brahmanism in South-East Asia*, p. 102; *2500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 79.
16. *Thailand Official Years Book*, 1964-66, p. 312.
17. For details see Dawee Daweewarn, *Op. cit.*, Chap. V.

by officials, royal weddings, royal cremations, and first ploughing ceremonies. Besides these, they also cast and set the favourable time for ceremonies, analysed parlance, interpreted dreams of the king, predicted victory or defeat in war, and scarcity or sufficiency of rainfall.[18]

Although the Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya preferred Buddhism they maintained those Brāhmaṇical traditions and cults that had been characteristic of the Indianised State of Cambodia. We know from an inscription on a statue of Śiva that in 1510 A. D., Dharmāśoka, the king of Kampheugphat, introduced the worship of Śiva. The Takuapa inscription informs us that as early as the 8th or 9th century A. D. a temple of Viṣṇu was erected at Siam.[19] It is now established beyond doubt that Brāhmaṇism preceded Buddhism in Siam where the early Vaiṣṇava tradition is strongly attested by the place-names such as *Phra Narai* (Village of Viṣṇu) or *Khar Narai* (mountain of Viṣṇu). This is further confirmed by the finds of Viṣṇu images sometimes on the back of Garuḍa and sometimes with Lakṣmī.

The kings of Thailand had the attributes of a Brāhmaṇic deity. "Surrounded and protected by impregnable defences of Brāhmaṇic doctrine, magical regalia, sacred ritual, sycophartic officials, he occupied a sacred and remote position".[20] Though the Thai rulers had adopted Khmer Śaivism including the cult of the Liṅga with all its paraphernalia, it was during the time of Ram Kamheng that Brāhmaṇism received a great impetus in Thailand. His wife, Lady Nopamas was the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa priest and astrologer of the royal Court. Though himself a Buddhist, King Kamheng maintained a body of Brāhmaṇa priests in his court who advised him on important matters of state-craft, law and technical aspects, regulated the Calendar and cast horoscope, managed the swinging festival, the first ploughing ceremony and rites for the control of wind and rain, looked after the regalia and arranged the royal progress, performed the ceremonies of tonsure, investiture and coronation for royalty and discharged a host of other tasks.[21] Another Thai King Lu-Thai (Lidaiya) formally consecreted to the throne under the Brāhmaṇical title: *Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahādharma Rājādhirāja*.[22] During his reign both the Śramaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas were respected. "Not satisfied with the creation of the statue of Buddha, the King ordered his artists to make a statue of Parameśvara and another of Viṣṇu and conse-

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18. W. F. Vella, *Siam under Rama III*, pp. 29-31.
19. Dawee Daweewarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 103.
20. W. Balanchard, *Thailand*, p. 28.
21. H. G. Q. Wales, *Op. cit.*, p. 12.
22. Dawee Daweewarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

creted them on the eleventh day of Pūrvāṣāḍha in the Devālaya (temple) of Mahākṣetra to whom perpetual service was rendered by the ascetics and Brāhmaṇas.[23] Yet another king of Thailand, Lu Tai founded an image of Viṣṇu and one of Maheśvara (Śiva) in the Devālayamahākṣetra (Brāhmaṇa temple) in the mango-grove of Sukhothaya where all the Brāhmaṇas and ascetics performed the rituals of the cult in perpetuity[24].

In the Bangkok period also, the ruler of the Chākri dynasty pursued and maintained the same court traditions and ceremonies and extended patronage to the popular celebration of festivals of Hindu origin. Of the various festivals, the festival of Tiruvembavai-Tiruppavai[25] is of the greatest significance, for the ceremonies conducted by the court-Brāhmaṇas, and sacred hymns recited by them on this occasion are vitally related to the concept of Devarāja. These court-Brāhmaṇas presided over certain royal ceremonies which have been performed in the same way ever since there was a Thai kingdom.

H. G. Quaritch Wales, while deseribing the coronation and anointing ceremonies of the seventh ruler of the present Chākri dynasty, king Prajādhipok (1925-1935) mentions that the High Priest of Śiva, after rendering homage to the king who was seated on the Bhadrapīṭha throne, pronounced the Tamil *mantra*, the Siamese name of which (Poet Pratu Śivālai) meant "opening the portals of Śivālaya". This *mantra* was recited by Mahārāja Gru of the Thai Court-Brāhmaṇas, also on the occasion of another Siamese State Ceremony, popularly known as Lo-Jin-Ja (Triyambavav-Tripavay) meaning "Fulling the Swing" or Swinging Festival. Also, on the seventh day of the same festival which was held annually in Bangkok and in the former capitals of Ayodhyā and Sukhodaya as well as in other chief cities of the Thai kingdom such as Nakorn Śrī Thammarat (Ligor) in the first lunar and later in the second month, yet another *mantra, Loripavay* was recited by four Brāhmaṇas.[26] In fact, the Tamil verses recited at the Thai Coronation Ceremony and the Swinging Festival were from Manikkavacakar's Tiruvempavai[27] proved beyond doubt by S. Singaravelu who has made a compara-

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23. A. B. Griswald, *Towards a History of Sukhothai Art*, p. 15.
24. Syamananda Rong, *A History of Thailand*. p. 48.
25. *Ruang Phrarajaphidi Sibsongduan* (*Royal Ceremonies af the Twelve Months of the Year*) Compiled by H. M. King Culankarana, 1920, pp. 77-108; *Ruang Nang Nabamasa* (*The Story of Lady Nabamasa*), Bangkok, 1964, p. 316.
26. S. Singaravelu, *Op. cit.*, p. 21.
27. For details, see *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

tive study of the *mantra* as recited by *Phra Mahārāja Gru*, Vāmadeva Muni, the present Chief Brāhmaṇical Priest of the Royal Thai Household and Phragru Asadācāriyan in the Brāhmaṇa temple in Bangkok with the first eleven stanzas of the *Tirumurai* of the Tamil *Tevaram* as well as with the first ten verses of the seventh *Tirumurai of Cuntarara*, etc.[28].

They also performed (and do so even now) other ceremonies on behalf of other members of the Royal family and private citizens who believed (and still believe) in observing the ancient customs. The royal as well as private ceremonies performed even to-day include the *Kwan-Duan* (first month) ceremony for infants in which the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas chant Sanskrit *mantra*-s (verses) and play a *bando* (a small, two-faced drum with a weight on the end of a string)[29].

Thus, the Thai coronation ceremony as performed during the Chākri period is "the Anointing and Crowning of the devotional hymns by the Chief of the Court Brāhmaṇas (Phra Mahārājaguru) thereby inviting Lord-Śiva and Viṣṇu to pervade the persons of the king".[30] The High Priest of Śiva then gives to the king five principal articles of the royal regalia—the Great Crown of Victory, the auspicious Sword of Victory, the Golden Sandals (sanctified by the tradition of their originals having been the symbol of the sovereign power of the ideal ancient Indian king Rāma); the Fan and the Sceptre.[31] Besides these, the other articles included the Brāhmaṇa girdle, an attribute of Śiva, the gun and other weapons of the regalia. The king then addressed the High Priest of Śiva extending his authority over the realm, exhorting at the same time all to live in peace. This reminds us of the similar belief behind the establishment and maintenance of the hereditary Brāhmaṇical sacredotal family of Śivakaivalya in the kingdom of Cambodia.

In fact, the Thai Royal Court looked like an Indian Court full of pomp and magnificance and the king was always surrounded by a host of Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas as officials, priests (*purohita-s*), *Rājaguru*, ministers and generals and royal physicians. The importance of these Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas was so great in Thai Court that it was they who constituted the *Luk Khun Sala Hluang* or "The Supreme Court of the Brāhmaṇas" or "Judges of the Royal Court"

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28. For other details see *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23, 36-38. Also Cf. T. P. Meenakshi Sundaram, "Tirup-pavai, Tiruvempavai in South-East Asia" in *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Tamil Studies*, Vol. I, 1966, pp. 13-20.
29. For details, Cf. Ayumongat Sonakul, "The Indo-Thai Cultural Affinity" in *The Bangkok Post* (Supplement), July 26, 1967, pp. 3-5.
30. S. Singaravelu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 27, 37.
31. For other details see *Ibid.*, p. 37.

which acted as an advisory body in the reign of king Boromtrailokanātha. The Court consisted of twelve Brāhmaṇas who were well-versed in the Dhārmasāstras and quite familiar with the royal decrees and decisions, to which end one of the three copies of the corpus of law texts was, by tradition, placed in their case.[32]

The chiefs of these twelve Brāhmaṇas were known as *Phra Mahārāja Gru Purohita* and *Phra Mahārāja Gru Mahidhara*, each having a *Sakdi na* grade (meaning "dignity of marks") of 10,000 equivalent to a Chao Phraya (equivalent to General) which indicated the importance of their offices. They also functioned as judges or assessors (*Phy Bikhaksa*).

Thus Siam, like Cambodia, maintained a number of court Brāhmaṇas at Bangkok till recently. From an account of Joseph Dahlmann who travelled in Siam in the twenties of this century we know that there were about 80 families of Brāhmaṇas residing in Siam at the time. Their dwellings were erected round a poorly temple comprising three insignificant structures enclosed by a wall. The Brāhmaṇas differed from the 'Bonzes' by the long flowing hair on their heads, and their white ceremonial gown and the conical cap "vividly bring to our minds the Brāhmaṇas of the island of Bali". Small as their number is by the site of the thousands of Buddhist Bonzes, they still have many privileges conceded to them. Inspite of all the changes due to Buddhism, the memory of the old Brāhmaṇical royalty is still so deeply rooted in Siamese tradition. To the Brāhmaṇa community is reserved the consecration of the new king, and royalty is held to be properly transmitted to the new ruler only by the completion of such consecration. Simply and solely for this end is this small group of Brāhmaṇas preserved in the midst of the large community of Buddhist Bonzes. At their head stands a *guru* bearing the proud title, Mahārājaguru. With the consecration of the king goes the consecration of the royal elephant, also reserved to the *Mahārājaguru*, for what is the Siamese king without his white elephant?".[33] There is a published official account in English of the details of ceremonies and *mantra-s* employed on the occasion of the coronation of His Majesty King Prajadhipok in Febuary 1926 (B. E. 2468).[34]

"The Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas functioning in the Siamese Court in the present time constitute a small body of men who perform duties in connection

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32. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Op. cit.*, p. 18 ff.

33. Joseph Dahlmann, *Indische Fahrten*, i, p. 124; Dawee Daweewarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

34. Dawee Daweewarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

with those ceremonies of the State that are not wholly Buddhist".[35] One can discern in their features a trace of Indian Brāhmaṇa blood but since no Brāhmaṇīs ever accompained them from India, they intermarried with the people of the country, and so this trace of Indian blood is now but slight. They wear their hair long, in the form of a Chignon, and on ceremonial occasions don the Brāhmaṇic cord and wear white (a Siamese lower garment called phāsnum), together with a white jacket, embroidered with silver flowers in the case of the Head Priest). They represent two seets—the *Vaiṣṇavas* (*Brāhmaṇa Bṛdhipasa*) and Śaivas (*Brāhmaṇa Bidhi*) but they have in Bangkok three temples in one enclosure:[36] the larger one (that on the south) being dedicated to Īśvara (Śiva), the middle one to Gaṇeśa, and the northern one to Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), the houses in which the Brāhmaṇas live being in the vicinity".[37]

The Court-Brāhmaṇas of Thailand speak only one language -Siamese. Sanskrit is now alien to them but they preserve corrupt Sanskrit texts usually written in an Indian character which some of the Brāhmaṇas are able to read. They have also one hymn in Tamil which also they can neither read nor write. From available records we know that in the Ayodhya period there were Brāhmaṇas who did understand these Indian languages. The texts which the Siamese Brāhmaṇas now possess are the Sanskrit and Tamil *mantra*-s (hymns) with instructions in Siamese for the preliminary rites intended to be used in daily worship, and as an introduction to the more important ceremonies."[38] We are told that the ancestors of these Brāhmaṇas, a few decades ago, possessed other manuscripts as well containing instructions for all the State ceremonies, but these were carried off by a certain Brāhmaṇa family who left the royal service and settled at some other place. The then head-priest belonged to this family whose name was *Um* or *Om*. During the lifetime of this priest efforts were made by the Royalty to recover these manuscripts which finally led to the capture and imprisonment of his mother. Upon this the manuscripts dealing with the preliminary rites were returned, of which the National Library at Bangkok has now a few copies. But the other manuscripts, though certainly in existence, could not be recovered as the government did not want to create commotion by attempting to obtain them by force. This being the case, the Brāhmaṇas now-a-days use only

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35. H. G. Q. Wales, *Op. cit.*, p. 54.
36. The author has personally seen and surveyed those temples in Bangkok.
37. H. G. Q. Wales, *Op. cit.*,
38. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

those texts that were returned, for all purposes, and since they do not understand Sanskrit they mumble both instructions and *mantra*-s indiscriminatly.[39]

Now-a-days daily worship is not performed in the temple and the Brāhmaṇas perform the State ceremonies without consulting those texts or written instructions since they or their fathers have seen the rites performed in the days when the other books were extant. King Rama V had fortunately access to these texts and he made full use of them in compiling the *Roan Brah Raja Bidhi Sipson Do'an* (*"Ceremonies of the Twelve Months"*). Albaster who had access to a larger range of Brāhmaṇical literature than we have today remarks that there are frequent references to, and (supposed) quotations from, the three Vedas (*Veda-Traya* or *Trayi Veda*) and the Śāstras. They reject the *Atharvaveda* as later interpolation as did Manu and other orthodox Hindu thinkers.[40]

The only Tamil *mantra* used by these Brāhmaṇas in Court Ceremonies is the "opening the portals of Kailāsa", written in Indian character. There are also *yantra* diagrams which are used at the time of performing rituals. The Indian script used in the Sanskrit *mantra*-s is, in the opinion of L. D. Barnett, Pāṇḍyan which may be ascribed to a period not later than the thirteenth century A. D.[41] The most interesting aspect of the *mantra*-s is that they retain traces of metrical composition, and we can easily trace perfectly correct Sanskrit words, for insfance, *paramarāja* which concludes the second *mantra*. Another interesting aspect of this story is the blending of the two religions in Siam—Buddhism and Hinduism—in seventeenth-nineteenth centuries and therefore, it is not surprising to find that the Court Brāhmaṇas are also Buddhists, and as a rule, they have to pass through the novitiate as Buddhists monks before undergoing the ceremony of initiation and wearing the Brāhmaṇa girdle. This fact that they are Buddhists as well as Hindus prevents them from carrying out animal sacrifices in connection with their rites.

The ceremony of initiation to Brāhmaṇa priesthood is still performed in Thailand which is known as *Pvaj Brat*. It consists of two stages-(i) taking the cord of three strings and (ii) taking the chord of six strings. The details of this ceremony are described in a manuscript which has been mentioned in the Siamese history of the Ayodhyā period.[42] Besides Bangkok, the other

39. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
40. H. G. Q. Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London, 1931, p. 55.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
42. Cf. "Baṅsāvahtāra of Hlan Prasoeth" in *Journal of the Siamese Society*, Vol. VI, pt. 3, Bangkok, 1909.

two places in Siam where Brāhmaṇism is still found are Nagara Srī Dharmarāja and Batahlun in the Peninsula which even now preserve the remnants of the temples. In all the ancient capitals as well as in the main provincial centres in the past there were Brāhmaṇa temples. There were ceremonies of consecration for both kings and priests, but whereas the king identified himself with Indra, the Brāhmaṇa was Bṛhaspati, the *purohita* of the gods.[43] The ascendant position attended by the Brāhmaṇas in India was maintained for sometime by those who went overseas and settled in the States colonised by Indians in Indo-China.

Despite the fact that the Thais were Buddhists, their kings loved royal pomp and grandeur and surrounded themselves with the appurtenances of Khmer royalty, and recruited their court Brāhmaṇas from Cambodia. For centuries, Brāhmaṇism enjoyed a very significant position in Indo-China in general and Siam in particular. Although Buddhism was the religion of the State and of the people, fully protected by the kings, Hinduism was still considered as essential to the monarchy and so received "a great share of royal favour". The Thai people never became Hindus, but during the Sukhodaya period the kings recruited their Vaiṣṇava Court Brāhmaṇas from Cambodia and assumed much of the Cambodia Vaiṣṇava Court Ceremonial where "Indian Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇism" had reached during the early centuries of the Christian era. This intercourse with Cambodia was revived from time to time during the succeeding centuries.

The Ayodhyā period marks a turning point in the history of the Court Brāhmaṇas in Siam. As noted above, these Brāhmaṇas were recruited from time to time, both from Cambodia and from the Peninsula (Indian Śaiva Brāhmaṇas). When the kingdom of Ayodhyā was finally destroyed by the Burmese in 1967 A. D., the Brāhmaṇas who had escaped the clutches of the Burmese invaders, fled to Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, from where they were recalled by King Tak, on the re-establishment of his kingdom. He made all possible efforts to collect all that had survived of their ceremonial lore. It was indeed a very difficult task since many of their books had been destroyed by fire at the fall of Ayodhyā. Moreover, very few of the court Brāhmaṇas who had officiated at Ayodhyā survived and as such the tradition was broken and "most of these who took service at the Court of Bangkok were the descendants of comparatively recent arrivals".[44] Aymonier, while comparing the Brāhmaṇas of Bangkok with those of Cambodia, observes:

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43. Hocart, *Kingship*, London, 1927, Chap. X.
44. H. G. Q. Wales, *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

"Unlike the Brāhmaṇas of Cambodia the Siamese Brāhmaṇas are not relics of a once powerful religious caste, but have been brought in later (from Ligor[45] and elsewhere) to construct the court ceremonies in imitation of other courts with an Indian Ceremonial".[46]

Though the modern Court Brāhmaṇas of Bangkok are somewhat indolent, and unintelligent and quite ignorant of the history and significance of the State ceremonies, nevertheless, the Thais owe them a certain amount of respect for what they represent. It is true, they do not enjoy the exalted position now as they did before. After the foundation of Bangkok as the capital of modern Siam, the tendency on the part of the kings had been to exalt Buddhism at the cost of the older religion (Hinduism or Brāhmaṇism). The result was that many of the pure Hindu ceremonies were discontinued after the fall of Ayodhyā "with consequent diminution in the importance of the Brāhmaṇas". However, during the Bangkok period itself the status of the priests seems to have changed little; "indeed this would scarcely be possible short of their complete abolition", and our earliest account of the Bangkok Brāhmaṇas, that of Crawfurd, who visited Siam on an embassy in 1821, might almost apply to the present day. Crawfurd has recorded the statement of the Brāhmaṇa who claimed to be fifth in descent from his ancestor "who had settled in Siam and who...came from the sacred Island of Ramiseram[47] (Rāmeśvaram) between Ceylpn and the Main".

At the present time some of the Brāhmaṇas have a tradition that their ancestors came from Banaras or Vārāṇasī. Possibly both the accounts are true, as Brāhmaṇas from different parts of India are said to have gone over to Siam and other countries of South-East Asia in batches at different times. In Bangkok, therefore, there are now descendants of the Brāhmaṇas from both North and South India. "In any case, such traditions are certainly interesting as evidence of late immigration from India whereas modern Bakus (Brāhmaṇas) have lost all tradition of such immigration. At least, the head-priest at Phnompenh recently informed Prince Damrog quite seriously that his ancestor came from Mount Kailāśa (the traditional home of Siva)".[48]

The Brāhmaṇas of Siam are also known as Phrams, which is a corruption of the word Brāhmaṇa. They constitute a small community of Bang-

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45. E. Crawfurd, *Embassy to Siam*, London, 1928, p. 119.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
47. Rāmeśvaram in South India, the famous place of pilgrimage for Hindus. For other details, see S. Singaravelu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 35-37.
48. H. G. Q. Wales, *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

kok who live near their temple (*Vat Bot Phram* meaning "The Pagoda of the sanctuary of the Brāhmaṇas").[49] The sanctuary consists of only three brick temples in an enclosure which contain colossal images of Trimurti or Trinity (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa) which is known as *Phra-Maharazakhruvidhi* (Skt. : *Mahārāja Guruviddhi*).

The Siamese sculptors even now draw inspiration from Brāhmaṇical traditions and make images of Yamarāja, Māra, Indra and other deities. "The Brāhmaṇic idea of Mount Meru as the Centre of this universe is accepted in Siamese religious books and paintings. The greatest symbolic aspects of the glory of Brāhmaṇism still remain in many parts of Thailand, though the country is purely a Buddhist one".[50]

As in India, in Siam and Cambodia also, at an early period, the office of the *purohita* was held by a Brāhmaṇa but this was not the case during the Bangkok period. Under the old regime there was an office of *Purohita*, but when the government came to be modernised, the Brāhmaṇa lost their power. The history of the Ayodhyā period frequently refers to various supernatural omens which were interpreted by the Brāhmaṇas, and the kings always embarked on important undertakings such as military expedition after making sure that his soothsayers considered the day and hour propitious. Besides, even now good omens such as the advent of white elephant were eagerly looked for, while in the State Ceremony, at least the first ploughing, soothsaying still exists in its ancient form, and these features have been retained on account of their popularity with the masses.

As the office of the *purohita* was abolished long ago, and that of astrologer has now passed into non-Brāhmaṇa hands, the present Siamese Brāhmaṇas now perform only the duties of officiating priests. Though the institution of the Court Brāhmaṇas is now fast vanishing, nonetheless, "so long as State Ceremonial retains its present form, a corps of Court Brāhmaṇas will remain essential, and, in making it possible for the king to continue to maintain the pomp and dignity inseparable from absolute monarchy, these priests still perform a very important function for the benefit of the society as a whole".[51]

Thus, the Brāhmaṇas, the priests and the scholars have played a great role in the all-round progress of Thailand and the countries of South-East Asia.[52] The presence of the Brāhmaṇas at the Court was indirectly respon-

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49. P. N. Bose, *Indian Colony of Siam*, p. 110.
50. Dawee Daweewarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 106.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
52. G. Coedes, *Let Etals Hiudouised D'Indo-Chine et De' Indonesia*, Paris, 1964, p. 41.

sible for much of the people's belief in Brāhmaṇical and Hindu deities and Indian magico-religious practices. From the Sukhodaya period upto the present day most of the State Ceremonies have been a combination of the two religions—Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism. Even at the present time Brāhmaṇical faith and rites are practised in Thailand.[53]

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53. *Thailand Official Year Book*, Bangkok, 1968, p, 555; Also see P. Jermsawatdi, *Op. cit.* and Dawee Daweewarn, *Op. cit.*, For details see W. F. Vella, *Siam Under Rāma III*, New York, 1968, pp, 29-31.

THE SO-CALLED 'PAŚUPATI' ON A MOHENJO-DARO SEAL—A REINTERPRETATION[1]

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal

The interpretation of material relics pertaining to the Harappan culture, in the absence of literary evidence (Harappan script being still undeciphered), is a guess work. The guess is generally based on the analogy of finds of the contemporary cultures in neighbouring regions, mainly Mesopotamia, with which the Indus people had fairly close contacts and where corroborative literary evidence is available (since ancient inscriptions of these regions have been satisfactorily deciphered), as well as that of the historical period in India itself. Notwithstanding the charge against the archaeologists of labelling objects that are difficult of a satisfactory interpretation as 'connected with rituals', the devices and motifs depicted on the Harappan seals have been mostly accepted as representing some religious symbols, cult-objects or scenes connected with some myth. A point of great interest is the fact that a good number of such depictions have a close parallel to those of historical period, suggesting a continuity of earlier tradition.

The paper purports to discuss the identity of the scene represented on a famous and frequently discussed Harappan seal unearthed at Mohen-jodaro.[2] It shows a central figure with horn-like projection on head, seated in a posture that closely resembles the *kūrmāsana*, with an elephant and tiger on his right and a rhinoceros and buffalo to his left. Below his seat are two deer. In the top field of the seal are a few letters in Harappan script.

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1. A few lines (half a page) summary, without footnotes of the paper under the heading 'Identification of the Scene on a Famous Seal from Mohenjodaro' was published in the *Indian History Congress Proceedings* 23rd Session, 1960 (Calcutta, 1961) p. 119. Since then the article has been referred to in some publications and inquiries regarding complete paper were received by the author from time to 'time. The complete paper with some modifications is being published herewith.
2. Marshall, J., *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, I, pp. 52-56, pl. XII, no. 17.

Marshall, who was the first to discuss the seal, interpreted the device as representing the prototype of '*Śiva Paśupati*, 'lord of animals'. His arguments in brief may be summed up as[3] :

1. The central figure is shown in *Yogāsana*, and Śiva is known as *Mahāyogī*.
2. The figure appears to be three-faced, and Śiva has one of his appellation, *tri-mukha*, i.e. three-faced.
3. There are horn-like projections over the head of the figure which look like *triśūla*[4], an attribute of Śiva.
4. Below the dais on which the figure is seated are two deer, and in the historical period deer is associated with Śiva.[5]
5. The figure shows *ūrdhvaliṅga* feature which is a characteristic of some Śiva images of the historical period.
6. The figure is depicted with animals, and Śiva is called *Paśupati*—'lord of animals'.[6]

Though there are some who identify the figure otherwise,[7] Marshall's interpretation is acceptable to most scholars.[8] We are inclined to agree with Marshall's view that the figure is a prototype of Śiva; but for reasons detailed below, we are of the view that the representation of Śiva on the seal belongs to that phase (of the legend) when he had not yet become *Paśupati* or lord of the animals.

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3. Marshall, J., *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, I, pp. 52-56.
4. J. N. Banerjea points out that there is no need to assume that the horns took the form of *triśūla*, as in literature horn itself is associated with Śiva (*Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, Chap. 88. Verse 8) and in the popular representations of Śiva in Bengal, horn as an instrument of music is shown in one of his hands (*Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., pp. 159.60).
5. See T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II (1), pp. 278-79 pl. LXXI; pp. 287-88 pl. LXXVII etc.
6. We agree with Marshall that later on the Śaivites gave a philosophic connotation to the word Paśupati, viz. that all men are like *paśu*-s (animals) because of their ignorance and Śiva is their lord (*pati*), but originally the term indicated Śiva as 'lord of animals'.
7. For example, Saletore identifies the figure as Agni (*New Review*, X, 1939, p. 55) and K. N. Sastri considers it as a composite figure made up by joining together of the limbs of different animals.
8. That the figure is not the result of the whim of the artist but represents a deity, seems clear from the fact that two more seals from the same site also bear figures closely akin to this one (see Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, seal Nos. 222, 235).

The whole scene on the seal gives the impression that it is a representation of particular episode connected with the mythology of Śiva. In this connection it may also be stated that a good many representations on other seals have likewise been interpreted as depicting some mythological scenes which compare favourably with literary and iconographic presentation of various myths associated with the religious creeds of subsequent period.[9]

In our opinion the nature of the story as represented on the seal under discussion seems to be as below :

> "Śiva, the deity, with a view to attaining supreme power performed highest penances. He is shown as sitting in a typical yogic posture,[10] though somewhat different yet closely resembling *kūrmāsana*, with legs bent double beneath him heel to heel and toes turned downwards. This performance of *yoga* by Śiva made the rival deities[11] and or their followers scared and alarmed and they created hurdles in the performance of his penances. That the intention was to frighten the penancing Śiva is clear from the presence of ferocious animals[12] on one hand, and absence of tame ones,[13] on the other."

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9. To quote only a few seals, number 279 in Mackay's *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I, p. 336; Vol. II, plate LXXVII, fig. 279, is taken as representing a legend like Śiva's killing Dundubhi, and another, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 355; Vol. II, plate XC, No. 23-D), a myth like Kṛṣṇa's uprooting Yamalārjuna trees.
10. There are other examples of figures represented in *yogic* posture. A limestone bust found at Mohenjodaro is shown in a characteristic *yogic* posture with eyes half closed and the sight directed to the tip of nose (Marshall, J., *op. cit.*, Vol. III, plate XCVIII). As R. P. Chanda opines, "the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro have brought to light ample evidence to show that the worship of images of human and super-human beings in *yoga* postures, both seated and standing, prevailed in the Indus Valley in the Chalcolithic period". (*Mediaeval Indian Sculptures in the British Musuem*, p. 9).
11. The material relics unearthed at the Harappan sites indicate that the Harappans who had diverse ethnic groups in their population—the Mohenjodaro skeletal remains showing Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongoloid branch of the Alpine stock and Alpine stock. (Marshall, *MIC.*) Not unlikely, different ethnic groups or even a single ethnic group worshipped different deities and objects.
12. No doubt the lion, a very ferocious beast commonly met with in the art of Elam and Sumer, is absent. But be it noted that this animal does not find representation in other forms of Harappan art. (see Marshall, *MIC.*, II, 39).
13. Bull, the *vāhana* of Śiva in historical period, though quite commonly represented on seals and in terracottas, has not been represented on this seal for it did not fit in with the mythology depicted on the seal.

During the historical period, *yoga* forms an important part of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism—the three major ancient religions of India. Not only human beings but even deities practising *yoga* have been referred to in literature[14] and represented in art.[15]

There are numerous mythological stories connected variously with Viśvāmitra, Dhruva, Gautama, the Buddha and others which refer to attempts made by rival forces to disturb their *yogic* performance either by creating frightening scenes or with the help of charmingly beautiful damsels. And what is significant and pertinent in this context—and which, in fact was mainly responsible for our reinterpretation of the device—is the fact that similar legend is connected with Śiva himself in the *Koyil Purāṇam*,[16] which seems to preserve ancient tradition connected with the mythology of Śiva. Therein is a reference to certain *ṛṣi-s* inimical to Śiva, out of sectarian jealousy and rivalry, endeavouring to destroy him with the help of ferocious beasts created through their *yogic* powers.

On the basis of the above evidence we present below a conjectural restoration of the legend pertaining to the scene represented on the seal. Śiva's rival or rivals were bent upon disturbing him in his meditation. Underestimating his *yogic* powers, they at first, created mild, though wild, animals—two deer, thinking that the latter would suffice to achieve the desired end. But the deer failed, and, overpowered by Śiva, stood beneath the throne with heads regardant as a token of respect for him. Thereafter the enemies of Śiva created ferocious animals—the one represented on the seal, one by one. We may also mention that of the two letter-symbols of the legend (which is still undeciphered) are clearly conventional representations of human figuers, in that script which was considerably pictographic, and must have stood for men. These human figures with legs apart and arms outspread, seem to be representing the rival powers or their agents charging the animals to advance towards Śiva with the intention of distracting him from his *yogic* feat.

It is pertinent to observe in this connection that the *Koyil Purāṇam* mentions, amongst other things, the creating of a tiger by the antagonists of

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14. E.g. in the *Mahābhārata* Nārada finds Nārāyaṇa meditating upon himself (*Mahābhārata*, Vangavasi edition, *Śānti Parva, Nārāyaṇīya Parvādhyāya*, ch. 334 verses 14-15, *vide*, Banerjee, J. N., *op. cit.*, p. 79).
15. E.g. the images of the Tirthaṅkaras, Buddha, Yogāsana-Viṣṇu and Yogadakṣiṇāmūrti of Śiva.
16. *Vide* A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Dance of Śiva*, New York, 1971, pp. 68-69).

Śiva in their endeavour to destroy him. Significantly, it is specifically stated therein that the tiger rushed upon Śiva.[17] And, be it noted, in the scene on the seal under discussion also, the tiger is shown as forcefully rushing towards the deity (whom, in agreement with Marshall and others, we identify with the prototype of Śiva).

In passing, one more detail of the figure may be noted. The left hand of Śiva, with palm inwards, resting on his knee points towards the earth. Could it be a prototype of a pose known as *bhūmisparśamudrā*—one of the typical postures of the Buddha, met with in Buddhist icons, symbolising the scene of Buddha's touching the earth in order to invoke her to be witness to the fact that he was not at all disturbed by the attempts of Māra to detract him through beautiful damsels and ferocious demons. Although there is difference in details between the posture of the left hand of the central figure on the seal and the right hand of the Buddha in the *bhūmispar-śamudrā*, it seems that the symbolism underlying the both is similar, and like Buddha, Śiva seems to be invoking the earth to bear witness to the fact that he is not deterred by the hurdles created by his opponents in his performance of *Yoga*. However, in the case of Śiva, final triumph has not come. The posture of the animals on the seal, specially that of tiger which is depicted as trying to attack Śiva, clearly shows that all the animals have not yet been subdued. And, till the animals have been subdued, it would not be appropriate to designate Śiva as *Paśupati* (Lord of animals), as done by Marshall. It was only later, after passing through the phase represented on the seal under review, that Śiva was in full control of the animals and came to be known as *Paśupati*.

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17. *Ibid.*

THE CONCEPT OF *BODHICITTA*

Biswanath Banerjee

The concept of *Bodhicitta* is inseparably connected with the ideal of Bodhisattva which may be considered as the *summum bonum* of Mahāyāna and later Buddhism.

It was about the second century B. C. that the ideal of Bodhisattva developed in Buddhism, perhaps to counteract the tendency of the Saṅgha of the time to become more and more an order of contemplative, self-centred and spiritually absorbed egoist monks. The term *Bodhisatta* occurs in the Nikāyas, and later Pāli and Hīnayānic works also incorporated the conception of Bodhisattva, but the doctrine gained its fuller and more important significance only with the emergence of Mahāyāna. The ideal of *arhat* of earlier Buddhism came gradually to be recognised as the preliminary stage in the career of a Bodhisattva. The altruistic and compassionate features of the Bodhisattva caught the imagination of the monks and the austere, meditative unworldliness of the old ideal was abandoned in favour of a more humane ideal.

The Bodhisattvas wish to help all fellow creatures to attain freedom from sufferings and bondage and they offer the service of their wisdom to liberate all beings. The extent of a Bodhisattva's compassion for and offer of service to fellow beings has been exhibited in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* by Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara who refusd to enter into the state of eternal peace and happiness until he was able to help and succour the suffering multitude who cried out for his guidance.

In early Mahāyāna *prajñā* and *karuṇā* were regarded as equally important qualities of a Bodhisattva. During the development of the Mādhyamika school (2nd century A. D.) *prajñā* reached the climax in importance but later the idea changed and at the time of Śāntideva (7th century A. D.) it was

declared that *karuṇā* is the one thing needful for a Bodhisattva. The quest for *bodhi* was considered less important than active altruism which was almost regarded as an end in itself.

A Bodhisattva's career is said to commence with the production of the thought of *bodhi* i.e. *bodhicittopāda*. The Mahāyānist texts are replete with references to the excellence of the *Bodhicitta* but the Hīnayānists had no concern with this concept. Mahāyāna considers the actual development of *Bodhicitta* as necessary for the adept to get rid of his *pṛthagjanatva*,—the state of an ordinary worldly man,—and become an *ārya* noble—to proceed along the path of spiritual progress culminating in the attainment of Buddhahood. Some Buddhist texts prescribe certain stages which an adept should go through to arrive at the stage of 'production of the thought of bodhi' (*bodhi-cittotpāda*) but Śāntideva who has dwelt at length on the ideal of Bodhisattva and the practice of *bodhi*, does not make any detailed analysis of the stages and notes that as soon as the 'thought of enlightenment' arises its practice becomes two-fold : *bodhipraṇidhicitta*, the thought of the vow of enlightenment, and *bodhi-prasthānacitta*, the march towards enlightenment. He clearly enjoins that 'the thought of enlightenment' should never be relinquished by those who desire to escape the hundreds of sorrows of existence, who desire to remove the sufferings of beings, who desire to enjoy hundreds of pleasures.[1] The difference between the two aspects of *bodhicitta* has been shown by him as the difference between the 'intending traveller' and 'the traveller'[2].

Originally the development of *Bodhicitta* was a matter of long rigorous practices and the outcome of rare qualities, but later it became a matter of ceremony and with the rise of Vajrayāna the concept underwent changes of far reaching consequences and the ceremonial part of it also increased to a large extent.

The general name of Vajrayāna is derived from the *Bodhicitta* which is the '*Vajra*'[3]. After intense *sādhanā* or practices the *Bodhicitta* of a *sādhaka* attains the state of tranquillity. It then becomes of the nature of the *vajra*, as invincible and indestructible as the *vajra*.

The conception of *Bodhicitta* has an important role in the system of Vajrayāna. These later Buddhists consider *Bodhicitta* as a unified state of

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1. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 8.
2. *Ibid.*, 16.
3. *Two Vajrayāna Works*, (G.O.S.), p. 80.

pure knowledge of the true nature of things i. e. *śūnyatā* and a compassionate mind i. e. ; *karuṇā*,—a state absolutely free from subjectivity and objectivity.

The Mahāyānic conception of the *Bodhicitta* also presupposes two elements in the *citta*: *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*. In the Vajrayāna these two elements are considered as the female and male energies—*prajñā* and *upāya*—and united together they produce the *Bodhicitta*. This principle of union is gradually transformed by the Tantrayānic schools into the production of the *Mahāsukha* or Sublime Bliss through the yogic union of the male and the female. The *Bodhicitta* of the nature of the *Mahāsukha* produced through yogic practice acquiras the nature of the five elements and is the ultimate substance. In the esoteric practices of Tantrayāna this Infinite Bliss is realised when the discharge of matter is controlled and its downward flow being checked through Yogic processes remains steady. The semen-virile has often been described as the *Bodhicitta*, the *Mahāsukha*, and the female organ has been mentioned as the *Sukhāvatī* where the Lord Mahāsukha dwells. It is held that without the semen-virile there is no bliss and without bliss he can not exist or there can not be any other source of realising him.[4]

The Mahāyānic idea of the process of production of the *Bodhicitta* is transformed by the Vajrayānists into the production of the state of Supreme Bliss. Just as the Mahāyānic *Bodhicitta*, when produced, rises upwards through the ten *bhūmi*-s (known as *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*) in the like manner the yogic process of breath control and other psycho-physical practices help these Buddhists to check the semen-virile in the *maṇipura* generally known as the *Nirmāṇacakra*, situated near the navel; thereafter, it flows upwards through the *Dharma-cakra* located in the heart and the *Sambhoga-cakra* located in the throat, to reach ultimately to the *Uṣṇiṣa-cakra* i. e., the *lotus* in the cerebrum region and produce the *Mahāsukha* of the nature of *Nirvāṇa*, when all ideas of duality disappear in a transcendental realisation of the bliss. The *uṣṇiṣa* is also called the *Mahāsukha-cakra* as it is the seat of Supreme Bliss.

It has been said that the Yogi should produce the *Bodhicitta* in both *vivṛta* and *saṃvṛta* forms.[5] The *saṃvṛta* is white like the *kunda* flower in its physical form and the *vivṛta* is of the form of bliss. It has been shown in the *Hevajra-tantra* how the gross *Bodhicitta* should be produced through the physical process and how this should be turned to the *vivṛta* form through the yogic process. As long as the yogin does not discharge the *Bodhicitta* he

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4. *Hevajra Tantra*, pt. II, Ch. II, 41-42.
5. *Ibid.*, pt. II, Ch. IV, 29-30.

enjoys the intense and unruffled ecstasy from the blissful sensations and obtains perfections in his *sādhanā*. If the *Bodhicitta* flows down it can not be made to rise again and the yogin fails to obtain his goal. There is no greater sin than this discharge and no greater merit than this bliss arising from the motionless *Bodhicitta*. It has been declared in the *Kālacakratantra*[6] that salvation is impossible through the discharge and a serious yogin must take care of it to avoid all worldly pleasures.

A study of the Vajrayānic conception of the *Bodhicitta* which comprises the two elements, *prajñā* and *upāya*, leads us to think that the central point of *sādhanā* of Tantrayāna has been a principle of union. This principle of union has been termed as *yuganaddha* and is the unification of all duality in an absolute unity. When both the notions of creative process (*saṃsāra*) and absolute cessation (*nivṛtti*) are cleared, a state of non-duality is arrived at and this is the state of *yuganaddha*. In the state of *yuganaddha* the transcendental nature of both phenomenal and the absolute realities is realised and they become *one*. *Yoganaddha* is the state of all-void through the union of *prajñā* and *upāya*. The principle of *yuganaddha*, when meditated on and practised, results in the removal of all distinctions and discriminations and the mind is freed from all sorts of duality. The *yuganaddha* is called *advaya* and it is the *Bodhicitta*, the *Dharmakāya*.

The development of the concept of *Bodhicitta* as briefly traced above crept into Tibetan Buddhism through translations of Buddhist Sanskrit texts and Tibetan writers of commentaries, and religious or philosophical texts also commented or gave exposition of this concept. Lama Rin čen dpal (Ratnaśrī) of the 13th century has brought out the spirit and meaning of the *Bodhicitta* in an excellent and elaborate exposition in his Žal gdams (*upadeśa*).

He enjoins that at the beginning of his *sādhanā* (practices) it is very important for the adept to prepare or develop the *Bodhicitta* which comprises the thought that one will gain enlightenment for the sake of all sentient beings, the practice resulting from this thought and the enlightened mind itself,—it is the loving compassion of the enlightened mind. Love (byams pa) is nothing but the wish 'may all beings have happiness and the root of happiness'; compassion (sñin-rje) is the wish 'may all beings be free from sorrow and the root of sorrow'. Love recognises and accepts the bond or relationship that exists between one self and all living beings and wishes the best for all of them; compassion is an active attempt to help others in the removal of sufferings. As an altruistic attitude to work for others' benefit it has two

6. Chapter V, 126.

aspects: kunrjob, concerning the relatively true reality of phenomena, and don-dam, the absolutely true reality. In the first aspect, the relative truth *Bodhicitta*, there is the *Bodhicitta* of Aspiration (smon-pa)—like the desire to go on a journey, and the *Bodhicitta* of Progression ('jug pa)—like having actually started on the journey. These have been explained exactly in the same way as done by Śāntideva which we have noted.

Compassion (sñin rje) is held as the real nature of *Bodhicitta* and has three aspects governing the stages of producing the *Bodhicitta*.

The first aspect of compassion has the sentient beings as its object. The *Bodhicitta* of Aspiration is raised at the start of each period of meditation by reflecting compassionately that all sentient beings possess wrong views, are bewildered and the actions they do are those which cause suffering. What can be done to make them happy, to separate them from their sorrows and to put them all on the level of Buddhahood! Many of these sentient beings have been the adept's mothers and fathers during his countless previous births and it is his bounden duty to strive for their liberations. As a temporary measure he must make all these sentient beings happy and free from sufferings and then as the permanent benefit should put them all on the stage of Buddhahood. With this end in view he should perform only virtuous deeds and practise meditation of the profound Path with his body, speech and mind for as long as the world is not free from sorrows and sufferings.

The second is the generating of the *Bodhicitta* of Progression characterised by compassion which has *dharma* as its object of consideration. The adept should not only meditate upon the welfare of all sentient beings but should immediately start to work for them. He should practise the six *pāramitā*-s, develop and perfect the stages of meditation, and thus the stage of meditational awareness (mñam-par-bzag) where mind is void and without any narrow sense of self, free from all relative positions (spros-bral) where clear understanding (od-gsal) originate naturally. Maintaining this state of meditational awareness where *śūnyatā* and *karuṇa* are inseparable, there is the post-meditational awareness of one's own mind as the original true existential situation. All these stages of the path to enlightenment should be made understood by all those sentient beings whose minds are blind to the methods of realisation. For all these blind beings compassion arises in the adept spontaneously. This is the *Bodhicitta* of Progression which has *dharma* as its object of consideration.

The third is the Pure Truth *Bodhicitta* characterised by compassion which is without the perception of (inherently real) objects (dmigs-pa-med-pa, a quality of *śūnyatā*),

The true existential situation of Pure Truth *Bodhicitta* is free from all relative positions, and is beyond intellectualisation (blo-lao-'das-pa). It is natural awareness (rig-pa), void, and clear understanding, free from impurities (*kleśa*-s). For this there are no 'Sentient beings' who are bad, no 'Buddhas' who are good and no compassion which has a conceptualised object (dmigs-yul). The adept stays calmly in the state free from intellectualisation, a state without any object of thought, a stage in *śūnyatā*'s own nature.

From the *Bodhicitta* of Aspiration comes the result of the *Nirmāṇakāya* when Buddhahood is obtained. From the *Bodhicitta* of Progression comes the result of the *Sambhogakāya* when Buddhahood is obtained. From the Pure Truth *Bodhicitta* comes the result of the *Dharmakāya* when Buddhahood has been obtained.

It is maintained that if the adept remembers to generate the Pure *Bodhicitta* then whatever he does, including the performance of any of the four normal actions—staying, going, eating and sleeping,—will become *dharma*. If this Pure *Bodhicitta* is achieved and the profound instructions are practised, then, although in this life it is not possible to benefit others, in future there will truly come the power to remove all sufferings from the world.

A NOTE ON *JINĀLAṄKĀRA*

Ganesh Thite

Jinālaṅkāra or "an ornament to Jina" is a panegyric to the Buddha. The Jina is of course the Buddha and the word *alaṅkāra* suggests that the poet wants to embelish the Buddha by means of this panegyric. See for example the following verse of the commentator :—.

ñaṇāsinātitikhena jitamārabalaṃ jinaṃ jinālaṅkāranāmena alaṅkāreṇa' laṅkari

"He (Buddharakkhita), with the ornament known as *Jinālaṅkāra* adorned the conqueror (Buddha), who, with the very sharp sword of knowledge overcame the forces of *Māra*". The Commentator further describes the author of the *Jinālaṅkāra* as a 'treasurer' (*bhaṇḍāgārika*) who, taking the attributes of Buddha, deposited them in the scented basket[1]. There is another significance of this title. The *Jinālaṅkāra* is an ornate poem full of poetic *alaṅkāra*-s. In fact it is an ornate poem first and then a panegyric to the Buddha. So this ornate poem can be an *alaṅkāra* which itself embellishes the Jina and thus can be rightly called *Jinālaṅkāra*. The poem contains 250 stanzas in various metres and is written in an exuberent style.

THE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

The date and authorship of the *Jinālaṅkāra* are not precisely known. Gray has attributed this work to Buddharakkhita and he informs us as follows, "Buddharakkhita was born in Ceylon of a distinguished family in the 117th year of the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha i.e. in 426 B.C. His birthplace was Rohaṇa; and it appears that he was the head of the congregation of priests in Colitambaraṭṭha (afterwards Tambaraṇi),

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1. *Jinālaṅkāra* :—"*buddharakkhitācarivo sabbalokisarassa anantajinassa buddhassa bhagavato guṇālaṅkārabhaṇḍāni gahetvā jinālaṅkārassa saṅkhāte gandhakaraṇḍake pakkhipetvā puṇṇayākaratanasddissa yogāvacarakulaputtassa niyyādei* (quoted by James Gray *Jinālaṅkāra*. London, 1894, introduction, p. 8.

the maritime Western division of Ceylon where the Coḷas of the Coromandel Coast originally settled. His learning and quickwittedness acquired for him a considerable reputation which traditional history has preserved to the present day". This information as Gray tells us is based upon a postscript added to the text.[2] Accepting the date of Buddharakkhita as given above, Gray ascribes the text to the period of Tissa, better known as Devānāṁ piya Tissa.

The commentary on the *Jinālaṅkāra* has been ascribed to Buddhadatta by Gray and "It is due to Buddhadatta", he says, "that the present text, however incomplete, has been preserved"[3].

It is, however, important to note that according to *Gandhavaṃsa*[4] *Jinālaṅlaṃkāra* itself was written by Buddhadatta and commented by Buddharakkhita.[5] De Zoysa following the information given by the *Gandhavaṃsa* ascribes the work to Buddhadatta[6].

The information supplied by *Saddhammasaṅgaha*[7] supports the authorship ascribed to Buddharakkhita.

"*buddharakkhitanāmena therena racitaṃ idaṃ* /
Jinālaṅkārasuttaṃ ca sathuguṇaṃ alaṅkataṃ. /

The masterly *Jinālaṅkāra* was compiled by a *thera* named Buddharkkkhita, which was adorned with the qualities of the master"[8].

Malalasekera, reviewing the differences of opinion seems to understand the authorship to be "obscure". He, however, denies the date of the *Jinālaṅkāra* to be as early as Gray has thought. He, therefore, has said, "We do not know who wrote it (=jinālaṅkāra) nor who was the author of the ṭīkā. It is quite possible that there was a much earlier work by the same name; the life of the Buddha was a favourite subject for verses (e.g. the *Buddhavaṃsa* itself); but such a work, if it existed, is now irretrievably lost and only a traditional reference to it remains".[9] Malalasekera, therefore, is "inclined to believe that the confusion between

2. Gray, Introduction.
3. P. 9.
4. Edited by Prof. Minayeff, in *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, London, 1886, pp. 69. 72, cf. also 65, 75.
5. See (p. 69)—*Jinālaṅkāragandho sangahapālattherena āyācitena Buddhadattācariyena kato* and (p. 72)—*Jinālaṃkāro Jinālaṃkārassa ṭīkā attano matiyā buddharakkhitācariyena kato.*
6. *A catalogue of the temple libraries of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1885, p. 7.
7. Ed. by M. Tiwari, Patna, 1961.
8. For somewhat different translation see B. C. Law, *A manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions*, Calcutta, 1941, p. 91.
9. *The Pāli literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1928, p. 111.

Buddhadatta (if that was his name), who wrote the commentary on the *Jinālaṅkāra* and Buddhadatta the contemporary of Buddhaghosa, was due to the fact that the latter, too, had written a commentary on the life of the Buddha, namely *Madhuratthavilāsini* on the *Buddhavaṃsa*. Malalasekera's supposition finds a support in another fact mentioned by Gray viz. that the *Jinālaṅkāra* is regarded in Burma as an *aṭṭhakathā*, a commentary.[10]

The date of the *Jinālaṅkāra* accepted by Gray seems to be preposterous, when we look towards the language and style. Gray himself has felt the similarity of style between *Jinālaṅkāra* and the works of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Māgha.[11] But still, he does not suspect that the author must have been influenced by the Sanskrit authors and ventures to think that the artificial style was in vogue in the fourth century B.C.

W. Geiger has rightly understood the word *sattarasa vassasata* to mean 1700[12] as against Gray who has understood it to mean 117. Now 1700 years after the death of Buddha means, as Geiger has stated, 1156 A.D. and this date is acceptable.[13] The *stotra* literature flourished particularly from the twelfth century afterwards. Moreover, the *Jinālaṅkāra* seems to have been written in the "decadent period" of the Sanskrit literature in which there was also decadent poetry in other languages like Prākṛt and Pāli also.

A SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF *JINĀLAṄKĀRA*

In the introductory stanzas, the poet has made an obeisance to the Buddha. Then the poet describes the Buddha : he was born on the "ninth moment"; he used to fulfil the five duties (*pañcakiccāni*) everyday, he is like the sun in all the three domains of Buddha, (*buddhakkhetta*), etc. (Stanzas 1). Then follows the description of the Buddha's preparations for being Buddha. An ascetic named Sumedha (who became later the Buddha), expressed his desire to be the Buddha in future. Dīpaṅkara Buddha was going by his way, and Sumedha allowed his body to be the bridge for Dīpaṅkara Buddha in a marshy place. Dīpaṅkara going on his back declared the prophecy, 'This man will be the Buddha in future times' *Buddho ayaṃ hessati' nāgatesu* St. 19).

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10. Introduction pp. 10.
11. Gray's Introduction, p. 10-11.
12. *Pāli Litteratur und Sprache*, Strassburg, 1916, p. 28-
13. Cf. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, p. 223.

Then Sumedha took various births and fulfilled the ten perfections (*pārami*-s) in threefold manner. He suffered for the sins of others, performed many auspicious deeds.

This Sumedha ascetic, on the request of gods took birth on the earth. The astrologers predicted that the child would be the Buddha. He was married to Yaśodharā when he grew young. Surrounded, with forty thousand women and men he enjoyed the objects of enjoyment in a very luxurious way. But he decided to save the world and left the house.

The poet expresses his wonder in a very effective way about the Buddha's renunciation. For Buddha was living a very pleasant life full of enjoyment. The contrast between the luxurious life on the one hand and the sudden renunciation after seeing only some bad aspects of the world makes the poet wonderstruck. Then, as in typical Sanskrit poem we read a description of Buddha's amorous life and in each stanza the poet exclaimes "How did he leave all this"? Many persons in the mythology have known to have done many adventures for winning the enjoyments. But Siddhārtha left all these.

After renunciation Siddhārtha accepts the ascetic way of life and defeats Māra. Here again, we read a description of battle between these two in the same manner as in some Sanskrit epics. Siddhārtha becomes victorious and gets the highest knowledge of *nāmarūpa*, *paṭiccasamuppāda* etc. and on the request of Brahmā Sahampati he made the '*dhammacakkappavattana*'.

The poet then praises the Buddha in various ways and worships the Buddha with a detailed ritual. He worships with various flowers, jewels, clothes, fruits etc. and salutes not only to the Buddha, but also to his *paṇidhāna*, his ten *pārami*-s, the *dhammacakkappavattana*, the vessels etc.

After the worship, the poet expresses his wishes and ambitions. He hopes that the sublime qualities like *saddhā*, *hiri*, *ottappa*, etc. should be increased in him till he gets the ultimate knowledge. He wants that *Rāga*, *dosa* and *moha* should be removed from him. His highest ambition is, of course, to be Buddha one day or the other. Side by side with these expectations he has some 'worldly' desires also. Thus he desires that nobody should defeat him[14] that he should feed his parents in a right manner,

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14. *bhaveyyahaṃ kenaci nappsayho*, St. 245.

worship old men, help others, he should make his relatives and friends prosper himself.[15]

THE *JINĀLAṄKĀRA* : AN ORNATE POEM

The *Jinālaṅkāra* is a typically ornate poem and contains many "tours de force" as Rhys Davids has said.[16] The poem can be described as possessing the characteristics of the decadent Sanskrit poetry, where the outward form is more important than the internal spirit. The subject matter is conventional. Various figures of speech are used. There is a variety of metres[17]. Long descriptions, play upon the words, all kinds of artificiality etc. are seen in the decadent Sanskrit poetry and these characteristics are found in the *Jinālaṅkāra* also. Let us see some of the typical examples.

In the following stanza (No. 106) only two letters are used :

Sāre surāsure sārī rasasārasarissaro/
rasasārarase sārī surāsurasarissaro//

In the following stanza (No. 105) only one letter is used :

nonānino nanūnāni nanenāni nanānino/
nunnā nenāni nūna na nānanaṃ nānanena no//

The following is the description of the beauty of the Buddha's face seeing which even the lotus use to be closed due to the sense of inferiority (st. No. 70) :—

Sāre sarojaṃ ruditālipāli
samantato passati pañjarañjasā/
disvāravindāni mukhāravindaṃ
nāthassa lajjā viva saṅkujanti//

The exaggeration in the following verse is noteworthy (No. 31) :

so sāgara jaladhikaṃ rudhiram adāsi.
bhūmāparājiya samaṃsamadāsi dānaṃ/
meruppamāṇamadhikaṃ ca samoḷisisam
khe tārakādhikataraṃ nayanam adāsi//

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15. *dhammena mātāpitaro bhareyyaṃ yuddhapacāyī bahūpakarī ñātisu mittesu sapattekesn vuḍḍhiṃ kareyyaṃ hiiamattano ca.* St. 246.
16. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1856, p. 385.
17. For metres see Gray's appendix A to the edition of *Jinālaṅkāra*.

In the *Jinālaṅkāra*, as in many other *stotra-kāvya*-s in Sanskrit we find a very queer mixture of devotion, religious spirit and renunciation with the worldly desires and sensuality. To illustrate this point examples like *Lakṣmīsahasra*, *Gaṅgālahari* and many poems in the Madhurābhakti cult can be mentioned. In the *Jinālaṅkāra* it is seen that more emphasis is given on the amorous descriptions of the Siddhārtha's enjoyments of worldly pleasures than his renunciation. The poet even exclaims : how Siddhārtha could leave all these pleasures! The poet has expressed along with his religious desires some worldly desires also. The reason for this expression of worldly desires can be sought in the fact that there was no proper system of getting required things for the purely intelligent persons. Their entrance in the religious life was just for the sake of getting livelihood. The poet of *Jinālaṅkāra* seems to be a representative of such persons.

काव्य की रचना-प्रक्रिया—अभिनव गुप्त की दृष्टि में

रामर्मूति त्रिपाठी

आचार्य अभिवनगुप्त पाद की धारणा है कि जैसे आत्मचैतन्य में विश्रान्त शिवा के उन्मीलित होते ही सारा विश्व अन्यनिरपेक्षता के कारण क्षण भर में समुन्मीलित हो जाता है,[1] वैसे ही रचयिता कवि की आत्मा में सतत उदित प्रतिभा नामक परा वाग्देवता के अनुग्रह से इच्छानुसार काव्योचित विचित्र तथा अपूर्व अर्थ की स्फुरणा होने लगती है—काव्यजगत् क्षण भर में निर्मित हो जाता है[2]। अर्थात् जो कार्य शिव की शिवा करती है, वही कार्य कवि की प्रतिभा करती है—या यों कहें कि शिव की शिवा ही कवि की प्रतिभा के नाम से जानी जाती है। सच्चा कवि तो केवल माध्यम होता है—काम तो शिवापरनामा प्रतिभा ही सम्पन्न करती है।

इसी शैवी धारा के आचार्य आनन्दवर्धन[3] ने बताया है कि कवि के प्राक्तनपुण्यवशात् जब कभी काव्यनिर्माण में प्रवृत्ति होती है तब वह पूर्वसूरियों द्वारा परम्परा-प्राप्त अन्य सृष्टि सामग्री का उपयोग करने से विरत हो जाता है। स्वकीय सीमित कर्तृत्व का उपयोग निरर्थक है—इसलिये आनन्दवर्धन उसके भी उपयोग को मना करते हैं। अभिप्राय यह कि दूसरों द्वारा प्राप्त सामग्री का उपयोग कवि स्वयं नहीं करना चाहता है—

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१. यदुन्मीलनशक्त्यैव विश्वमुन्मीलति क्षणात्।
स्वात्मायतनविश्रांतां वन्दे तां प्रतिभां शिवाम्॥
ध्वन्यालोकलोचन, चौखम्भा, १९४० पृ० १६४

२. कवेरपि स्वहृदयायतनसततोदितप्रतिभाभिधानपरवाग्देवतानुग्रहोत्थितविचित्रापूर्वार्थ-निर्माणशक्तिशालिनः प्रजापतेरिव कामजनितजगतः। नाट्यशास्त्र-अभिनवभारती, प्रथम अध्याय, पृ० २१, का० हि० वि० वि० वाराणसी १९७१

३. येषां सुकवीनां प्राक्तनपुण्यपरिपाकवशेन प्रवृत्तिस्तेषां परोपरचितार्थ—परिग्रहनिःस्पृहाणां स्वव्यापारो न क्वचिदुपयुज्यते। सैव भगवती सरस्वती एवमभिमतमर्थमाविर्भावयति—ध्वन्यालोकलोचन—पृ० ५५१

राजशेखर[4] ने तो यहाँ तक कहा है कि वह परोपरचितार्थ के प्रति जात्यन्ध होता है—फलतः उसके ग्रहण का सवाल ही नहीं उठता है और स्वीय कर्तृत्व इतना सीमित है कि उसके उपयोग का औचित्य नहीं प्रतीत होता है। अभिनवगुप्त[5] इसी स्वरमें स्वर मिलाते हुए कहते हैं कि कवि का अभीष्ट है—अपूर्व अर्थ का निर्माण। इस अभीष्ट की सिद्धि में या तो वह निरुद्योग होकर हाथ पर हाथ धरे बैठा रहे—या परोपजीवी हो—दोनों ही मार्ग उपहासास्पद हैं। इसलिए उन लोगों की धारणा है कि ऐसी विशिष्ट सर्जना "विसर्जना" के बिना असम्भव है। विसर्जन का अर्थ है—संकीर्ण अहन्ता का पूर्णता में विसर्जन—सीमित शक्ति का पराशक्ति में विलयन, सीमित कर्तृत्व का असीमित कर्तृत्व में समर्पण, ऐसा समर्पण कि वही शक्ति कवि को माध्यम बनाकर सक्रिय हो जाये। कवि केवल माध्यम रह जाये और शिवाभिधाना प्रतिभा अपना कार्य आरम्भ कर दे। वही अपूर्व तथा विचित्र काव्योचित अर्थ की स्फुरणा करने में समर्थ है—महा-कवित्व के उन्मेष की प्रक्रिया यही है। शैवी धारा रचना में महत्व के आघात की यही प्रक्रिया स्वीकार करती है। यह अनुभवसम्मत भी है। व्यवहार, रचना और परमार्थ—सर्वत्र साधक जितनी बड़ी सत्ता में आत्मसत्ता का विसर्जन करेगा—उतनी ही बड़ी सम्भावना उसमें सार्थक होगी। यह अहंकार ही है जो रचना को बड़ी होने से रोकता है—यदि वह विसर्जित हो जाये—तो रचना की अपरिमेय सम्भावना उजागर हो जाती है। शुद्धाहन्ता ही रचना की परा उपनिषद् है। सपिण्डित श्लोक यों हुआ—

> अहंकारादृते नान्यद्रसभङ्गस्य कारणम्।
> विसर्गोपनिबन्धस्तु सृष्टेरुपनिषत् परा॥[6]

व्यष्टिसत्ता का समष्टिसत्ता में विसर्जन—कंचुकनिर्मुक्त पूर्णता का साक्षात्कार है—आनन्दोच्छलशक्ति की स्थिति है—जो सृष्टिबीज है। सृष्टि उसी आनन्दभरित शक्ति की छलकन है—सूक्ष्मस्तर पर वही साक्षात्कार है और स्थूल स्तर पर वही रचना। आनन्दोच्छलित शक्ति स्वयं ही स्वयं का सर्जन करती है[7]—कवि की शक्ति आनन्दोच्छलित होकर ही अपूर्वार्थनिर्माण परायण होती है। अभिनव के गुरु भट्टतौत ने ठीक ही कहा है कि केवल "साक्षात्कार" से कवि "ऋषि" का पद पाता है और "वर्णना" से कवि का। कवि के लिए "दर्शना" और

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४. सारस्वतं चक्षुरवाङ्मनसगोचरेण प्रणिधानेन दृष्टमदृष्टं चार्थजातं स्वयमेव विभजति। तदाहुः सुप्तस्यापि महाकवेः शब्दार्थौ सरस्वती दर्शयति, तदितरस्य तत्र जाग्रतोऽप्यंधंचक्षुः। अन्यदृष्टचरे ह्यर्थे महाकवयो जात्यंधास्तद् विपरीते तु दिव्यदृशः। काव्यमीमाँसा—राजशेखर, बिहार राष्ट्रभाषा परिषद्—पटना, १९५४, पृ० १५३

५. कुतः खल्वपूर्वमानयामीत्याशयेन निरुद्योगः परोनिबद्धवस्तूपजीविको वा स्यात्—ध्वन्या-लोकलोचन—पृ० ५५१

६. स्वकीय

७. "आनंदोच्छलिता शक्तिः सृजत्यात्मानमात्मना"
उत्पलदेव की "स्तोत्रावली" की व्याख्या में क्षेमराज द्वारा उद्धृत

"वर्णना"[८]—दोनों ही अपेक्षित हैं—"दर्शना" आनन्दोल्लास है और "वर्णना" अपूर्वार्थनिर्माण। अभिप्राय यह है कि आनन्दोल्लास की प्रतिभा ही गति है। विसर्गकालीन संकोचप्रसारात्मक वड़वा वरांग की भांति संकोचप्रसारात्मिका आत्मसृष्टि विसृष्टिकाल में आनन्दभरित रहती है। इसलिये यह धारा काव्यरचना के लिए हृदयायतन में विश्रान्त अथ च सततोदित प्रतिभा को समुच्छल होने के लिए उसे रस से भरना ही है। यही रसमयता काव्य का सर्वस्व है—सम्भावनाभरित बीज है। मयूराण्डरसन्याय से इसी से काव्यवृक्ष का विकास होता है जो सहृदय ग्राहक में रसात्मक परिणति पाती है।

इसी आशा से शैवी धारा के आचार्य आनन्दवर्धन ने कहा है—

काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवेः पुरा।
क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्ववियोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः॥[९]

आदिकाव्य की रचना प्रक्रिया का विश्लेषण इतिहास के व्याज से स्पष्ट करते हुए आचार्य ने कहा है कि रचना-प्रक्रिया के विषय में ऐसा ही होता रहा है। हमारे यहाँ "इतिहास" का अर्थ 'ऐसा हुआ था"—यह नहीं रहा—"ऐसा होता रहा है"—यह है (इति+ह+आस)। रामायण और महाभारत हिस्ट्री के अर्थ में इतिहास नहीं है। हमारे यहाँ इतिहास की दृष्टि वर्तमान में केन्द्रित है—ऐसा वर्तमान जो अतीत के सातत्य में हैं—एक प्रकार से यह अतीत की घटनाओं के सन्दर्भ में प्रत्यावलोकन की दृष्टि है[१०]। "राम या कृष्ण जैसे लीलापुरुषों की उपासना इतिहासपुरुष (ईसा—मूसा...) के रूप में न होकर अपने बीच उपस्थित अपनी ईश्वरीयता के प्रमाण के रूप में या विराट् सृष्टि में स्पन्दित मानवीयता की नित्य अभिव्यञ्जना के प्रमाण के रूप में एक जीवन्त उपस्थिति के तौर पर की जाती है।"[११]। अभिनव गुप्त पाद ने

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८. नानृषिः कविरित्युक्तः ऋषिश्च किल दर्शनात्।
विचित्रभावधर्मांशतत्वप्रख्या च दर्शनम्॥
अविद्याबीजप्रध्वंसाद्—अयमार्षेण चक्षुषा।
काली भूतभविष्यन्तौ वर्तमानमवीविशत्॥
न तत्त्वदर्शनादेव शास्त्रेषु पठितः कविः।
दर्शनाद् वर्णनाच्चाय रूढालोके कविश्रुतिः॥
तथा हि दर्शने स्वच्छे नित्येऽप्यादिकवेर्मुनेः।
नोदिता कविता तावद्यावज्जाता न वर्णना॥ भट्टतौत
काव्यानुशासन, ८ की वृत्ति में उधृत।

९. ध्वन्यालोक—प्रथम उद्योत, ५वीं कारिका, पृ० ८५

१०. वही पृ० १९

११. वही पृ० २९

अपनी "ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी" में इसे और स्पष्ट करते हुए कहा है कि सत् न तो केवल कोई कालनिरपेक्ष प्रतीति है, न दिक्काल से नियन्त्रित प्रतीति है—बल्कि यह दिक्काल से अलग रह सकने की अपनी क्षमता की प्रतीति है—पर इसके साथ ही ऐसी क्षमता की प्रतीति भी जो दिक्काल में संसक्त हो सकती है[१२]। इस सबसे मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आनन्द ने इतिहास के व्याज से कविता के लिए एक चिरन्तन सत्य का उद्घाटन किया है न कि केवल काव्य-विशेष दिक्काल नियत काव्य विशेष गत सत्य का। अभिनवगुप्त ने काव्यरचना प्रक्रिया का सार-संकेत इसी कारिका की व्याख्या के व्याज से स्पष्ट कर दिया है—" स एव तथाभूतविभावतदुत्थाक्रन्द्राद्यनुभावचर्वणया हृदयसंवादतन्मयीभवनक्रमादास्वाद्यमानतां प्रतिपन्नः, करुणरसरूपतां लौकिकशोकव्यतिरिक्तां स्वचित्तद्रुतिसमास्वाद्यसारां प्रतिपन्नः, रसपरिपूर्णकुम्भोच्चलनवत् चित्तवृत्तिनिःष्यन्दस्वरभावत्वाग् विलापादिवच्च समयानपेक्षत्वेऽपि चित्तवृत्तिव्यञ्जकत्वादिति नयेनाकृतकतयैवावेशवशात् समुचितशब्दच्छन्दोवृत्तादि-नियन्त्रितश्लोकरूपतां प्राप्तः"—"मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमित्यादि"।[१३]

इस विस्तृत उद्धरण में काव्य के उत्सभूत रसमयी हृदयदशा से लेकर काव्य के स्थूल रूप व्यक्त होने की सारी प्रक्रिया निर्दिष्ट है। रचना की सोपान-प्रक्रिया इस प्रकार है—विमलप्रतिभानशक्तिहृदय सहृदय वालमीकि आश्रम→क्रौंच से हृदय→संवाद→तन्मयीभवन→आस्वाद–करुणरसास्वाद–लोकोत्तर आस्वाद→आस्वाद का परिपूर्ण कुंभवत् उच्चल प्रवाह–प्रवाह का अनायास आवेशवश समुचित शब्द तथा छंदोवृत्त आदि उपकरणों में सम्मूर्त होकर रचना के रूप में परिणति।

१—इस क्रम में सबसे पहली स्थिति आती है—उत्सभूत हृदय की रसमयी दशा—**आनन्दोच्छल दशा**[१४]। कविगत रस की स्थिति निर्विवाद है। इस बिन्दु पर काफी कुछ विचारणीय है। पहला यह कि रसप्रतीति सहृदय ग्राहक को ही होती है या कवि को भी? दूसरा रोमैंटिक चिन्तकों का यह आक्षेप कि क्लैसिक्स चिन्तनधारा में—रसवादी धारा में रसोद्बोधक माध्यमभूत सामग्री ही सब कुछ है—रचयिता के आत्मगत सौन्दर्य के साक्षात्कार का अवसर या प्रसङ्ग वहाँ नहीं है। तीसरा यह कि आनन्दवादी शैली ने करुणरस को केंद्र में रखकर रस को काव्य का उत्स सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न क्यों किया? बात यह है कि शैवी धारा में रस चमत्कार सार है[१५] और चमत्कार पूर्णाहन्ता का ही दूसरा नाम है[१६]। शिव आत्मपरामर्श आत्मशक्ति से ही

१२. वही पृ० २७

१३. ध्वन्यालोकलोचन पृ० ८६

१४. कविगतसाधारणीभूतसंविन्मूलश्च काव्यपुरस्तरो नटव्यापारः। सैव च संवित् परमार्थतो रसः। तदेवं मूलं बीजस्थानीयः कविगतो रसः

अभिनवभारती पृ० ६९१

१५. रसे सारश्चमत्कारः सर्वत्राप्यनुभूयते

१६. भारतीय संस्कृति और साधना, बि० रा० भा० प० पटना, १९६३, पृ० २०

कर पाता है—इसलिए शक्ति को चेतना की चेतना कहा जाता है। शक्ति ही है जिसके सहारे शिव को मैं पूर्ण हूं—अहम्—यह आत्मपरामर्श होता है और इस आत्मपरामर्श से जो अद्‌भुत प्रत्यय है—वह "चमत्" इस अनुकरणात्मक शब्द द्वारा व्यक्त किया जाता है। 'कार' प्रत्यय लगाकर उसे ही "चमत्कार" कहा जाता है। यही चमत्कार आदि रस है—शृंगार रस है[१७]। विश्व सृष्टि के मूल में यही रस तत्त्व प्रतिष्ठित है। जो विश्वसृष्टि के मूल में है—वही काव्य-सृष्टि के मूल में भी होना चाहिये। और अब यह होना चाहिये तब शैवी धारा करुण को केन्द्र में कैसे रख रही है? अभिनवगुप्त-सम्मत रसप्रक्रिया के प्रथम सोपान पर ऐसे अनेक प्रश्न स्वतः ही समुद्‌भूत होते हैं।

जहाँ तक पहला प्रश्न है—वह तो निर्विवाद है कि कवि को रसप्रतीति होती है। विवाद इसलिए खड़ा कर दिया गया था कि रसप्रतीति विश्रान्ति की दशा है और कवि सक्रिय सत्ता है—क्रियाशील है—वर्णप्रवण है। एक ही सत्ताधिकरण में विश्रान्ति रूप निष्क्रियता और काव्यक्रिया रूप सक्रियता—दोनों किस तरह सम्भव है? उत्तर दिया जा चुका है। कवि को 'दर्शना" और "वर्णना" दोनों अपेक्षित हैं। पहली विश्रान्ति है और दूसरी क्रिया। दोनों का पौर्वापर्यक्रम से "संयत सातत्य" गतिशील रहता है। तर्क और अनुभव भी साक्ष्य हैं। तर्क यह है कि यदि मूल में ही रस नहीं रहेगा तो परिणति में कहां से आ जायेगा? अभिनवगुप्त का कथन है—

> संसारनाट्यजननधातृबीजलताजुषीम्।
> जलमूर्तिं शिवां पत्युः सरसां पर्युपास्महे॥[१८]

शिवा संसारजननधात्री है—प्रतिभानाट्यजननधात्री—फलतः दोनों बीज हैं—एक से विश्वलता और दूसरी से नाट्यलता बिकसित होती है। सो—यह शिवा या प्रतिभा शिव या कवि की जलमयी सरस मूर्ति है। अभिनव ने स्थल-स्थल पर कविगत रस की बात कही है।

दूसरा प्रश्न जो कविगत रस की पुष्टि भी करता है और आत्मसौन्दर्यवादी रोमैंटिक चिन्तकों के आक्षेप-समाधान से भी सम्बद्ध है—यह है कि आनन्दवर्धन ने इतिहास के व्याज से तो कविगत रस की स्थिति बतायी ही है—सहृदय प्रतिपत्ता के अपने अनुभव का भी साक्ष्य दिया है। उनका कहना है कि महाकवियों की वाग्रूपा सरस्वती कामधेनु की भाँति प्रतिपत्ता वत्स के प्रति स्वयं आस्वाद्य अर्थवस्तु के प्रवाह को समर्पित कर देती है और प्रतिपत्ता रसास्वाद के आवेश में कवि के प्रतिभा विशेष तक का साक्षात्कार कर लेता है[१९]। श्री टी० आर० वी०

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१७. वही पृ० २०

१८. नाट्यशास्त्र—अभिनवभारती, द्वितीय अध्याय की टीका, मंगलाचरण, पृ० १५८

१९. सरस्वती स्वादु तदर्थवस्तु निष्यंदमाना महतां कवीनाम्।
अलोकसामान्यमभिव्यनक्ति परिस्फुरन्तं प्रतिभाविशेषम्॥
ध्वन्यालोक १.६, पृ० ९१

रामचन्द्र दीक्षितार का मत है कि यहाँ "प्रतिभा" का अर्थ "रसानुभवयोग्यता" है—जिसका साक्षात्कार सहृदय प्रतिपत्ता करता है और अपने अनुभव से कवितात रसवत्ता को प्रमाणित करता है। यद्यपि अभिनवगुप्त "प्रतिभाविशेष" की व्याख्या रूढ संस्कार से वही करते हैं जैसा अन्यत्र कह चुके हैं—अर्थात् प्रतिभा कवि की वह क्षमता या शक्ति है जो विशद रसावेश में सुन्दर काव्य का निर्माण करती है[२०]। स्पष्ट है कि इस श्लोक की अनुभवसाक्षिक उपादेयता दीक्षितार वाली व्याख्या में है।

इसके साथ साथ लगा हुआ जो दूसरा प्रश्न है कि रसवादी क्लैसिकल चिन्तन में रचयिता का आत्मगत सौन्दर्यबोध उपेक्षित रह जाता है—उसका भी समाधान अभिनवगुप्त वाली व्याख्या से हो जाता है। यह प्रश्न आचार्य नन्द दुलारे बाजपेयी ने मुझसे किया था। अभिनवगुप्त ने

सरस्वती स्वादु तदर्थवस्तु निःष्यन्दमाना महतां कवीनाम्।
अलोकसामान्यमभिव्यनक्ति परिस्फुरन्तं **प्रतिभाविशेषम्**॥[२१]

"प्रतिभाविशेषम्" की व्याख्या करते हुए स्पष्ट कहा—"अपूर्ववस्तुनिर्माणक्षमा प्रज्ञा प्रतिभा, तस्याः विशेषम्—रसावेशवैशद्यसौन्दर्यकाव्यनिर्माण क्षमत्वम्[२२]।" स्पष्ट ही "प्रतिभा"—कविगत "प्रतिभा"--की इस व्याख्या में रचयिता का आत्मगत सौन्दर्य विद्यमान है जिसका अपरोक्षीकरण प्रतिपत्ता सहृदय करता है।

अब तीसरा प्रश्न आता है और वह यह कि जो शैवी धारा श्रृंगार को "श्रृंगार एव मधुरः परः प्रह्लादनो रसः"[२३] सृष्टिबीज मानती है, वही काव्यसृष्टि में करुण को केन्द्र में क्यों रखती है? इसके कई उत्तर सम्भव हो सकते हैं। पहला तो यह कि "न हि रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते"—में "रस" एक ही माना गया है और वह है—पार्यन्तिक परिणति। यहाँ तक पहुंचने में सामग्री भेद हो सकता है, पर गन्तव्यगत किसी प्रकार का कोई भेद नहीं है।

दूसरा उत्तर यह है कि "इतिहास" की भारतीय अवधारणा क्या है, यह ऊपर कहा जा चुका है। उक्त वक्तव्य के माध्यम से आनन्दवर्धन ने एक देशकालवद्ध घटना का उल्लेख नहीं किया है—बल्कि यह बताया है कि ऐसा सदा होता रहा है, आज भी होता है, और आगे भी होता रहेगा। यह एतद्देशीय ही नहीं, सार्वदेशिक प्रसिद्धि भी है। स्तरीय काव्यसृष्टि के लिए करुण को पकड़ने के मूल में कुछ विशेष संकेत हैं। पश्चिम में भी कहा गया है—

Our sweetest songs are those that tell us of saddest thoughts. । इस सार्वभौम प्रत्यय संवाद के मूल में कुछ है।

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२०. ध्वन्यालोकलोचन, पृ० ९१

२१. ध्वन्यालोक, पृ० ९१

२२. वही, पृ० ९२

२३. वही, द्वितीय उद्योत का० ७ पृ० २०५

इस प्रश्न को काव्यशास्त्र और शैवी दृष्टि—दोनों के आलोक में देखना है—समुत्तरित करना है। काव्यशास्त्र में जहाँ तक ध्वन्यालोक का प्रश्न है--मानता है—"शृंगारे विप्रलम्भाख्ये करुणे च प्रकर्षवत्"—माधुर्य करुण में सर्वाधिक है—अर्थात् चित्त की सत्वस्थता सर्वाधिक है—अर्थात् विषय सम्पर्कात्मक काठिन्य या अनाविष्टता सर्वाधिक विगलित है। यद्यपि इसी ध्वन्यालोक में कहा गया है "शृंगार एव मधुरः परः प्रह्लादनो रसः"—पर अभिनवगुप्त इस अन्तविरोध का समाधान करते हुए कहते हैं कि "स्वकार" का व्यावर्त्य करुण जैसा अन्य रस नहीं, प्रत्युत क्रमागत यह धारणा कि गुण शब्दार्थ रचनागत[२४] है—व्यावर्त्य है। यद्यपि आगे चलकर मम्मट ने इस धारणा के विपरीत यह कहा है कि करुण से अधिक माधुर्य विप्रलम्भ में है और सर्वाधिक शान्त[२५] में। कहा गया है कि यदि हृदयगत काठिन्य या अनाविष्टता (विक्षेप) विषय सम्पर्कवश आता है—तो वह सम्पर्क शत प्रतिशत शान्त में समाप्त होता है—या वहाँ विषय संविदाकार हो जाता है—पृथक् रह ही नहीं जाता है। आनन्दवर्धन "शान्त" के पक्षधर हैं और अभिनव ने "ध्वन्यालोक"—तृतीय उद्योत के "लोचन" में इसकी पुष्टि[२६] की है—फिर भी वह मम्मट की भांति "शान्त" में माधुर्यातिरेक की बात क्यों नहीं मानते हैं, वह करुण तक ही क्यों रह गये—उन्हें विप्रलम्भ में करुण से द्रुति की मात्रा कम क्यों भायी? परवर्ती मुनि तो वाग्देवतावतार मम्मट ही हैं। हो सकता है कि "शान्त" को (समस्ततृष्णाक्षय-सुखात्मा शम का परिपुष्ट क्षेत्र) क्वाचित्क होने से अलग कर दिया गया हो। लेकिन करुण से विप्रलम्भ में द्रुति के आधिक्य के विषय में क्या कहा जायेगा? अनुभवसाक्षिक मतभेद कहकर टाल दिया जाये? "शान्त" के विषय में तो यह भी कहा जा सकता है कि वह सबकी प्रकृति है—शान्ताद् भावः प्रवर्तंते"[२७]—और जों सवकी प्रकृति है—वह विकृति के समकक्ष विचारणीय क्यों हो? वहाँ तो शृंगार–करुण–सवको पहुंचना है। पर करुण से विप्रलम्भ की प्रकर्षवत्ता पर क्या कहा जाये? मम्मट का आशय स्पष्ट करने वाले तो यह कहते हैं कि विप्रलम्भ की अपेक्षा करुण में रति के सर्वथा निरपेक्ष होने से विक्षेप ज्यादा होता है और विक्षेप ही तो अनाविष्टता पैदा करता है—जो द्रुति का बाधक है—इसलिये मम्मट का पक्ष दुर्बल नहीं होता है। विप्रलम्भ और करुण का मतभेद भी मान लिया जाय तब भी दोनों में इतना सामान्य तत्त्व तो है ही कि दोनों "अभावग्रस्त" हैं—विप्रलम्भ में सावधि है और करुण में निरवधि--निरपेक्ष। चाहे विश्वसृष्टि और काव्यसृष्टि में जितना भी साम्य हो—एक अन्तर तो रहेगा ही कि एक शक्ति का सीधा रूपान्तर है। इसलिए प्रजापति-सृष्टि का मूल जिस तरह का खालिस आत्म-परामर्श है—समुच्छल आनन्द है—कवि सृष्टि में उसके साथ कुछ और है। इसलिए काव्य के लिए अपेक्षित

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२४. वही पृ० २०८

२५. काव्यप्रकाश, पूना (भं० ओ० रि० इं०) १९३३ ई०, पृ० ४७५

२६. ध्वन्यालोकलोचन, पृ० ३९०

२७. वही, पृ० ३९१ से उद्धृत

"रस" ब्रह्मास्वाद नहीं—ब्रह्मास्वाद-सहोदर है—दोनों सृष्टियों के मूल में शक्ति और आनन्दोच्छलन के बावजूद—दोनों की प्रकृति में अन्तर है । काव्य में सृष्टि के ज्ञात उपादानों और उनसे प्राप्त मानस सुखदुःखात्मक प्रतिक्रियाओं का परिष्करण रहता है—यह सामग्री लौकिक रहकर भी अपनी प्रक्रिया विशेष के कारण लोकोत्तर हो जाती है । कवि प्रजापति सृष्ट स्थूल सृष्ठ को उपादान बनाकर बहिः प्रकाश करती है । शैवी धारा में अन्तःस्थिति पदार्थ का वहिः प्रकाश ही सृष्टि है—सो अहम् रूप में द्रष्टा के साथ एकाकार रहता है और "इदम्" के रूप में पृथक् भाव में परिस्फुट हो उठता है । अभिनवगुप्त ने इसी आशय को स्पष्ट करते हुए "ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविवृतिविमर्शिनी" में कहा है—

> चिदात्मैव हि देवोन्तःस्थितमिच्छावशाद् बहिः ।
> योगीव निरुधादानमर्थजातं प्रकाशयेत् ।।७।।[२८]

काव्यसृष्टि में इसी सृष्टि की पुनः सृष्टि होती है, अतः अन्तर कहीं न कहीं तो होगा ही। मूल सृष्टि में श्रृंगार का चमत्कार होता है—पर सृष्टि के रूप में जब अव्यक्त भाव रूप में व्यक्त होना चाहता है तब अभाव के साथ होता है—अभाव में ही भाव प्रतिफलित होता है—इसलिये सृष्टि भावाभावात्मक है—अभावग्रस्त है । सृष्टि का प्रत्येक प्राणी इस मूल अभाव की वेदना से ग्रस्त है। इसलिए वह व्यवहार में निरन्तर अभावग्रस्तता के कारण विक्षिप्त रहता है । जीवन के छोटे छोटे अभावों में यही मूल अभाव निहित रहता है । छायावादी चिन्तक इसी चिरविरह की ओर संकेत करते हैं । लगता है सृष्टि का स्थायीभाव यही चिरविरह है । विरह राग के बिना सम्भव नहीं है, अतः उसके मूल में राग प्रतिष्ठित है । वाल्मीकि का सत्त्व, राम का सत्त्व विकसित है—उनकी रागात्मक सत्ता विश्वसत्ता से एकरस है । अतः सबका दुःख उनका दुःख बन जाता है—पर वह व्यवहार की संकीर्ण प्रतीति से भिन्न प्रकृति का होता है—लोकोत्तर होता है । इसीलिये वाल्मीकि का शोक करुण रस बन गया—"पुटपाकप्रतीकाशः रामस्य करुणो रसः"[२९] । इस प्रकार इतिहास जिस चिरन्तन सत्य का प्रकाशन करता है, वह ठीक ही है ।

इस इतिहास से एक और निष्कर्ष निकलता है और वह यह कि रस का सम्बन्ध हृदय की एक अवदात स्थिति से है—उस भूमिका पर जिसका हृदय प्रतिष्ठित रहता है—लोक उसको अन्यथा प्रतीत होता है । वह निखिल जगत् को नाट्यरसिक की भाँति क्रीडा के रूप में देखता है, और हर प्रकार से अनुभूति का पर्यन्ततः रस में पर्यवसान करता है—सामग्री चाहे लोक की हो या काव्यादि की । यद्यपि आचार्य रामचन्द्र शुक्ल[३०] भी ऐसा मानते हैं कि सामग्री किसी भी तरह की हो—स्थिति हृदय की यदि अवदात हो—तो प्रतीति रसात्मक हो जाती है, तथापि

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२८. ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविवृत्तिविमर्शिनी, पृ० १४२

२९. उत्तररामचरित

३०. रसात्मक बोध के विविध रूप चिंतामणि, भाग–१

उनकी चिन्तन पद्धति और अभिनव की चिन्तनपद्धति में अन्तर है–दोनों में से एक की भूमि बुद्धिवादी है और दूसरे की आत्मवादी। एक की रसप्रतीति मुक्त हृदय—अवदात मनोदशा है, दूसरे की आत्मपरामर्शदशा। इसलिये एक सुखदुःखोभयात्मक रसप्रतीति मानता है और दूसरा अनिवार्यतः आनन्दमय।

इस प्रकार कविगत रसानुभूति जो सर्जनप्रक्रिया का मूल उपादान है—आन्तरिक–वाह्य सर्वविध सामग्री से व्यक्त हो सकती है। बाल्मीकि की अनुभूति वाह्य सामग्री से दीप्त हुई और "दर्शना" से "वर्णना" तक पहुंची -जबकि राम की अनुभूति आन्तर सामग्री से व्यक्त हुई और "दर्शन" से "वाग्विमायनादि" तक ही रह गयी। अभिनव के उपर्युक्त वक्तव्य में आस्वाद या रसानुभूति तक पहुंचने के तीन सोपान निर्दिष्ट हैं—

१. विभावादि की चर्वणावश हृदय संवाद

२. तन्मयीभवन

३. आस्वाद–करुणरसास्वाद

व्याधनिहतसहचरीदर्शन विभाव, शोकमग्न सहचर का आक्रन्द अनुभाव,—आदि वश बाल्मीकि का निर्मल हृदय उसी रंग से रञ्जित हो गया–तदनन्तर तन्मयीभवन—चेत्य और चित्त का चित् का संविद रूप हो जाना–संविद विकास की दशा, तदनन्तर आस्वाद या करुण रस की मानस साक्षात्कारात्मिका प्रतीति निष्पन्न होती है। शाङ्कर वेदान्त की तन्मयीभवन वाली प्रक्रिया से शैवी धारा की तन्मयीभवन की प्रक्रिया भिन्न है। वहाँ चित्त विषयाकार परिणत होता है और फिर विषयावच्छिन्न तथा अन्तःकरणावच्छिन्न चैतन्य का एकीकार होने से साक्षात्कार[३१] होता है। यहाँ विषय का ज्ञानेन्द्रियों के माध्यम से मनः पटल पर प्रतिफलन होता है, जो मन चित् का ही स्पन्दनविशेष है। अन्ततः इस प्रकार के चित्त को आत्मरूप करता हुआ संवित् चैतन्य व्यापक हो जाता है—विषय को आत्मरूप करके ही उसका साक्षात्कार करता है। विषय का साक्षात्कार संविद् की व्याप्ति का विकास है। अभिनवगुप्त स्पष्ट कहते हैं–"तथा च घटो मम स्फुरति—इति कोऽर्थः ? मदीयं स्फुरणं स्पन्दनमाविष्टः मद्रूपतामापन्न एव, चिन्मयत्वात्[३२]।" भास्कर कण्ठ ने इसे और स्पष्ट कर दिया है—

"ग्रहणसमये भावस्य मायया भावत्वेन भासितं निजं सहजशुद्धप्रकाशाख्यं स्वरूपमेव प्रमातारं प्रति स्फुटीभवति यतः, तदा प्रमाता तद्वस्तु प्रति दिदृक्षासमये व्यापकी भवति। यदुक्तम्—

दिदृक्षयेव सर्वार्थान् यदा व्याप्यावतिष्ठते।
तदा किं बहुनोक्तेन स्वयमेवावभोत्स्यते ॥"[३३]

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३२. वेदान्तपरिभाषा

३३. ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञा–भाग १, वृहतीविमर्शिनी, पृ० ४२

३४. अभिनवगुप्त—डा० कान्तिचन्द्र पाण्डेय, पृ० २८६,७

व्यापकी भवे च तद्‌वस्तु स्वात्मसात्करोति तन्मयीभावासादनं च वस्तुतः शुद्धप्रकाशरूपत्वा-सादनमेव, प्रमातुः शुद्धप्रकाशमात्ररूपत्वात्"—

इन वक्तव्यों के आलोक में स्पष्ट है कि प्रत्यक्ष —तन्मयीभवन—का अर्थ है—स्वरूप के रूप में ही बोध ।

तन्मयीभवन के अनन्तर आता है—आस्वाद या रसास्वाद । अभिनवगुप्त उसे स्पष्ट करते हुए कहते हैं—"अनुभावविभावबोधनोत्तरमेव तन्मयीभवनयुक्त्या तद् विभावानुभावोचितचित्तवृत्ति-वासनानुरञ्जितस्वसंविदानन्दचर्वणागोचरोऽर्थः रसात्मा"—

विभावादिबोधवश हृदयसंवाद-तन्मयीभवन-तदन्तर-विभावानुभावोचित चित्तवृत्ति की वासना से अनुरञ्जित स्वसंविदानन्द की चर्वणा । इस चर्वणागोचर अर्थ को रस कहा जाता है । यह प्रतीति लौकिक अनुभव तथा स्मृति आदि की सरणि से भिन्न है । इसलिये लोकोत्तर है ।

इस समस्त विमोचन का निष्कर्ष यह हुआ कि सृष्टि-काव्यसृष्टि—के लिये अहं का विसर्जन करता हुआ कवि मात्र माध्यम रह जाये, उसका अपना सीमित व्यक्तित्व सक्रिय न रहे, वाग्देवतात्मक प्रतिभा सक्रिय हो जाये, उसके अनुग्रह से अपेक्षित काव्योचित् सामग्री स्फुटित होने लगे और इस स्फुरण का उत्स रसमयी हृदयभूमि हो—उसी बीज से कविता रूपी लता विकसित हो । काव्यरचनाप्रक्रिया में रसावेश में सक्रिय विचित्र **प्रतिभा** की ही स्थिति महत्त्वपूर्ण है । अतः अभिनव की दृष्टि में "प्रतिभा" विषयक अवधारणा का स्पष्टीकरण आवश्यक है । उन्होंने जहां जहां "प्रतिभा" का स्वरूप स्पष्ट किया है—वहां वहां सर्वत्र उसे रसावेश में सक्रिय "विचित्र" तथा "अपूर्व" वस्तुनिर्माणक्षम प्रज्ञा कहा है । साथ ही यह भी कहा है कि रसात्मक चित्तवृत्तिसमुच्छलित होकर अनायास काव्यात्मक परिणति पा लेती है । गुणोपसंहारन्याय से दोनों वक्तव्यों को मिलाकर यही आशय स्पष्ट होता है कि रसावेश में स्फुरणात्मक प्रतिभा सक्रिय रहती है और उससे काव्यनिष्पन्न होता है ।

वास्तव में व्युत्पत्ति की दृष्टि से विचार किया जाये तो "प्रतिभा" में प्रति उपसर्ग दीप्त्यर्थक "**भा**" धातु तथा "**भाव**" अथवा "**करण**" में "**क्विप्**"? प्रत्यय—तीनों का योग घटित है । इस प्रकार "प्रतिभा" भावव्युत्पत्तिक तथा करणव्युत्पत्तिक—उभयविध है । भाव-व्युत्पत्तिक की दृष्टि से वह एक क्रियाशक्ति है—प्रतिभानं प्रतिभा । करण व्युत्पत्ति से प्रतिभा वह माध्यम है—वह शक्ति है जिसके बल पर प्रतिभान होता है । अभिनव ने "शक्तिः प्रतिभानं"[३५] भी कहा है—सम्भवतः यह औपचारिक प्रयोग है । वास्तव में इन दोनों में भावव्युत्पत्तिक "प्रतिभा" ही सठीक बैठती है । हां, विश्रान्त दशा में वह माध्यम है और जाग्रत दशा में स्फुरणा: (A flash of light revealative) मम्मट जब "शक्तिः कवित्वबीजभूतसंस्कार विशेष"[३६] कहते हैं तब वे "स्वात्मायतनविश्रान्तप्रतिभा" की ही बात करते हैं और जो लोग उसे

३५. ध्वन्यालोकलोचन, पृ० ८१

३६. वही, पृ० ३१७

"काव्य घटनानुकूलशब्दार्थोपस्थिति"[३७] रूप मानते हैं वे जाग्रत क्रिया शक्ति के रूप में ही स्वीकार करते हैं। अभिनव में दोनों रूपों का सङ्केत मिलता है।

यह "प्रतिभा" आर्ष भी होती है और कदाचित् अनार्ष भी। हो चाहे जो, पर जाति एक ही है। शैवी धारा में इसका प्रयोग "पराशक्ति" के रूप में मिलता है—अन्यत्र सहज ज्ञान के रूप में। आगमों में त्रिपुरा शक्ति रूप में भी उसकी चर्चा मिलती है। उत्तररामचरित में ब्रह्मा से आदिकवि वाल्मीकि के लिए कहलवाया गया है—"आव्याहृतज्योतिरार्ष ते चक्षुः प्रतिभाति। आद्यकविरसि[३८]"। उत्तररामचरित के टीकाकार वीरराघव ने इस आर्षचक्षु या आर्षप्रतिभा की व्याख्या करते हुए कहा है—"आर्षम् ऋषिसम्बन्धि योगजन्यज्ञानं चक्षुः नेत्रं ज्ञानमिति फलितोऽर्थः[३९]।"

आर्षचक्षु का अर्थ हुआ—ऋषि का ज्ञान—विशेषकर जो योग से प्राप्त हुआ हो। वैसे ऋषि शब्द जिस दृश् धातु से निष्पन्न है—वह स्वयं गत्यर्थक है—और गत्यर्थक धातुएँ बुद्ध्यर्थक होती हैं, अतः ऋषि शब्द का अर्थ है—अतीत, अनागत तथा वर्तमान—सभी काल की वस्तुओं का ज्ञान रखने वाला—साक्षात्कार करने वाला व्यक्ति। पातञ्जल दर्शन के "विभूतिपाद" नामक तीसरे अध्याय में कहा है—"ततः प्रतिभाश्रवणवेदनादर्शास्वादवार्ता स्वादवार्ता जायन्ते[४०]।" इस प्रतिभा ज्ञान की व्याख्या करते हुए नागेश भट्ट ने कहा है कि—दृष्टकारणं विनैव अकस्माद् व्यवहितविप्रकृष्टातीतानागतसूक्ष्मार्थेषु यथार्थज्ञानसामर्थ्यं प्रतिभा[४१]"—अर्थात् प्रतिभा वह पुरुष प्रज्ञा है जिससे योगीजन दृष्ट कारणों के बिना ही अकस्मात् व्यवहित, विप्रकृष्ट अतीत, अनागत तथा सूक्ष्म अर्थों का साक्षात्कार कर लेता है। राजशेखर ने अपनी "काव्यमीमांसा" में भी प्रतिभा (कवि) के इसी रूप की पुष्टि की है और सोदाहरण बताया है कि किस प्रकार कवि प्रतिभा अदृष्ट देश और काल का वर्णन सही सही कर डालती है। राजशेखर के कहने से लगता है कि आर्ष और अनार्ष—उभयविध प्रतिभा का कार्य एक ही है—पर ऋषि योग शक्ति से प्राप्त करता है और कवि विसर्जन की प्रक्रिया से। ऋषि प्रतिभा ही है और कवि पराशक्ति प्रतिभा का यंत्र। "योगकालतंत्र" में प्रतिभा को प्रज्ञा कहा गया है। व्याकरण दर्शन में—जो शैवी और ब्राह्मी धारा का संगम है—"पश्यंती" रूप "प्रतिभा" मानी गई है। आगमों में कहीं कहीं यह "संवेद्" रूप भी कहा गया है। बौद्ध केवल प्रज्ञा से ही परिचित हैं। जैनधारा अवधि ज्ञान और केवल ज्ञान के रूप में आर्ष ज्ञान की विवेचना करती है। न्याय, वैशेषिक और वेदांत प्रतिभा को आर्षज्ञान का पर्याय मानते हैं। इस प्रकार आर्षज्ञान के अर्थ में प्रतिभा का सर्वत्र उल्लेख मिलता है—पर शैवी धारा उसे पराशक्ति के रूप में ही ग्रहण करती है। प्रजापति

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३७. काव्यप्रकाश, पृ० ११ (पूना संस्करण–वामनी) पृ० ९

३८. रसगंगाधर, निर्णयसागर, बंबई, १९४७, पृ० —

३९. उत्तररामचरित

४०. वही—टीका

४१. पातंजलयोगदर्शन ३।३६

और कवि—उभयत्र वह "विश्रांत" और "क्रियाशील"—दोनों स्थितियों में ही है। कारिका में अभिनव उसे "विश्रांत" कहते हैं और "अभिनवभारती" की वृत्ति में "सततोदित वाग्देवता" कहते हैं। अवश्य ही दोनों में वे संगति देखते होंगे।

धनिक ने दशरूपक की "अवलोक" नामक टीका में अनार्ष प्रतिभा सम्पन्न कवियों को सम्भवतः दृष्टिगत कहा है—"न हि कवयो योगिन इव ध्यानचक्षुषा ध्यात्वा प्रातिस्विकीं रामादीनामवस्थामितिहासवदुपनिबध्नन्ति किं तर्हि सर्वलोकसाधारणीः स्वोत्प्रेक्षाकृतसन्निधिः धीरोदात्ताद्यवस्थाः क्वचिदाश्रयमात्रदायिनीर्विदधति"[४२]।—अर्थात् जिनमें आर्ष प्रतिभा नहीं है—ऐसे कवियों में अनार्ष प्रतिभा है। ये कवि योगी नहीं है कि ध्यानचक्षु से रामादि की व्यक्तिगत चेष्टाओं का साक्षात्कार कर इतिहासकार की भांति उसे यथातथ रूप में प्रस्तुत करते हैं—विपरीत इसके अपनी उत्प्रेक्षा शक्ति या अनार्ष प्रतिभा से सर्वजनसंवेद्य धीरोदात्त आदि पात्रों की अवस्थाओं को भावनापटल पर ले आते हैं और किसी पात्र से उसे एक रूप कर देते हैं। आस्वाद की प्रक्रिया में ये पात्र अपना विशेष रूप खो देते हैं और आस्वाद में साधन बन जाते हैं। सवाल यह खड़ा किया गया है कि न तो कवि ने ऐतिहासिक पात्र को इतिहास लेखक की तरह रखा है और न ही आस्वाद की ओर से उस रूप में उसकी उपयोगिता है—तो उसे ऐतिहासिक नाम देने की आवश्यकता ही क्या है? यदि सर्जन और ग्रहण—दोनों ओर से पात्र की वास्तविकता अनुपयोगी और अपारमार्थिक है तो उसका वर्णन में उपादान क्यों किया जाता है? दशरूपककार धनञ्जय का पक्ष है कि खेल में जैसे बालक अपारमार्थिक मिट्टी के बने हाथी-घोड़ों से खेलता हुआ उत्साह का आस्वाद करता है वैसे ही अर्जुनादि पात्रों को अपारमार्थिक मानता हुआ भी ग्राहक सहृदय भावों का सही आस्वाद करता है। अभिनवगुप्त ने भी "अभिनवभारती" में "भावकस्य (दुष्यंतस्य) अपारमार्थिकत्वात्[४३]"—कह कर निर्विशेष "भीत" से "भय" के आस्वाद को ही परमार्थतः नाट्य माना है।

इस प्रकार आर्ष और अनार्ष प्रतिभा का अन्तर भी बताया जाता है। आर्ष प्रतिभा में वर्ण्य प्रत्यक्ष दृष्ट होता है और अनार्ष में प्रत्यक्षायमाण होता है। इस तरह स्वरूपतः अंतर होने पर भी काव्य सृष्टि के लिये जब "प्रतिभा" सक्रिय होती है तब लगता है कि सामग्री स्वविषयक व्युत्पत्ति के निमित्त यथावत् रूप में उपात्त नहीं होती है—वहां "आस्वाद मुख्य होता है—सामग्री उसके लिये जहां तक अनुगुण होती है—वहीं तक इतिहास से लेकर कांटी-छांटी और तराशी जाती है अथवा रसावेश में सक्रिय प्रतिभा अनुगुण सामग्री स्वतः स्फुटित होती जाती है—वहां सामग्री पारमार्थिक हो या न हो—रसानुगुण अवश्य हो। इस प्रकार आर्ष प्रतिभा की आस्वाद-परतंत्र अभिव्यक्ति और स्वतंत्र अभिव्यक्ति में अंतर है। यहां संदर्भ काव्यसृष्टि का है और तदर्थ अपेक्षित प्रतिभा के कार्य का है। अभ्यास और साधना की प्रगाढता से कवि की समाधि जब लग जाती है तब ऐसा स्वानुभव सिद्ध है कि लेखक आविष्ट

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४२. नागेशकृत टीका—पा० यो० दर्शन, पृ० १५८

४३. दशरूपक–अवलोकसमेत, निर्णयसागर, १९४१, पृ०—९७

है और आवेश में वह पराधीन सा अनुभव करता है—सृष्टि अज्ञातभाव से होती चलती है—चाहे आर्ष हो या अनार्ष—उभयत्र अहं का विसर्जन महत् सृष्टि के लिये सर्ववादिसम्मत है। निश्चय ही यह प्रतिभा शक्ति अ-व्यक्तिगत है।

उक्त विवेचन के आलोक में स्पष्ट है कि प्रतिभा दो कार्य करती है—पहला तो यह कि वह व्यवहित और विप्रकृष्ट—परोक्ष वस्तुओं का अपरोक्षीकरण (दर्शन) करती है। और दूसरा यह कि वह रसावेश में साक्षात्कृत वस्तुओं या सामग्री में लोकोत्तरत्व का आधान करती है। इसी लोकोत्तरता को नव-नवता, अपूर्वता, विलक्षणता, आतिशय्य—आदि नामों से पुकारा जाता है। यह है—प्रतिभा का "दृष्टि" (दर्शना) पक्ष। प्रतिभा "दर्शन" ही नहीं करती है—जिस "सत्य" का साक्षात्कार करती है—स्थूल स्तर पर उसमें निहित सम्भावनाओं के अनुरूप वह रचती भी है। यह रचना उसका निर्माण-पक्ष है—सृष्टिपक्ष है। अभिनव की विवेचनाओं में इसके भी संकेत हैं कि वह परोक्ष का अपरोक्षीकरण किस कोटि की करती है और अपरोक्षीकृत सामग्री लोकोत्तरता का स्वभाव बना होता है।

जहां तक अनागत या अतीत के अपरोक्षीकरण का सम्बन्ध है—भट्टतौत ने स्पष्ट कहा है कि सर्जक प्रतिभा में अतीत और अनागत वर्तमान बन जाते हैं

कालौ भूतभविष्यन्तौ वर्तमानमवीविशत्।"

उनको लगता है जैसे सब कुछ सामने घटित हो रहा हो—अतीत और अनागत व्यवधायक रेखाओं को तोड़कर वर्तमान से घुलमिल कर एकरस हो जाते हैं। इधर दृश्य वर्तमान हो जाता है—उधर द्रष्टा-हृदय-व्यक्तिहृदय की सीमा लांघ कर समष्टि के साथ तादात्म्यापन्न हो जाता है—व्यक्ति हृदयलोक हृदय में निमग्न हो जाता है—यही कवि की उत्प्रेक्षा-शक्ति है, जिससे वह सर्वलोक साधारण—सहृदयमात्र सम्बन्ध काव्योचित सुन्दर सत्य का साक्षात्कार करता है। इस "दर्शन" में उपादान सामग्री लोकानुभूत ही रहती है—पर उसका संयोजन या सन्निवेश लोकोत्तर प्रभावकारी होता है।

बात यह है कि विश्व में इंद्रियगोचर स्थूल विषय ही नहीं हैं—अतीन्द्रियगम्य सूक्ष्म विषय भी हैं, जिनमे से कुछ की प्रतीति वैज्ञानिक उपकरणों से है और सबकी मानसिक क्रिया विशेष से। मन की अद्‌भुत महिमा है, वह सत्-असत्—सबका साक्षात्कार ही नहीं, सृष्टि भी कर सकता है और करता भी है। सृष्टि के सारे पदार्थ महामन से ही तो निकले हैं और आगे भी नये पदार्थ उससे निकल सकते हैं, पर मानव द्वारा सृष्ट पदार्थों के उपादान उसी महामन की अभिरुचि से निर्मित सृष्टि के होते हैं। वह उन्हीं उपादानों से नई नई सृष्टि कर सकता है—पर वह चाहे कि नया उपादान ही निर्मित कर ले—सर्वथा मौलिक सृष्टि कर ले, यह सम्भव नहीं है। आपाततः मनःसृष्ट संसार चाहे जितना असंगत और विलक्षण लगे—पर बोध अन्ततः

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४४. अभिनवभारती (वाराणसी) पृ० ६५३

सुसंगत और सलक्षण ही होना चाहिये—अन्यथा अभिनवगुप्त उसे अविश्वसनीय कहते हैं—फिर ऐसी सामग्री से विवेक का निर्माण नहीं हो सकता है। विनेय ग्राहक के लिए कवि मनः सृष्ट सामग्री विश्वसनीय और बोधगम्य होनी चाहिये। इन सबके बावजूद मन और बुद्धिसाधन ही हैं—मंत्र ही हैं। उनमें स्वतः चेतना नहीं होती है, प्रकाश नहीं होता है। वे जिसके प्रकाश में अपना कार्य करते हैं—वह वही महाशक्ति है—प्रतिभाभिधान पर वाग्देवता है। उसी के अनुग्रह से विचित्र और अपूर्व पदार्थ स्फुरित होते हैं। आनंदवर्धन ने काव्य की नवता पर विचार करते हुए देश काल तथा व्यक्तिभेद से अनंतता सिद्ध की है—अभिव्यक्ति भंगी से अनंतता की मात्रा वृद्धि सम्भावित की है—पर माना है कि सहृदय मात्र में समान भावोद्बोध क्षमता सम्पन्न हो—सामान्यीकृत हो। दशरूपककार का यह कहना भी सही है कि कवि योगी की भाँति प्रातिस्विक रूप में पात्रों को देखकर उपनिबद्ध नहीं करता है; अपितु रसिक होकर रसात्मक ढंग से, सर्वसाधारणीकृत विशेषताओं से संबलित करके काव्य में प्रस्तुत करता है—इसलिए उनकी नवता का अर्थ नया की तरह—होता है—नया ही नहीं।

> दृष्टपूर्वा अपि ह्यर्थाः काव्ये रसपरिग्रहात्।
> सर्वे नवा इवाभान्ति मधुमास इव द्रुमाः॥[४५]

रसमग्न कवि की प्रतिभा में स्फुटित अर्थ नये की तरह मालूम पड़ते हैं—इसी अर्थ में वे विचित्र हैं—नये हैं। लोकोत्तर का अर्थ भी यही है कि इस "काव्यार्थ" की सृष्टि "व्यवहार" और "शास्त्र" की मनः स्थिति से भिन्न "कुछ और" ही मनः स्थिति में नहा कर बाहर आती है और ग्राहक को भी "कुछ और" ही स्थिति में डुबो देती है—इसलिये लोकोत्तर है। लोक की भांति काव्यार्थ के पास कोई अर्जन-विसर्जन की नीयत से नहीं आता है—अतः लौकिक सुख दुःख का नैयत्य भी अनुभव नहीं करता है—उससे ऊपर कुछ आनंदकर या विश्रान्ति दशा में पहुंचता है। इसलिये कवि की प्रतिभा इस नये से जान पड़ने वाले काव्यार्थ में लोकोत्तरता आहित करती है। कहा ही है—

> प्रस्तुतातिशयविधानमन्तरेण न किञ्चिदत्रापूर्यमस्ति।[४६]

सृष्टिप्रक्रिया में इन लोगों के यहाँ "मायूराण्डरसन्याय" की बात आती है। वही न्याय काव्य की रचनाप्रक्रिया में भी लागू होती है। वहां सृष्टि का अर्थ ही है—अंतः स्थित का बहिः प्रकाश। उसी प्रकार यहां भी कवि की रसमयी अवन्ध्य-वन्ध्याभावशून्य-सर्जनात्मक अनुभूति से ही धीरे धीरे काव्य का स्थूल शब्दार्थमय कलात्मक रूप उभरता है—जीवंत सृष्टि की भांति उसमें आवयविक अखण्डता विद्यमान है। प्रतिभा केवल सर्जनात्मक अनुभूति को अनुरूप सुन्दर

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४५. भट्टतौत (उपरि उद्धृतः)

४६. ध्वन्यालोक, पृ० ५२८

४७. भारतीय साहित्य दर्शन—में उद्धृत, पृ० ५१, वाराणसी १९५१

काध्य सामग्री में मूर्त कर देने को आविष्ट है—कवि का सारा यत्न अनुभूति की अभिव्यक्ति में एकतान रहता है—यही एकतानता समाधि है—इसके सधने से सब सधा रहता है और इसके शिथिल होने से सब शिथिल हो जाता है। इसके शिथिल होने का आशय हैं—यत्न का विभक्त हो जाना। प्रयत्न अभिव्यक्ति के लिए है। अनुभूति के उसी आवेश में कलात्मक उपकरण स्वतः स्फूर्त होते हुए चले जाते हैं। इस प्रकार अभिनवसम्मत काव्य की रचना प्रक्रिया में शतपत्रभेदनन्याय से अपेक्षित सोपान निम्नलिखित क्रम से घटित होते हैं :—

समुचित सामग्री से हृदय संवाद

↓

तन्मयी भवन

↓

(अहं भाव) आस्वाद—विश्रान्त दशा

(प्रकाशस्यात्मविश्रान्तिरहंभावो हि कीर्तितः)

(अहमिदम्भावः चमत्कारात्मा) विमर्शमयी प्रतिभा का उद्रेक

[आनन्दोच्छलिता शक्तिः सृजत्यात्मानमात्मना]

अनिरुद्धेच्छाप्रसार

दर्शना——————————सूक्ष्म भाग का आकलन (दृक् भाव)

क्रिया—सृष्टि

वर्णना——————————समुचित शब्दछन्दोवृत्तमय काव्य की रचना

आगमिक वाङ्मय का अवतरण

रमाशंकर मिश्र

प्राचीन भारतीय वाङ्मय सर्वप्रथम 'निगम' और 'आगम'—दो रूपों में अवतरित होता है। प्राय: 'निगम' का अभिप्राय 'वैदिक वाङ्मय' तथा 'आगम' का अभिप्राय 'तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय' स्वीकार किया जाता है। तान्त्रिक ग्रन्थों से कहीं-कहीं निगम को वेद से अलग वर्णित किया गया है। वहाँ पर भारतीय वाङ्मय का अवतरणक्रम इस प्रकार हैं—निगम से आगम, आगम से यामल, यामल से वेद, वेद से पुराण, पुराण से स्मृति और स्मृति से अन्य शास्त्र।[1] सम्भव है कि वेदों की अपेक्षा तंत्र साहित्य की महत्ता प्रदर्शित करने के लिये ही तंत्रों में उक्त व्यवस्था दी गई हो। स्थूल मान्यता है कि वैदिक वाङ्मय सर्वप्राचीन भारतीय साहित्य है। वास्तविकता यह है कि ब्रह्मा के उच्छ्वास रूप होने के कारण वैदिक वाङ्मय का दिव्यत्व स्पष्ट है, किन्तु भगवान् शिव के मुख से 'आगत' होने के कारण आगमिक वाङ्मय की दिव्यता प्रमाणित होती है—

आगतं शिववक्त्रेभ्यो गतञ्च गिरिजानने।
मतञ्च श्रीवासुदेवस्य तस्मादागम उच्यते ।।[2]

इस स्थिति में निगम और आगम दोनों की आर्षता सिद्ध होने के कारण किसे पूर्ववर्ती या अधिक प्राचीन स्वीकार किया जाय ?—यह समस्या उपस्थित होती है। यदि हम वेदों का सम्बन्ध आर्यों से स्थापित करें तो भी सिन्धु घाटी के उत्खनन से प्राप्त चक्रों, ताबीजों, यंत्रों तथा शिवलिङ्गों से यह तथ्य स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि तन्त्र अधिक प्राचीन हैं। सम्भव है कि उनका साहित्य लुप्त प्राय हो गया हो और पर्याप्त अंतराल के बाद शनैः-शनैः उनका साहित्य पुनः समृद्धि को प्राप्त हुआ हो। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि इस समस्या का समाधान करने के लिए मनुस्मृति के प्रसिद्ध टीकाकार कुल्लूक भट्ट ने यह व्यवस्था दी है कि वेद और तन्त्र—दोनों श्रुति होने से समान महत्त्व के हैं—

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१. सर्वोल्लास तन्त्र, १.२१-२२

२. वही, १.१५

वैदिकी तान्त्रिकी चैव द्विविधा श्रुतिः कीर्तिता ।[3]

वस्तुतः आगम ही यामल, शास्त्र, ज्ञान, तन्त्र, डामर आदि अनेक विधा में विकसित होता हुआ देखा जाता है । 'पिङ्गलामत' के अनुसार छंद के लक्षण से युक्त आगम शास्त्र है—

छन्दोलक्षणसंसिद्धमागम इत्यभिधीयते ।

जबकि 'कुलार्णवतन्त्र' में आचार का ज्ञापन करने वाले, दिव्यगति की प्राप्ति के उपाय का कथन करने वाले तथा आत्मतत्त्व का विमोचन करने वाले को 'आगम' कहा गया है—

आचारकथनाद्दिव्यगतिप्राप्तनिदानतः ।
महात्मतत्त्वकथनादागमः कथितः प्रिये ।।[4]

सम्प्रदाय की दृष्टि से सर्वप्रथम आगमिक वाङ्मय के तीन रूप विकसित हुये—शैवागम, शाक्तागम और वैष्णवागम । बाद में आगमों की अनेक परम्परायें विकसित हुयीं । शक्ति सङ्गम तन्त्र में शैव, शाक्त, गाणपत्य, सौर, वैष्णव, महावीर, पाशुपत, वीर-वैष्णव, वीरशैव, चान्द्र, स्वायम्भुव; ग्यारह प्रकार के शाबर; ग्यारह प्रकार के घोर; माया-कापालिक; वीर; बौद्ध; जैन; दश प्रकार के चीन; सौ प्रकार के बौद्ध; दश प्रकार के पाशुपत और आठ प्रकार के कौल आगमों का उल्लेख किया गया है ।[5] कूर्मपुराण के अनुसार शिव और विष्णु ने कापाल, नाकुल या लाकुल, वाम, भैरव, पूर्व, पश्चिम, पाञ्चरात्र, पाशुपत तथा अन्य अनेक वेदविरुद्ध आगम की रचना की थी । उसी पुराण में एक अन्य स्थान पर शिव का कथन है कि उनके द्वारा वेद-वाद-विरुद्ध अनेक शास्त्रों की रचना की गयी थी, जिनमें वाम, पाशुपत, सोम, लाकुल और भैरव आगम प्रमुख हैं ।[6] यद्यपि पाशुपत को वेद वाह्य कहा गया है, तथापि कूर्मपुराण में पाशुपत व्रत को गुह्य, गुह्यतम तथा वेद का सार बताया गया है—

निर्मितं हि मया पूर्वं व्रतं पाशुपतं शुभम् ।
गुह्यात् गुह्यतमं सूक्ष्मं वेदसारं विमुक्तये ।।[7]

'गन्धर्व तन्त्र' में तन्त्र को त्रिगुणात्मक स्वीकार किया गया है , तामस तन्त्र नरक के हेतु हैं, राजस तन्त्र स्वर्ग के तथा सात्त्विक तन्त्र मोक्ष के साधन हैं । इनके अतिरिक्त अन्य निष्फल हैं ।[8] तन्त्रों के अवतरण के विषय में 'ब्रह्मयामल' में ईश्वर का क़थन है कि सर्वप्रथम पराशक्ति-

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३. शक्ति ऐण्ड शाक्त, पृ० १४४ पर उद्धृत
४. १७.४३
५. शक्तिसङ्गमतन्त्र, ताराखण्ड, १/२४—३२
६. तन्त्रकल्पतरु, पृ० ६६ पर उद्धृत
७. वहीं पर उद्धृत
८. गन्धर्वतन्त्र, १.२८—३०

रूप शिव ने 'इच्छा' धारण की थी। इच्छा से 'विन्दु' शक्तिमान् हुआ। इसी विन्दु से ज्ञान का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ। यह ज्ञान सर्वप्रथम 'सदाशिव' से अवतरित होता है। सदाशिव से यह ज्ञान 'अमृत' को प्राप्त हुआ था और अमृत ने १२५ हजार अनुष्टुप् छन्दों में अन्य अधिकारियों को प्रदान किया था। इसी शृङ्खला में इस ज्ञान को 'श्रीकण्ठ' ने प्राप्त किया था। ईश्वर ने श्रीकण्ठ से इस ज्ञान को प्राप्त कर अपनी देवी को १२५ हजार श्लोकों को सुनाया था। आगे चलकर भैरव ने क्रोध भैरव को उक्त ज्ञान का उपदेश किया था। इसी शृङ्खला में कपाल भैरव ने २४ हजार श्लोकों का संग्रह किया था और कुरुक्षेत्र के एक ब्राह्मण पद्मभैरव को प्रदान किया था। पद्मभैरव ने इन श्लोकों को उड्देश में उत्पन्न 'देवदत्त' को सुनाया था। पद्मभैरव से एक दीर्घ शिष्य परम्परा विकसित हुई थी, जिसमें प्रमुख इस प्रकार हैं—रक्त-भैरव, ज्वाला, हेला, वाम, सीसंस, गजकरण, चण्ड, यज्ञसोम आदि।[९]

तन्त्रों की ऋषि-परम्परा—'जयद्रथ यामल' (प्रथम षट्क) के अन्तिम पटल में मङ्गलाष्टक, चक्राष्टक तथा शिखाष्टक के अन्तर्गत आने वाले तन्त्रों का उल्लेख हुआ है। वहीं पर तन्त्रशास्त्र के आविर्भावक ऋषियों की एक सुदीर्घ परम्परा भी वर्णित है, जिसका उल्लेख इस प्रकार है[१०]—

१. दुर्वासा, सनक, विष्णु, कपिल, काश्यप, कुरु, संवर्त, शङ्खपाल तथा भैरव।
२. भृगु, श्वेतोनिवीश, विश्वामित्र, गौतम, गालव, याज्ञवल्क्य और विभाण्ड।
३. क्रुरचाल, कुन्दन, कंक, केकर, कानन, क्षमी, काटराक्ष, संवर्त और मनाख्य।

तन्त्रों की प्राचीनता— शैवमत के मूल स्रोत को पूर्व वैदिक काल तक ले जाया जा सकता है। इसके बीज सिन्धु घाटी की सभ्यता-काल में खोजे जा सकते हैं। वैदिक साहित्य में रुद्र का तो उल्लेख हुआ ही है। पूर्व वैदिक सम्प्रदाय को 'आदि शिव' से सम्वद्ध माना गया है। यही आदि शिव और वैदिक युगीन रुद्र परवर्ती शैवशास्त्र और शैव सम्प्रदाय के स्रोत के रूप में स्वीकार किये जाते हैं।[११]

तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय की भाषा के आधार पर इस शास्त्र की प्राचीनता ईसा की प्रथम शताब्दी के पूर्व नहीं निर्धारित की जा सकती है, किन्तु उन ग्रन्थों में वर्णित साधना पद्धतियों और प्रयोगों के आधार पर यह कहने में संकोच नहीं होता है कि तान्त्रिक संस्कृति वैदिक संस्कृति से भी प्राचीन हो सकती है। सिन्धु घाटी तथा कालीबंगन के उत्खनन से प्राप्त चक्रों, ताबीजों और शिवलिङ्गों से इस तथ्य की पुष्टि होती है। विद्वानों का विचार है कि तान्त्रिक प्रयोग ईसा से तीन हजार वर्ष पूर्व यहाँ के आदिम वासियों में प्रचलित थे।[१२] आश्चर्य की बात तो

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९. स्टडीज इन दि तन्त्राज, भाग १, पृ० १०३ पर उद्धृत
१०. वही, पृ० ११२
११. पुराणिक एण्ड तान्त्रिक रेलिजन, पृ० ६३
१२. वही, पृ० ६४

यह है कि पाश्चात्य विद्वान् फिलिप रासन (Philip Rawson) के मत में ईसा से २० हज़ार वर्ष पूर्व यूरोप की पुरापाषाणकालीन प्राकृतिक शिला-गुफाओं में ऐसे प्रतीक मिले हैं जो आधुनिक युग के तान्त्रिकों के द्वारा प्रयोग में लाये जाने वाले प्रतीकों के ठीक समान हैं।[13] यह सम्भव है कि वह पुरानी संस्कृति, आर्य संस्कृति से अभिभूत हो गयी हो और वैदिक संस्कृति के प्रभाव से तान्त्रिक संस्कृति के नैरन्तर्य में एक दीर्घ अन्तराल आ गया हो तथा वैदिक वाङ्मय की परिधि समाप्त होते ही शनैः-शनैः यत्र-तत्र विखरे हुए तान्त्रिक संस्कृति के अवशेष पुनः प्रतिष्ठापित होने लगे हों। तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय का विपुल भाण्डार यह पुष्ट करता है कि वैदिक वाङ्मय की तुलना में इसकी महत्ता किसी भी प्रकार कम नहीं है। जहाँ कहीं भी तान्त्रिक साधना के बीज पड़े रहे होंगे, अवकाश पाकर वे ऋषियों की अनुश्रवण-परम्परा से पुनः अस्तित्व में आ गये होंगे।

तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय की रचना का समय जो भी रहा हो अथवा उसकी प्रामाणिकता के विषय में जो भी मत-वैभिन्य रहा हो, किन्तु इतना तो स्पष्ट ही है कि उनमें ऐसे आचार निर्दिष्ट हैं, जो उनकी प्राचीनता की पुष्टि करते हैं।[14] प्रारम्भ में तान्त्रिक प्रयोगों का विकास यहाँ की निम्न जातियों से हुआ था। 'जयद्रथ यामल' के द्वितीय षट्क में एक स्थान पर यह निर्दिष्ट है कि तैलिक और कुम्भकार के गृह में जाकर परमेश्वरी की पूजा की जानी चाहिए—

> तैलिकानां गृहं गत्वा कुम्भकारगृहं तु वा।
> तत्र तत्पतिभिः सार्धं यजेत् परमेश्वरीम्॥[15]

इससे इस तथ्य की पुष्टि होती है कि आर्यों के आगमन के पूर्व अनार्यों में तन्त्र साधना अपने उत्कर्ष पर रही होगी। पशुपति की एक मूर्ति सिन्धु घाटी की सभ्यता का धर्म प्रकाशित करने में महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका रखती है, जिसका विवरण मोहन जोदड़ों और हरप्पा के उत्खनन से प्राप्त होता है। इससे यह सिद्ध होता है कि भारत की मूल संस्कृति अवैदिक या आगमिक है और वैदिक संस्कृति परवर्ती है।[16] प्राचीनकाल से ही आदिम मनुष्यों में षट्कर्म (मारण, मोहन, उच्चाटन, स्तम्भन, विद्वेषण और स्वस्त्ययन), मन्त्र और बीज मन्त्रों का प्रयोग प्रचलित था। शत्रुओं को नष्ट करने के लिए उनकी प्रतिमा बनाकर, उसमें प्राण प्रतिष्ठा करके तान्त्रिक प्रयोग सम्पन्न किये जाते थे। सीमेटिक मनुष्यों में यह प्रचलन था कि शत्रुओं को मारने के लिए उनकी मोम आदि की प्रतिमा बनाकर उसमें नाखून या नुकीले पदार्थ को चुभोया जाता था अथवा उस प्रतिमा को अग्नि में पिघलाया जाता था।[17] आज भी इस प्रकार

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१३. तन्त्र–दि इण्डियन कल्ट आफ इक्सटेसी, पृ० १

१४. तन्त्राज़–स्टडीज आन दियर रेलीजन एण्ड लिटरेचर, पृ ७

१५. स्टडीज़ इन द तन्त्राज़, भाग १, पृ० ११२ पर उद्धृत।

१६. तन्त्राज़ — ए जनरल स्टडी, पृ० ५

१७. तन्त्राज़ — स्टडीज़ आन दियर रेलीजन एण्ड लिटरेचर, पृ० ८

के प्रयोग तन्त्र-जगत् में प्रचलित हैं। प्रेत-बाधा को दूर करने के लिए अँगूठियों को धारण करना प्राचीन परम्परा है। दुष्ट आत्माओं के निवारणार्थ विचित्र ध्वनिपरक बीज मन्त्रों का उच्चारण प्रारम्भिक काल से होता आ रहा है। इसमें सन्देह नहीं है कि तान्त्रिक साधना अनार्यों की सम्पदा थी और यह सम्भव है कि उस वैभव को आर्यों ने उनसे छीनकर तन्त्रशास्त्र के रूप में क्रमबद्ध किया हो।[१८]

तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय की प्रागैतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि—यह कहना सन्दिग्ध है कि प्रागैतिहासिक भारत में तन्त्रों के कुछ अस्तित्व रहे होंगे। जे० एन० चटर्जी तान्त्रिक पूजा के बीज ईसा से तीन हजार वर्ष पूर्व स्वीकार करते हैं,[१९] किन्तु शमा शास्त्री तान्त्रिक पूजा के स्वरूप को ईसा से एक हजार वर्ष पूर्व तक ले जाते हैं। वे इस तथ्य की पुष्टि करते हैं कि ईसा पूर्व छठी और सातवीं शताब्दी में प्राप्त प्राचीन सिक्कों पर बने चिह्नों के विषय में यद्यपि पाश्चात्य विद्वान् मौन हैं, तथपि वे चिह्न तान्त्रिकों के प्रतीकों से भिन्न कुछ नहीं हैं।[२०]

यह सामान्य मान्यता है कि वेद या वेद-निःसृत शास्त्र का ही आर्षत्व है, वेद ही धर्म पर अन्तिम प्रमाण हैं, किन्तु इसे स्वस्थ मान्यता नहीं कहना चाहिए।[२१] इस सन्दर्भ में इतना अवश्य स्पष्ट लगता है कि तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय, वैदिक वाङ्मय से परवर्ती है। जिस प्रकार अपौरुषेयता के कारण वैदिक वाङ्मय का महत्त्व है उसी प्रकार तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय का भी है। शास्त्रों के दैवी अवतरण को किसी एक सीमा और काल में नहीं आबद्ध किया जा सकता है। इस प्रकार तन्त्रों को वेदों के समकालीन मानने में भले ही सन्देह हो, किन्तु इतना तो स्पष्ट ही है कि वेदों के समान तन्त्रों का भी दैवी अवतरण है। दोनों ही श्रौतशास्त्र हैं।[२२]

तन्त्रों का अंकुरण — वैदिक और वेदोत्तर साहित्य—तन्त्रों की वैदिक उत्पत्ति मानने में विद्वान् एकमत नहीं है। वैदिक काल में तन्त्रों का विकास सम्प्रदाय के रूप में भले ही न रहा हो, किन्तु इतना तो स्पष्ट ही है कि वैदिक वाङ्मय में तान्त्रिक साधना-पद्धतियों के बीज अवश्य उपलब्ध हैं।[२३] ऋग्वेद के दशम मण्डल में वर्णित 'देवीसूक्त' तन्त्रों की अधिष्ठात्री देवी की प्राचीनता की ओर संकेत करता है। अथर्ववेद में तांत्रिक आचार के समान आचार पद्धतियों के दर्शन होते हैं। उपनिषद् साहित्य में भी तांत्रिक साधना-पद्धतियों के बीज प्राप्त होते हैं। तांत्रिक जगत् की उत्कृष्ट साधना 'षट्चक्रभेद' का विवेचन प्रश्नोपनिषद् में किया गया है। बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद् में पत्नियों को ले जाते हुए शत्रु को दण्ड देने के लिये जिन मंत्रों का

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१८. वही, पृ० ९
१९. **पुराणिक ऐण्ड तान्त्रिक रेलीजन**, पृ० ६४
२०. तन्त्राज़ — स्टडीज़ आन दियर रेलिजन ऐण्ड लिटरेचर, पृ० १०
२१. तन्त्राज़ — दियर फिलॉसफी ऐण्ड अकल्ट सीक्रेट्स, पृ० १
२२. तन्त्राज़ — ए जनरल स्टडी, पृ० २
२३. वही

विधान है वे तांत्रिक मंत्रों के समान हैं। अथर्ववेद में कात्यायन ऋषि के द्वारा महिषमर्दिनी की पूजा का प्रसङ्ग है। देवी प्रसन्न होकर महिषासुर को मारने के लिये प्रकट होती हैं। दत्तात्रेय, विश्वामित्र, वसिष्ठ, श्रीकृष्ण, नारद, गौतम, कपिल आदि अनेक ऋषि तांत्रिक सिद्धांतों के भी आविर्भावक हैं।[२४]

रूढिगत ऐसा विश्वास है कि अथर्ववेद के सौभाग्य काण्ड से तंत्रों का उद्भव हुआ है। कुछ तांत्रिक ग्रंथ इस मान्यता को अक्षुण्ण बनाये रखे हैं। 'कालीकुलार्णव तंत्र' की प्रारम्भिक पंक्तियों में यह उल्लिखित है कि अब देवी आथर्वण संहिता में कहती हैं।'[२५] रुद्रयामल उत्तर तंत्रों[२६] में देवी को 'अथर्ववेदरूपिणी' तथा 'सर्वमंत्रात्मिकाविद्या वेदविद्याप्रकाशिनी' कहा गया है। भास्कर राय के मत में जिस प्रकार वैदिक वाङ्मय के प्रथम भाग के उत्तरवर्ती श्रौत सूत्र तथा धर्म संहितायें हैं उसी प्रकार वैदिक साहित्य के उपनिषद् भाग के उत्तरवर्ती अवशिष्ट भाग रूप तांत्रिक साहित्य है।[२७] तंत्र विकास, ज्ञान, शुद्धीकरण, जीवन के सुख और पूर्णता तथा मुक्ति के साधन हैं। तथ्य यह है कि तंत्र प्राचीन हों या आधुनिक; उपयोग की दृष्टि से वे अति निर्मल और आचरणीय हैं। कौल तथा रुद्र उपनिषद्, वेद तथा तंत्र में सीधा सम्बंध स्थापित करते हैं। दामोदर पण्डित की 'यंत्र चिंतामणि' का प्रारम्भिक भाग स्तुतिपरक तथा अथर्ववेद का साररूप है।[२८] पाञ्चरात्र सम्प्रदाय अपने को एक अज्ञात वैदिक सम्प्रदाय 'एकायन' शाखा से उद्भूत मानते हैं। तंत्रों में तो यहाँ तक स्वीकार किया गया है कि कुलाचार वेदों का सार तथा वेदात्मक है—

मथित्वा ज्ञानदण्डेन वेदागममहार्णवम्।
सारज्ञेन मया देवि! कुलधर्मसमुद्धृतः॥
एतान्येव कुलस्यापि षडङ्गानि भवन्ति हि।
तस्माद् वेदात्मकं शास्त्रं विद्धि कौलात्मकं प्रिये॥[२९]

एकाक्षरी बीज मंत्र वैदिक साहित्य में भी उपलब्ध होते देखे गये हैं। कीथ के अनुसार ऋङ् मंत्रों के समान तंत्रों के कर्कश और रुक्ष शब्द (फट् आदि) भी प्राचीन हैं। 'तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक'[३०] में एक ऐसे यंत्र का उल्लेख है जो सायण के अनुसार तांत्रिक अभिचार प्रयोग से सम्बद्ध है। इस यंत्र में खट्, फट्, क्ट् आदि ध्वनिपरक शब्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है। 'वाज-

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२४. तन्त्राज–दियर फिलॉसफी ऐण्ड अकल्ट सीक्रेट्स, पृ० ४–५
२५. नित्याषोडशिकार्णव तन्त्र (सेतुबन्ध), पृ० ५
२६. १७.३, १२
२७. वही।
२८. यन्त्रचिन्तामणि, मङ्गलाचरण, पृ० १
२९. कुलार्णवतन्त्र, २.१०, ८५
३०. ४.२७

सनेयी संहिता'[31] में भी फट्, शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है।[32] यज्ञीय प्रयोजन के लिए सोम-रस का पान एक प्रकार का मद्यपान ही था। 'शतपथ ब्राह्मण' में वर्णित 'अतिरात्र यज्ञ' इसी प्रयोजन के लिए सम्पन्न किया जाता था। वैदिक यज्ञों में मनुष्य, अश्व, वृषभ, वृक, अज आदि का आलभन होता था। यज्ञों की समाप्ति पर गोमांस को ग्रहण करने का विधान था।

ऋग्वैदिक काल में असुरों के 'शिश्नदेव' का संदर्भ तांत्रिक लिङ्ग पूजा की प्राचीनता को सिद्ध करता हैं। ऋग्वेद के दशम मण्डल के बहुत से सूक्त रोगमुक्ति, विषहरण तथा प्रेत-निवारण के साधन रूप हैं। 'तैत्तिरीय संहिता' एक ऐसे यज्ञ का विधान करती है जिसके द्वारा मनुष्य को वश में किया जा सकता है।[33] 'तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण' के अनुसार प्रजापति की पुत्री ने सोम का हृदय जीतने के लिए जादू का प्रयोग किया था।[34] अथर्ववेद के तो बहुशः आचार तांत्रिक प्रयोगों से अधिक साम्य रखते हैं।

बौद्ध साहित्य में तन्त्र—बौद्ध आचारपरक पालि साहित्य में बहुत से तांत्रिक प्रयोग मिलते हैं। बुद्ध के 'पञ्चकामगुण दिट्ठ-धम्मनिब्बानपाद' के अनुसार पांच ऐन्द्रिय सुखों की पूर्ण तुष्टि होने पर निर्वाण की प्राप्ति होती है। मज्झिमनिकाय के अनुसार वासनात्मक कार्यों के प्रति ब्राह्मणों और श्रमणों की दृष्टि में कोई दोष नहीं था।[35] वहाँ ऐसा संकेत है कि मनुष्य युवती तपस्विनियों के साथ किस प्रकार का आनंद प्राप्त करते थे। 'कथावत्थु' के अनुसार मैथुन को धर्म माना जाता था।[36] 'चुल्लवग्ग' में ऐसा संदर्भ मिलता है कि भिक्षु कपाल को लेकर भिक्षावृत्ति के लिए भ्रमण करता था तथा श्मशान भूमि में प्राप्त वस्तुओं के अति-रिक्त कुछ नहीं पहनता था। 'मज्झिमनिकाय' के अनुसार बुद्ध अपनी साधना के प्रारम्भिक दिनों में शव की कुछ जली हुई हड्डियों की तकिया बनाकर श्मशान-भूमि में रहते थे।[37] उन दिनों तांत्रिक षट्कर्मों का काफी प्रचलन था। 'ब्रह्मजाल सुत्त' के अनुसार घुटने से रक्त निकाल कर यज्ञ के रूप में देवों को समर्पित किया जाता था।[38] मनुष्यों को भाग्यशाली बनाने वाले यंत्रों का भी प्रयोग उस समय होता था। उस समय श्रमण और ब्राह्मण दोनों घावों

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३१. ७.३

३२. तन्त्राज़—स्टडीज़ आन दियर रेलिजन ऐण्ड लिटरेचर, पृ० १२ पर उद्धृत

३३. २.३.१

३४. २.३.१०

३५. चुल्लधम्म समाधान सुत्त, भाग १, पृ० ३०५

३६. २३.१—२

३७. ५.१.७८

३८. २१

को समाप्त करने तथा शरीर को सुरक्षित रखने के लिए जादू की शिक्षा देकर अपनी आजीविका का निर्वाह करते थे।

जैन साहित्य में तन्त्र—'स्थानाङ्गसूत्र' में महाबीर ने मैथुन से आनंद प्राप्त करने वाले सायवादियों की ओर संकेत किया है।[३९] 'उत्ताराध्ययन सूत्र' में आरोग्यकर यंत्रों का उल्लेख किया गया है। 'सूत्र कृताङ्ग' में ऐसे व्यक्तियों का उल्लेख किया गया है जो किसी को प्रसन्न या दुःखी करने के लिए जादू का प्रयोग करते थे।[४०]

धर्मशास्त्र तथा पुराण साहित्य में तन्त्र—आपस्तम्ब धर्म सूत्र, मनुस्मृति तथा याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति में तंत्रों पर दोषारोपण हुआ है। ब्रह्मसूत्र में पाशुपत तथा बौद्ध सम्प्रदायों का उल्लेख हुआ है।[४१] पतञ्जलि ने योगसूत्र में पूर्ण सिद्धि प्रदान करने वाले मंत्रों की सामर्थ्य का संकेत किया है।[४२] देवी, कालिका, लिङ्ग, मार्कण्डेय पुराण में तांत्रिक पूजा का स्पष्ट संकेत किया गया है। पद्म पुराण[४३] तथा कालिका पुराण[४४] में तांत्रिक षट्कर्मों के विषय में प्रकाश डाला गया है। महाभारत के क्षेपक अंशों में लिङ्ग-पूजा तथा अन्य तांत्रिक देवताओं की पूजा का उल्लेख मिलता है। रामायण में मद्य और मांस के प्रयोग का उल्लेख मिलता है—

सुराघटसहस्रेण मांसभूतौदनेन च।[४५]

रामायण के बालकाण्ड में अश्वमेध के समय अश्व के अतिरिक्त अन्य बहुत से पशुओं के आलभन का वर्णन किया गया है—

नियुक्तास्तत्रपशवस्तत्तुद्दिश्य दैवतम्।
उरगाः पक्षिणश्चैव यथाशास्त्रं प्रचोदिताः॥[४६]

वहीं पर राजा दशरथ के उत्तम अश्वरत्न के मांस को शास्त्रीय विधि से पकाकर पुनः अन्य अङ्गों के साथ ऋत्विजों के द्वारा अग्नि में आहुति दिये जाने का वर्णन प्राप्त होता है।[४७]

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३९. ४.४
४०. २.२
४१. २.२.३०, ३१, ३२ तथा ३७
४२. ४.१
४३. स्वर्ग खण्ड, अध्याय २७
४४. अध्याय ५४
४५. अयोध्या काण्ड, ५२.८९
४६. बालकाण्ड, १४.२८
४७. वही, १४.३६—३८

इसी प्रकार युद्धकाल में मेघनाद के द्वारा अग्नि को रक्त की होम किये जाने का उल्लेख हुआ है।[४८]

लौकिक संस्कृत साहित्य—कौटिल्य के 'अर्थशास्त्र' में प्राणियों की मूर्च्छा के लिए यंत्रों और जादू का वर्णन किया गया है।[४९] 'ललितविस्तर' में बुद्ध के समय के तांत्रिक प्रयोगों पर प्रकाश डाला गया है।[५०] वहाँ पर धार्मिक प्रयोजनों के लिए मद्य और मांस के ग्रहण का उल्लेख हुआ है। वहीं पर कपाल और खट्वाङ्ग-ग्रहण का भी संकेत मिलता है। मातृ देवी, कात्यायनी देवी तथा अन्य देवताओं की पूजा श्मशान भूमि में किये जाने का विवरण वहाँ प्राप्त होता है। 'बुद्धचरित' में मार की सहयोगिनी महाकाली का वर्णन किया गया है जो अपने हाथ में कपाल-थाल लेकर बोधिसत्व को अनेक मनोहर चेष्ठाओं के द्वारा लालायित करती है।[५१]

उक्त विवेचन से स्पष्ट है कि तंत्रवट के बीज प्रागैतिहासिक काल से लेकर वैदिक काल तथा लौकिक संस्कृत वाङ्मय तक उत्तरोत्तर अंकुरित-विकसित होते रहे हैं। यद्यपि तांत्रिक वाङ्मय का अधिकांश भाग लुप्तप्राय हो चुका है, तथापि सम्प्रति प्राप्त इसका विपुल भाण्डार तंत्र के जिज्ञासुओं के लिए कल्पवृक्ष के समान है।

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४८. युद्धकाण्ड, ८२.२६—२७

४९. १४.३

५०. अध्याय १७

५१. १३.३९

ŚRĪMŪLAM COMMENTARY ON *ARTHAŚĀSTRA*

N P. UNNI

Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri (1860-1926) has given for the first time a complete commentary of *Arthaśāstra* in Sanskrit pressing into service his rich experience as the renowned editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. He has given to his commentary the significant name '*Śrīmūlam*'—the source of prosperity—after the name of his patron Śrīmūlam Tirunāl Mahārājā of Travancore (1885-1924) to whom the work is dedicated.

NEED FOR A NEW COMMENTARY

In his introduction to the three-part edition of *Arthaśāstra* he has justified his attempt in bringing out a new edition and writing a new commentary. The limitation of Shama Sastri's edition based on a single manuscript is too well known. The experience as Curator helped Ganapati Sastri to unearth five manuscripts of the work from the different parts of Kerala though he used only four of them since the fifth was decayed and beyond use. Copies of three incomplete commentaries on the text, *Pratipadapañcikā* of Bhaṭṭasvāmi, *Nayacandrikā* of Mādhavayajvan and an anonymous Malayalam commentary were also procured. With this nearly sufficient material he embarked on the stupendous project of editing and preparing a commentary on Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*. It was a Herculean task considering the Śāstraic nature of the work and it was easily the finest editorial attempt in the career of Ganapati Sastri who established his reputation by the discovery and publication of the Bhāsa plays.

By the time the author had gained rich experience and the publication was one of the last efforts of the great scholar. The first two parts appeared in 1942 and the third and last part was published in 1925.[1] In the very next year Ganapati Sastri breathed his last in April 1926.

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1. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya with the commentary of *Śrīmūla* of MM. T. Ganapati Sastri, Part I, Trivandrum, 1924; Part II, Trivandrum, 1924; Part III, Trivandrum, 1925.

ŚRĪMŪLAM COMMENTARY

The *Śrīmūlam* commentary mostly owes its material to three early commentaries. As admitted by Ganapati Sastri, fragments of ancient commentaries—that of *Pratipadapañcikā* of Bhaṭṭasvāmi, *Nayacandrikā* of Mādhavayajvan and an old Malayalam commentary—were obtained by him. Since no ancient commentary was available fit enough to be published, he thought of writing his own gloss. He was conscious of the importance of traditional commentaries in understanding a text of this nature. He admits that owing to its technical nature, the meaning can be grasped only with the help of traditional instructions and that "in the absence of these materials our ignorance in regard to many topics would be perpetual".

Arthaśāstra consists of 15 *Adhikaraṇa*-s and 150 *Adhyāya*-s. The three commentaries mentioned above and procured by him supplied him with the material for almost 12 *Adhikaraṇa*-s and 139 *Adhyāya*-s. In other words, he was left on his own for 3 *Adhikaraṇa*-s and 11 *Adhyāya*-s. While the ancient Malayalam commentary provided him with the material for the first seven *Adhikarana*-s consisting of 116 *Adhyāya*-s, *Nayacandrikā* of Mādhavayajvan supplied him the basis for almost 6 *Adhikaraṇa*-s from the 7th *Adhyāya* in the 7th *Adhikaraṇa* upto the 4th *Adhyāya* of the 12th *Adhikaraṇa*. Thus the second commentary was available to him for 37 *Adhyāya*-s, from 103 to 139, out of a total of 150 *Adhyāya*-s. Bhaṭṭasvami's commentary for the last 29 chapters of the second *Adhikaraṇa* helped him to have a comparative assessment of the Malayalam commentary and the Sanskrit commentary. This was the material on which Ganapati Sastri built up the monumental structure of *Śrīmūlam* commentary. The experience that he gained in editing almost 90 per cent of the work stood him in good stead to complete the task by composing commentary on the last 11 chapters of the book without the help of any traditional material. He considered that it was his good fortune to procure these early commentaries. Todate we have not come across any ancient commentary dealing with the last three *Adhikaraṇa*-s and as such Ganapati Sastri's gloss remains the only material to help the students of *Arthaśāstra*.

Obviously Ganapati Sastri did not have a high opinion about the Mysore edition of the work published by Shama Sastri for the first time.[2] He found that "it abounded with errors, such as, the word of a previous sentence joined to a subsequent sentence and vice versa". Further he observes that the English translation of Shama Sastri[3] misrepresents the facts

2. *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, ed. R. Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1909.
3. *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, translated into English by Dr. R. Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1915.

here and there. That too prompted him to think on the lines of composing a new commentary since the purification of the text alone will not suffice. Towards the end of the introduction, he has hinted that "a scholarly friend, who has given many years to the study of *Arthaśāstra*" will provide a new English translation on the basis of his edition. But this hope remains unfulfilled.

INFLUENCE OF BHAṬṬASVĀMI

It has already been noted that Bhaṭṭasvāmi's commenrary has been thoroughly made use of by the *Śrimūlam* commentator. A close study of the two reveals that Ganapati Sastri has quoted 37 stanzas from the commentary of Bhaṭṭasvāmi including the two stanzas quoted by the latter from *Bārhaspatya*. In addition to these Bhaṭṭasvāmi's explanations are also quoted at times in the *Śrimūlam* commentary, as for instance on I. 239, he quotes:

तच्च विविधं, मनुष्यप्रवर्तितं बलीवर्दप्रवर्तितं सलिलप्रवर्तितं चेति भट्टस्वामी ।

INDEBTEDNESS TO THE MALAYALAM COMMENTARY

The indebtedness of the *Śrīmūlam* commentary to the ancient Malayalam commentary has been admitted by Ganapati Sastri in his introduction. But in the course of his commentary it is not adequately mentioned as it really deserves. We occasionally come across some reference to the *Bhāṣāṭikā* as in I. 225. Otherwise the editor is silent even when he quotes stanzas from the Malayalam commentary. In the 7 *Adhikaraṇa*-s of the Malayalam commentary referred to by him as *Bhāṣāṭikā* 22 stanzas are found quoted or composed by the author. Of these only two are definitely known to be quotations from *Bhaṭṭasvāmi's* commentary as in I. 248. All the other 20 stanzas are either composed by the Malayalam commentator or quoted by him from anonymous sources. Ganapati Sastri has quoted all these 22 stanzas without mentioning the *Bhāṣāṭikā*.[4]

This shows that almost all stanzas quoted by the *Śrimūlam* commentator in the first and second parts of the commentary are either from Bhaṭṭasvāmi or from the anonymous Malayalam commentator. Further he owes much to the Malayalam commentary for giving details which are otherwise

4. *The Kauṭalīya* with a Malayalam commentary, Pt. I (Ist *Adhikaraṇa*), ed. Sambasiva Sastri. Trivandrum, 1930; Pt. II (2nd *Adhikaraṇa*), ed. K. Sambasiva Sastri, Trivandrum, 1933; Pt. III (3rd *Adhikaraṇa*), ed. V. A. Ramasvami Sastri, Trivandrum, 1945; *Bhāṣākauṭalīyam* (4-7 *Adhikaraṇa*-s), ed. K. N. Ezhuthaccan, Madras, 1960.

unknown. The following is an instance. In the II *Adhikaraṇa* called *Adhyakṣapracāra*, Kauṭalya gives the source of the pearls as follows: ताम्रपर्णिकं, पाण्ड्यकवाटं, पाशिक्यं, कौलेयं, चौर्णेयं, माहेन्द्रं, कार्दमिकं, स्रौतसीयं, ह्रादीयं, हैमवंतं च मौक्तिकम् ।

The *Śrīmūlam* commentator is able to give a detailed account as follows:[5] ताम्रपर्णिकं, ताम्रपर्णी नाम पाण्ड्येषु प्रसिद्धा नदी, तस्याः समुद्रसङ्गमप्रदेशे समुत्पन्नम्, पाण्ड्यकवाटं मलयकोटिपर्वतोत्पन्नम्; पाशिक्यं पाटलिपुत्रान्तिकगतायां पाशिकाख्यायां नद्यामुत्पन्नम्; कौलेयं सिंहलद्वीपे कुला नाम नदी तस्यामुत्पन्नम्; चौर्णेयं केरलेषु मुरचिनामकपत्तनसमीपे चूर्णी-नाम नदी तस्यामुत्पन्नम्; माहेन्द्रं महेन्द्रपर्वताभ्यर्णाम्भोधिसम्भवम्; कार्दमिकं कर्दमा नाम पारसीकेषु नदी तस्यामुत्पन्नम्; स्रौतसीयं बर्बरकूले स्रोतसी नाम नदी तस्यामुत्पन्नम्; ह्रादीयं बर्बरकूले समुद्रैकदेशे श्रीघण्टो नाम ह्रदः तस्मिन्नुत्पन्नम्; हेमवतं च हिमालयसम्भवं च भवति । इत्थं मौक्तिकस्योत्पत्तिक्षेत्राणि दश भवन्ति ।

This is only a faithful translation of the original Malayalam passage.

Shama Sastri who did not have the benefit of consulting the Malayalam commentary translates Mahendra and Haimavata as obtaining from the respective mountain regions whereas Ganapati Sastri, following the ancient Malayalam commentator, established that these varieties are obtained from the rivers flowing near the respective mountain regions. Shama Sastri's translation of the above passage is rather vague.[6]

Further the Malayalam commentary has helped Ganapati Sastri to explain many of the stories alluded to in the *Sūtra*-s of Kauṭalya. For instance, towards the end of the *Samayācārika* in the fifth *Adhikaraṇa* called *Yogavṛtta* many such stories are hinted at. All of them are explained in detail for the first time by the Malayalam commentator though he does not reveal the source of his information. Ganapati Sastri has either translated or adapted such stories on such occasions. An instance may be noted here. In explaining the passage: रथाश्वं प्राशंसीदिति पिशुनः : the *Śrīmūlam* commentary states:[7]

इयमिह कथा—पिशुनो नामाचार्य उज्जयिन्यां प्रद्योतस्य पुत्रं पालकं नीतिविद्यामध्यापयामास्त्रभूव । अथ समाप्तेऽध्यापने राजा पिशुनस्य धनमपहर्तुममन्त्रयत स्वपुत्रसन्निधौ । तच्छ्रुत्वा पुत्र आचार्यद्रोहं परिजिहीर्षुः स्यन्दनमश्वयुक्तमारुह्याचार्यस्याग्रे स्थित्वा रथाश्वं श्लाघितावान्—अश्वोऽयमेकाह्ना त्रिशतं योजनानि गच्छेदिति । तेनुात्मगमनं चोदितं ज्ञात्वा पिशुनस्ततो गत इति ।

This story is an epitomised version of the Malayalam explanation of the passage. In the original it is said that Pālaka, the prince was taught at a

5. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 79, p. 179.
6. English translation (Shama Sastri), p. 77.
7. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 80, p. 216.

daily fee of one hundred gold pieces. The boy decided to save his teacher with the added reason that he happened to be a Brahmin. These aspects are omitted by Ganapati Sastri in his adaptation. Similarly the stories of Kaniṅka, Cārāyaṇa, Ghoṭamukha, Kiñjalka and Piśunaputra are also explained by the *Śrīmūlam* commentator in details following the original lines of the Malayalam commentator without acknowledging the fact. No other commentator has given such details on these passages.

Similarly in the explanation of certain *Kārikā*-s the *Śrīmūlam* commentary has derived inspiration from the Malayalam original, though the fact is seldom acknowledged. An instance may be noted here:

दृष्टदोषः स्वयंवादः स्वपक्षपरपक्षयोः ।
अनुयोगार्जवं हेतुः शपथश्चार्थसाधकः ॥

This pithy stanza is explained in detail by Ganapati Sastri as follows: *Dṛṣṭadoṣaḥ*: one exhibiting evidence of his guilt, for instance, a man standing in a house on fire holding a torch suggests that he has set the house ablaze. Similarly in a scene of fight the one holding the sword soaked in blood suggests that he has wounded the others from whom fresh blood is oozing. *Svayamvādaḥ*: one who proclaims that he had done the act under dispute. The word *Arthasādhaka* is explained as the truthful statement of the witness to the advocate. For instance, on the way the driver of a cart broke the foot of a man by driving the wheel over it. The injured took him to an officer who asked the driver to explain. The driver being afraid could not speak even a word and the officer thought that the fellow must be dumb. Now the bystanders reported to the officer that they have heard his exhortations asking the people to keep away from his path. This report is prompted by truth and as such helpful to decide the issue. *Hetu* or sufficient reason is explained as the assertion of one that he is a eunuch when confronted with the accusation of being an adulterer. *Śapathaḥ* is explained as a *divyakriyā*—a divine act to prove innocence.

The above explanation is almost a word by word translation of the Malayalam commentary. The last portion *tulārohaṇa* is translated by Ganapati Sastri as *divyakriyā* since very often accused persons are weighed in a scale before temples to prove their guilt or innocence as the case may be.

In explaining the technical term also the Malayalam commentary has become the basis of *Śrīmūlam* on many occasions. For instance *Rājavarṣa* is explained as regnal year of the king. The Malayalam commentary gives an

illustration mentioning the name of king Mahāsena. It states that the record must be written as "in the particular year of king Mahāsena" etc. Ganapati Sastri has omitted the name and has generally given the substance as "in the regnal year of so and so" etc.

In dealing with the *yantra*-s the variety called *Bahumukha* is described as three or four-storeyed structure on wheels so that the archers could climb over it and send the arrows into the fortification. The idea is borrowd from the Malayalam commentary. The Sanskritised version reads: बहुमुखं प्राकारोत्सेधाधिगतश्चक्रसन्निविष्टश्चर्मावृतस्त्रिचतुस्तलो धानुष्काधिष्ठानं च अट्टालको भवति, तत्र स्थित्वा धन्विनो नराः सर्वतः शरान् क्षिपन्ति ।

Similarly other machines like *Sarvatobhadra*, *Jāmadagnya* etc; are closely described following the details supplied by the Malayalam commentator. This kind of dependence for details and real significance can be notieed in the *Śrimūlam* commentary upto the end of the 7th *Adhikaraṇa* for which portion the Malayalam commentary is available at present.

INFLUENCE OF *NAYACANDRIKĀ*

Yet another commentary that became useful to Ganapati Sastri was *Nayacandrikā* of Mādhavayajvan. With its help he could compose his gloss upto the penultimate *Adhyāya* of the 12th *Adhikaraṇa*. Though he has extensively used the commentary, he has expressly mentioned the work only on 11 occasions. On four occasions he quotes passages and mentions the *Nayacandrikā* commentary. The name of the author Mādhava is stated on seven instances in the course of the four *Adhikaraṇa*-s from eight to twelve. All the references occur in the third part of the *Śrimūlam* commentary comprising *Adhikaraṇa*-s eight to fifteen of the *Arthaśāstra*.

These references show that the *Śrīmūlam* commentator has held the early writer as an authority to be reckoned with seriously. In the very first instance he shows his readiness to accept the reading given by Mādhava despite the fact that none of the manuscripts supports it. On other occasions he cites the view of Mādhava to show the difference of opinion since he was using a different reading on the basis of the manuscripts available to him. Some of the citations show that to grasp the correct significance Mādhava's commentary became useful as in the case of the technical term "*Vitaṃsa*" which is explained by Mādhava as a camouflage to deceive the birds.

After the XII *Ahikaraṇa* Ganapati Sastri proceeds on his own depending solely on the experience gained in explaining the previous portion.

A VALUABLE WORK

The importance of this work could never be under-rated. Dr. Franklin Edgerton was all praise for the editor. He observed: "Dr. Ganapati Sastri's edition of the *Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra* with commentary, is decidedly the best edition of that all-important work in existence; the printed text is superior, from the critical scholarly standpoint, to other editions and the commentary is of primary and very great importance for the interpretation of the very difficult text."[8] Prof. M. Winternitz had the good fortune of meeting this doyen among scholars at his desk when he was engaged in this work. He observed: "Ganapati Sastri set to work to write a commentary of his own, making use of the ancient commentaries as far as they were available. .. Hence Ganapati's *Śrīmūla,* as he called his commentary, is an indispensable help for every student of *Arthaśāstra*".[9] It is a pity that this important work remains long out of print denying the opportunity of scholars interested in Indian polity.[10]

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8. A Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Dept. of Publication of Oriental Manuscripts, Trivandrum, 1934, p. 35.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
10. A reprint of the work with a general introduction by the present author is being brought out by the Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi.

व्यायोगरूपक–सिद्धान्त तथा प्रयोग

श्रीमती ज्ञान देवी श्रीवास्तव

वाङ्मय के द्विविध विभाग—शास्त्र तथा काव्य[1] के मध्य जिस प्रकार से सरसता और सुकुमारमतिग्राह्यता के कारण काव्य अधिक आकर्षक और लोकप्रिय है[2] उसी प्रकार उस काव्य के द्विविध विभाग—श्रव्य तथा दृश्यश्रव्य[3] के मध्य दृश्यश्रव्य नामक काव्यविधा चतुर्विध अभिनय और गीतादि के संयोग के कारण न केवल अधिक आकर्षक है अपितु चक्षुग्राह्य होने के कारण श्रव्यकाव्य की तुलना में कहीं अधिक प्रभावोत्पादक भी है।[4] इस चक्षुग्राह्यतारूप विशेषता से युक्त होने के कारण ही यह काव्यविधा आचार्यों द्वारा "रूप" नाम से भी अभिहित की गयी है।[5] नट का धर्म होने के कारण दृश्यकाव्यों की सामान्य आख्या है नाट्य[6] और क्योंकि नट कर्म अथवा धर्म होता है अनुकार्य रामादिक की धीरोदात्तादि अवस्थाओं का अनुकरण, अतः अवस्थानुकरण के रूप में भी यह नाट्य शब्द परिभाषित किया गया है।[7] अवस्थाओं का अनुकरण करता हुआ नट अनुकार्य रामादि की अवस्थाओं को अपने ऊपर आरोपित करता है,

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१. इह हि वाङ्मयमुभयथा शास्त्रं काव्यं च। काव्यमीमांसा, द्वितीय अध्याय।

२. चतुर्वर्गप्राप्तिर्हि वेदशास्त्रेभ्यो नीरसतया दुःखादेव परिणतबुद्धीनामेव जायते। परमानन्द-सन्दोहजनकतया सुखादेव सुकुमारबुद्धीनां पुनः काव्यादेव। सा० द०, प्रथम परिच्छेद, पृ० ३

३. दृश्यश्रव्यत्वभेदेन पुनः काव्यं द्विधा मतम्। सा० द०, ६.१

४. सन्दर्भेषु दशरूपकं श्रेयः। तद्धि चित्रं चित्रपटवद् विशेषसाकल्यात्।

काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति १.३.३०-३१

५. रूपं दृश्यतयोच्यते। दशरूपक, १.७

६. छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनटाञ्ञ्यः १४.३.१२९ छन्दोगानां धर्म आमायो वा छान्दोम्यम्।—————नाट्यम्। सि० कौ०, पृ० ३१९

७. अवस्थानुकृतिर्नाट्यम्"। दशरूपक, १.७

अतः आरोपण-साम्य के कारण इस नाट्य-साहित्य को "रूपक"[८] नाम भी दिया गया है। दृश्य-काव्य के लिए प्रयुक्त ये तीनों ही नाम नाट्यशास्त्रीय ग्रन्थों में पर्याप्त प्रचलित हैं।

यद्यपि नाट्यदर्पणकार ने नाटिका और प्रकरणिका को भी रूपक मानते हुए रूपक के बारह भेद प्रतिपादित किये हैं[९] तथापि अधिकांश आचार्यों को रूपक के दस ही भेद अभिमत हैं। ये हैं—नाटक, प्रकरण, अङ्क, व्यायोग, भाण, समवकार, वीथी, प्रहसन, डिम तथा ईहामृग।[१०] यहाँ यह तथ्य उल्लेखनीय है कि इनमें से पांच—अङ्क, व्यायोग, भाण, प्रहसन तथा वीथी—शास्त्रीय दृष्टि से एकाङ्की है।

रूपकों के उपर्युक्त भेदों के प्रसङ्ग में भरतमुनि स्पष्ट शब्दों में यह प्रतिपादित करते हैं कि उक्त भेदों में से केवल नाटक और प्रकरण सभी वृत्तियों से युक्त होंगे, शेष आठ रूपक कैशिकी वृत्तिहीन होंगे।[११] यहां यह शङ्का उठायी जा सकती है कि कैशिकी वृत्ति शृङ्गार से सम्बद्ध वृत्ति है[१२] और भरतमुनि स्वयं समवकार नामक रूपक भेद में त्रिविध शृङ्गार का विधान करते हैं[१३], तो समवकार कैशिकी वृत्ति से रहित कैसे हो सकता है? नाट्यशास्त्र के व्याख्याता अभिनवगुप्त ने उक्त विरोध का समाधान करते हुए यह बताया है कि समवकार के प्रसङ्ग में कैशिकी-हीनता में—"कैशिक्यां हीनता"। समास-विग्रह करते हुए इसका अर्थ करना होगा—"कैशिकी वृत्ति में हीनता" इस प्रकार नर्मादि चार अङ्गों और उसके उपरञ्जक

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८. रूपकं तत्समारोपात्। वही १.७

९. नाट्यदर्पण १.२-४

१०. (क) नाटकं सप्रकरणामङ्को व्यायोग एव च।
भाणः समवकारश्च वीथी प्रहसनं डिमः॥
ईहामृगश्च विज्ञेयाः दशेमे नाट्यलक्षणे। ना० शा० १८.२—३

(ख) नाटकं सप्रकरणं भाणः प्रहसनं डिमः।
व्यायोगसमवकारौ वीथ्यङ्केहामृगा इति॥ दशरूपक १.१८

(ग) सा० द०, ६.३

११. ज्ञेये प्रकरणं चैव तथा नाटकमेव च। सर्ववृत्तिविनिष्पन्नं नानाबन्धसमाश्रयम्॥
वीथीसमवकारश्च तथेहामृगा एव च। उत्सृष्टिकाङ्को व्यायोगो भाणः प्रहसनं डिमः॥
कैशिकीवृत्तिहीनानि रूपाण्येतानि कारयेत्। ना० शा० १८.७—९

१२. (क) कामोपभोगप्रभवोपचारा, तां कैशिकीं वृत्तिमुदाहरन्ति। वही, २०.५३

(ख) कामोपभोगः रतिः ततः प्रभवो यः स शृङ्गारस्तदबहुल उपचारो व्यवहारो यस्यां सा तथोक्ता[१] हासप्रधानता तदेति च सामान्यलक्षणम्।
अभिनवभारती २०.५३

(ग) शृङ्गारे कैशिकी———॥ दशरूपक, २.६२

१३. शृङ्गारः कर्त्तव्यो धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च। ना० शा० १८.७२

नृत्य तथा गीत आदि के अभाव में समवकार में कैशिकी वृत्ति में हीनता आ जाती हैं।[१४] आगे अपने गुरू का मत उद्धृत करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि केवल काम की सत्तामात्र से कैशिकी का सद्भाव अनिवार्य नहीं है, क्योंकि रौद्रप्रकृति वालों में काम तो होता है पर कैशिकी का अभाव होता है (क्योंकि) जो विलासप्रधान रूप हैं वह कैशिकी है, न कि चरित।[१५] अस्तु।

इस प्रकार सभी वृत्तियों और समस्त नाटक-सन्धियों से युक्त तथा नवरसरुचिर नाटक[१६] नामक रूपकभेद निस्सन्देह कवि की सर्वोत्कृष्ट कृति है, जैसा कि "काव्येषु नाटकं रम्यम्" आदि उक्तियों से भी सिद्ध है; किन्तु उक्त विशेषताओं से अन्वित होने के कारण ही यह तथा प्रकरण विशालकाय अतश्च अधिक श्रमसाध्य तथा समयसाध्य हैं। फलस्वरूप इनका आयोजन तभी सम्भव है जब अभिनेता तथा सामाजिक दोनों के पास पर्याप्त समय हो। साथ ही व्यावहारिक जीवन में यह भी देखा जाता है कि सभी सामाजिकों को सभी रस समान रूप से रुचिकर नहीं लगते हैं। अधिकांश को रसराज शृङ्गार प्रिय है तो बाल और बृद्ध सामाजिकों को उससे कोई आनन्दानुभूति नहीं होती है। वे शृङ्गारात्मक तथा कैशिकीवृत्तिबहुल दृश्यों के प्रदर्शन के समय ऊबते देखे जाते हैं। युयुत्सु प्रकृति के मनुष्य तथा बालक युद्धबहुल दृश्यों को देखकर आह्लादित होते हैं तो अन्य बहुत से लोगों के लिए उतनी देर समय-यापन भी कठिन हो जाता है। कुछ सामाजिकों को करुण रस में विशेष आसक्ति होती है, तो अन्य बहुत से सामाजिक करुण दृश्यों को देखना बिल्कुल पसन्द नहीं करते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में रुचि-भेद पर आश्रित अन्य आठ रूपकभेद समय तथा श्रम की बचत की दृष्टि से कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है—यह स्पष्ट है। वीर और शृङ्गार में रुचि रखने वाला सामाजिक वीथी तथा भाण को वरीयता देगा तो हास्य का प्रेमी प्रहसन को, युयुत्सु अपने समय के अनुसार व्यायोग (एकांकी) या तीन अङ्क वाले समवकार अथवा चार अङ्क वाले डिम को तथा करुण रस का अनुरागी करुणप्रधान उत्सृष्टिकाङ्क को वरीयता देगा और अपेक्षाकृत अल्पसमय में नाट्य के "सद्यः परनिर्वृति" रूप परम प्रयोजन को प्राप्त कर लेगा।

व्यायोग के वैशिष्ट्यों से सम्बद्ध विस्तार में प्रवेश करने से पूर्व इसके अर्थ पर विचार कर लेना अपेक्षित प्रतीत होता है। व्यायोग शब्द की निरुक्ति देते हुए दशरूपक के व्याख्याकार आचार्य धनिक ने कहा है कि "व्यायुज्यन्तेऽस्मिन्बहवः पुरुषा इति व्यायोगः।"[१७] धनिक का उक्त

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१४. नन्वेवं शृङ्गारयोगे (कथं) काव्ये कैशिकीहीनता। कैशिक्यां वृत्तौ हीनतेति तत्र समासः तेन नामाद्यङ्गचतुष्कतदुपरञ्जकनृत्यवाद्यभावात् कैशिक्यां हीनतात्र भवति। अभिनवभारती, १८.७५

१५. उपाध्यायास्त्वाहुः न कामसद्भावमात्रादेव कैशिकीसम्भवः, रौद्रप्रकृतीनां तदभावात्। विलासप्रधानं यद्रूपं सा कैशिकी न च चरितम्। ना० शा०, १८.७५

१६. दशरूपक, ३.२५—३४

१७. दशरूपक, ३.६०—६२ वृत्ति

कथन व्यायोग शब्द की निरुक्ति अवश्य है पर व्याख्या नहीं। "व्यायुज्यन्ते" पद से धनिक को क्या अर्थ अभिप्रेत है, यह "व्यायुज्यन्ते" के पर्याय के अभाव में कैसे निर्धारित किया जाये? व्यायोग पद में 'वि' तथा 'आ' उपसर्गपूर्वक घञ् प्रत्ययान्त 'युज्' धातु है। संस्कृत में 'युज्' धातुयें तीन हैं— (१) दिवादिगणी आत्मनेपदी युज् समाधौ (२) चुरादिगणी उभयपदी युज् संयमने तथा (३) रुधादिगणी उभयपदी युजिर् योगे।[१८] युद्धबहुल रूपकभेद के वाचक व्यायोग पद में अन्तिम दो धातुओं के अन्वित होने का प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता है। ऐसी स्थिति में युज् समाधौ धातु ही बचती है जिसे व्यायोग में अन्वित माना जा सकता है। व्यायोग के लक्षण के प्रसङ्ग में भरतमुनि ने यह प्रतिपादित किया था कि व्यायोग में युद्ध, नियुद्ध (बाहुयुद्ध) आघर्षण तथा सङ्घर्ष होता है।[१९] अभिनवगुप्त पादाचार्य ने भरतमुनि की उक्त पंक्ति की व्याख्या करते हुए नियुद्ध के आधार पर ही व्यायोग के व्यायोगत्व की स्थापना की है। उनका कथन है—

ननु कस्मादयं व्यायोग इत्याह युद्धनियुद्धेति व्यायामे (व्यायोगे ?) युद्धप्राये नियुध्यन्ते पुरुषा यत्रेति व्यायोग इत्यर्थः। नियुद्धं बाहुयुद्धं सङ्घर्षः शौर्यविद्याकुलरूपादिकृता स्पर्धा।[२०]

व्यायोग में बहुत से पुरुष युद्ध, नियुद्ध, आधर्षण तथा सङ्घर्ष करते हैं। क्यों? किसी उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति के लिए अथवा समाज में व्याप्त अव्यवस्था को दूर कर व्यवस्था लाने के लिए। अत एव नाट्यदर्पणकार कहते हैं—

विशेषेण आ समन्ताद् युज्यन्ते कार्यार्थं संरभन्तेऽत्रेति व्यायोगः।[२१]

उनकी इस व्याख्या में प्रयुक्त "कार्य" पद का अर्थ "उद्देश्य" है। यह उद्देश्य "व्यवस्था" अथवा "सन्तुलन की स्थिति"=समाधि रूप भी हो सकता है। इस प्रकार उनके अनुसार इसे व्यायोग इसलिये कहते हैं, क्योंकि इसमें कार्यार्थ (उद्देश्यार्थ अथवा व्यवस्थार्थ) अनेक (एकाधिक) पुरुष विशेष रूप से सब प्रकार से प्रयास करते हैं। इतिहास साक्षी है कि कठिन उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति में अथवा समाधि=सन्तुलन की स्थिति=व्यवस्था की स्थापना में युद्ध अनिवार्य रहा है। इसीलिए "युज् समाधौ" से निष्पन्न व्यायोग में भरतमुनि द्वारा युद्धबाहुल्य प्रतिपादित किया गया है और इसीलिए अभिनवगुप्त द्वारा भी युद्धबाहुल्य ही व्यायोगत्व का मूल हेतु स्वीकार किया गया है। लक्ष्यभूत व्यायोगों से भी उक्त विवेचन की ही पुष्टि होती है, क्योंकि जहाँ "सौगन्धिकाहरण", "कल्याणसौगन्धिक" तथा "विनतानन्द" नामक व्यायोगों में भीम और गरुड क्रमशः सौगन्धिक पुष्प—प्राप्ति तथा "अमृतप्राप्ति" रूप कार्यों के लिए युद्ध-नियुद्ध

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१८. सिद्धान्तकौमुदी–धातुसूची

१९. युद्धनियुद्धाधर्षणसङ्घर्षकृतश्च कर्तव्यः॥ ना० शा०, १८.९२

२०. अभि० भा०, १८.९२

२१. नाट्यदर्पण, पृ० २२१

में प्रवृत्त होते हैं, वहीं 'भीमविक्रम', 'भीमपराक्रम' तथा 'नरकासुरविजय' नामक व्यायोगों में भीम और श्रीकृष्ण क्रमशः 'जरासन्ध' तथा 'नरकासुर' द्वारा उत्पादित अव्यवस्था को समाप्त कर व्यवस्था की स्थापना-हेतु युद्ध और बाहुयुद्ध करते हैं। धनिक की उपर्युक्त निरुक्ति से भी यही सिद्ध होता है कि "व्यायोग" में "युज् समाधौ" धातु है, क्योंकि उस निर्वचन से यह तो स्पष्ट है कि धनिक द्वारा प्रयुक्त "व्यायुज्यन्ते" पद कर्तृवाच्य में है और युज्यन्ते रूप कर्तृ-वाच्य में "युज् समाधौ" का ही बनता है, अन्य दो धातुओं का नहीं।

वस्तु, नेता और रस को दश प्रकार के रूपकों का परस्पर भेदक तत्व स्वीकार किया गया है।[२२] व्यायोगों का इतिवृत्त (वस्तु) प्रख्यात होना चाहिये—ऐसा सभी आचार्यों का मत है।[२३] प्रख्यात इतिवृत्त नायक की असम्भाव्य उपलब्धियों में सामाजिक की आस्था बनाये रखने में सहायक होता है। सम्भवतः इसीलिए इतिवृत्त का प्रख्यातत्व विना किसी अपवाद के न केवल समस्त आचार्यों द्वारा प्रतिपादित किया गया है, अपितु समस्त लक्ष्य ग्रन्थों में इसका सम्यक् निर्वाह ही किया गया है। व्यायोग के इतिवृत्त के विषय में भरतमुनि ने यह कहा था कि इसमें एक ही अङ्क होना चाहिए तथा इसमें एक दिन का चरित निबद्ध होना चाहिए।[२४] इससे यह आशय निकलता है कि इसमें समस्त नाट्य-सन्धियाँ नहीं हो सकती हैं। इसमें कौन सी सन्धियाँ न हों—इस सम्बन्ध में वे सर्वथा मौन हैं, पर परवर्ती प्रायः सभी आचार्य व्यायोगों के एकाङ्कीत्व तथा एकाहचरितता की बात तो करते ही हैं[२५], साथ ही वे यह भी प्रति-

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२२. वस्तु नेता रसस्तेषां भेदकः। दशरूपक, १.१

२३. (क) प्रख्यातनायकशरीरः———। ना० शा०, १८.९०

(ख) ख्यातेतिवृत्तो व्यायोगः———। दशरूपक, ३.६०

(ग) व्यायोगस्येतिवृत्तं यत्तत्प्रख्यातमितीरितम्। भावप्रकाशन, पृ० २४८

(घ) ख्यातेतिवृत्तसम्पन्नो———। रसार्णवसुधाकर, पृ० २८७

(ङ) यत्र ख्यातेतिवृत्तं स्यात्। प्रतापरुद्र, पृ० १२८

(च) ख्यातवस्तुः———। ना० द०, २.७५

(छ) ख्यातेतिवृत्तः व्यायोगः———। सा० द०, ६.२३

२४. ———स्त्वेकाहकृतस्तथा चैवं॥ ९०

———कार्यस्त्वेकाङ्क एवायम्॥ ना० शा०, १८.९१

२५. (क) एकाहचरितैकाङ्की———। दशरूपक, ३.६२

(ख) एकाहचरितैकाङ्को———। ना० द०, २.७४

(ग) रसार्णवसुधाकर, पृ० २८७

(घ) प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण, पृ० १२८

(ङ) सा० द०, ६.२३२

पादित करते हैं कि व्यायोग में गर्भ तथा विमर्श सन्धियाँ नहीं होती हैं।[26] यहां यह तथ्य उल्लेखनीय है कि सागरनन्दी तो व्यायोग में मुख और निर्वहण केवल दो ही सन्धि स्वीकार करते हैं,[27] परन्तु लक्ष्य ग्रन्थों में उनकी इस धारणा का निर्वाह दृष्टिगोचर नहीं होता है। वस्तुतः उनकी यह धारणा तर्कसङ्गत भी नहीं है, क्योंकि व्यायोग के नायक का लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति न होने पर त्वरापूर्ण व्यापार (यत्न नामक कार्यावस्था)[28] प्रतिमुख सन्धि के अभाव में किस सन्धि से सम्बद्ध माना जाये ? सागरनन्दी द्वारा उल्लिखित किसी भी सन्धि से उसे सम्बद्ध नहीं मान सकते हैं, क्योंकि मुख सन्धि का सम्बन्ध आरम्भ नामक कार्यावस्था से है, जो औत्सुक्य मात्र में पर्यवसित हो जाती है[29], तथा निर्वहण का सम्बन्ध फलागम नामक कार्यावस्था से है जो समग्रफलप्राप्तिरूपा[30] है। प्रस्तुत प्रसङ्ग में एक और भ्रान्ति का निराकरण आवश्यक है। दशरूपककार ने सन्धियों का निर्माण क्रमशः एक एक अर्थप्रकृति तथा एक एक अवस्था के संयोग से माना है[31]; अतः उनके अनुयायी गर्भ तथा विमर्श सन्धियों से रहित व्यायोगों में न केवल प्राप्त्याशा तथा नियताप्ति नामक अवस्थाओं का अभाव स्वीकार करेंगे, अपितु दशरूपककार को अभिमत गर्भ सन्धि के घटक पताका तथा अवमर्श सन्धि के घटक प्रकरी नामक अर्थप्रकृतियों का भी अभाव स्वीकार करेंगे। पर ऐसी धारणा भ्रान्तिपूर्ण है, क्योंकि एक नहीं, अनेक व्यायोग ऐसे मिलते हैं जिनमें पताका अथवा प्रकरी अथवा दोनों की योजना मिलती है। ऐसे व्यायोगों में मूर्धन्य स्थान है महाकवि भास द्वारा विरचित 'मध्यमव्यायोग' का। इस व्यायोग में घटोत्कच द्वारा माता के आहारार्थ नीयमान मध्यम ब्राह्मणकुमार की रक्षा के लिए भीम का आत्मबलिदान चित्रित है। वृद्ध ब्राह्मण केशवदास के कुल का पीछा करता हुआ घटोत्कच ब्राह्मण से अपनी माता के उपवास-पारण हेतु एक पुत्र मांगता है। ब्राह्मण के तीन पुत्रों में मध्यम पुत्र को ही उसके साथ जाने का अवसर प्राप्त होता है। तदनन्तर परलोक यात्रा से पूर्व अपनी प्यास बुझाने के लिये गये हुए उसके विलम्ब को देखकर घटोत्कच उसे मध्यम

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२६. (क) हीनो गर्भविमर्शाभ्याम्——। दशरूपक, ३.६०
(ख) गर्भावमर्शरहितो——। भावप्रकाशन, पृ० २४८
(ग) गर्भामर्शविवर्जितः। ना० द०, पृ० २१८
(घ) विमर्शगर्भरहितः——। रसार्णवसुधाकर, पृ० २८७
(ङ) गर्भविमर्शराहित्यम्——। प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण, पृ० १२८
(च) हीनो गर्भविमर्शाभ्याम्——। सा० द०, ६.२३

२७. मुखनिर्वहणसन्धियुक्तो। नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोश, पृ० २६५

२८. प्रयत्नस्तु तदप्राप्तौ व्यापारोऽतित्वरान्वितः। दशरूपक, १.२०

२९. औत्सुक्यमात्रमारम्भः फललाभाय भूयसे। द० रू०, १.२०

३०. समग्रफलसम्पत्तिः फलयोगो यथोदितः। वही, १.२२

३१. अर्थप्रकृतयः पञ्च पञ्चावस्थासमन्विताः।
यथासंख्येन जायन्ते मुखाद्याः पञ्चसन्धयः। वही, १.२२–२३

कहकर पुकारता है जिसे भीम अपने लिये ग्रहण करते हुए उसके पास पहुंचते हैं और मध्यम ब्राह्मणकुमार के स्थान पर स्वयं उसके साथ जाने का निश्चय करके उसके साथ मल्लयुद्ध करते हैं। अन्ततः भीम उसे पराजित कर अपने कथनानुसार उसका अनुसरण करते हैं। हिडिम्बा पति भीम को देखकर अपने पुत्र को उनका परिचय देती है। तब तक पहुंचे हुए ब्राह्मणकुल को भीम हिडिम्बा और घटोत्कच सहित आश्रम के द्वार तक पहुंचाने जाते हैं। प्रस्तुत कथानक में ब्राह्मण केशवदास का वृत्तान्त आदि से अन्त तक व्याप्त होने के कारण आधिकारिक है और भीम तथा हिडिम्बा से सम्बद्ध वृत्तान्त परार्थपरक होने के कारण प्रासङ्गिक तथा रूपक में दूर तक व्याप्त होने के कारण पताका[३२] कहा जा सकता है। प्रो० ए० डी० पुशालकर[३३] तथा प्रो० ध्रुव[३४] ने तो भीम और हिडिम्बा की कथा को आधिकारिक तथा वृद्ध केशवदास के वृत्तान्त को प्रासङ्गिक इतिवृत्त माना है, परन्तु इन विद्वानों का यह मत ग्राह्य नहीं है, क्योंकि आधिकारिक इतिवृत्त का सूत्रपात्र रूपक में इतनी देर से नहीं होता है। साथ ही उस स्थिति में रूपक का अङ्गीरस शृङ्गार या कोई अन्य कोमल रस होता, कोमल बृत्ति कैशिकी का प्रयोग होता है, भीम नायक तथा हिडिम्बा नायिका होती और ये सारे ही वैशिष्ट्य रूपक के व्यायोगत्व के विरुद्ध पड़ते हैं। जो भी हो, रूपक में प्रासङ्गिक इतिवृत्त की सत्ता तो निर्विवाद है। इसी प्रकार वत्सराज-प्रणीत 'किरातार्जुनीय' व्यायोग, प्रह्लादनदेव-प्रणीत 'पार्थपराक्रम' व्यायोग, तथा मोक्षादित्य-प्रणीत 'भीमविक्रम' व्यायोगों में प्रकरी इतिवृत्त तथा विश्वनाथ-प्रणीत 'सौगन्धिकाहरण' तथा शतानन्दसूनुविरचित 'भीमपराक्रम' नामक व्यायोगों में पताका नामक इतिवृत्त की योजना मिलती है। इतना ही नहीं, गोविन्दकृत 'विनतानन्द' नामक व्यायोग में तो पताका और प्रकरी दोनों की ही योजना की गयी है।[३५] यदि हम दशरूपककार की सन्धि-निर्माण सम्बन्धी प्रक्रिया को स्वीकार करते हैं तो गर्भ तथा विमर्श सन्धियों से रहित व्यायोगों में तो गर्भ और विमर्श के अङ्गभूत पताका तथा प्रकरी नामक वृत्तान्तों को होना ही नहीं चाहिए। वास्तव में दशरूपककार की सन्धि-निर्माण विषयिणी उक्त प्रक्रिया की पुष्टि उक्त प्रकार से लक्ष्यग्रन्थों से तो होती ही नहीं है, साथ ही पूर्ववर्ती अथवा परवर्ती कोई भी आचार्य उनकी उक्त धारणा से सहमत नहीं है।[३६] अभिनवगुप्त से लेकर विश्वनाथ पर्यन्त सभी आचार्य यह

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३२. सानुबन्धं पताकाख्यं प्रकरी च प्रदेशभाक्—दशरूपक, १.१३

३३. A. D. Pushalkar : *Bhāsa- study* (1940) P. 201

३४. वही, पृ० २०३

३५. विशेष विस्तार के लिए द्रष्टव्य—ऋतम् —डा० बाबूराम सक्सेना अभिनन्दन विशेषाङ्क, पृ० ४३३—४३७

३६. द्रष्टव्य—दशरूपक में प्रतिपादित सन्धि विषयक धारणा का मूल्यांकन। वही, पृ० ४२७-४३७

प्रतिपादित करते हैं कि सन्धियाँ अवस्थाओं का अनुगमन करती हैं,[37] (अर्थ-प्रकृतियों का नहीं) अतः व्यायोगों में गर्भ और विमर्श सन्धियों से सम्बद्ध प्राप्त्याशा तथा नियताप्ति नामक अवस्थाओं का ही अभाव होगा, पताका तथा प्रकरी का नहीं।

जैसा कि पहले ही उल्लेख किया जा चुका है, भरतमुनि रूपकों के विभाजन के प्रसङ्ग में ही नाटक तथा प्रकरण के अतिरिक्त अन्य आठ रूपकों को कैशिकी वृत्ति से रहित प्रतिपादित करते हैं, अत एव इन रूपकों के लक्षण के प्रसङ्ग में इस तथ्य को बताना पुनरावृत्ति मात्र होता। अतः उनके व्यायोग-लक्षण में कैशिकी राहित्य का निर्देश नहीं है। परवर्ती आचार्यों में भी साहित्यदर्पणकार[38] तथा सङ्गीतदामोदरकार[39] के अतिरिक्त अन्य कोई भी आचार्य व्यायोग के कैशिकीहीन होने की बात नहीं करते हैं, सम्भवतः यह सोचकर कि दीप्तरसाश्रित व्यायोग में कोमल रस से सम्बद्ध कैशिकी वृत्ति का अभाव तो उसके दीप्तरसत्व से ही गम्य है।[40] आगे उल्लिखित समस्त लक्ष्य ग्रन्थों में कैशिकी का सर्वथा अभाव दर्शनीय है।

व्यायोग के इतिवृत्त के सम्बन्ध में जो अन्तिम तथा सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण तथ्य उल्लेखनीय है वह यह है कि इसे सङ्घर्षबहुल होना चाहिये। भरतमुनि के अनुसार इसमें युद्ध, नियुद्ध (बाहुयुद्ध) आघर्षण तथा सङ्घर्ष होना चाहिये।[41] अभिनवगुप्त के अनुसार नियुद्ध का अर्थ है बाहुयुद्ध तथा सङ्घर्ष का अर्थ है शौर्यविद्याकुलरूपादिकृत स्पर्धा[42]। दशरूपककार ने हर प्रकार के युद्ध का ग्रहण सङ्ग्राम शब्द से मानते हुये अस्त्रीनिमित्तक सङ्ग्राम से युक्त होने की बात कही है।[43] परवर्ती आचार्यों में केवल रामचंद्र गुणचंद्र ने व्यायोग के नियुद्ध, स्पर्धा तथा अस्त्रीनिमित्त सङ्ग्राम से युक्त होने की बात की है।[44] शेष आचार्यों ने केवल अस्त्रीनिमित्त

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३७. (क) 'संधयो ह्यवस्थापरतंत्रा." अभि० भारती, १९.३९
(ख) "संधयो मुख्यवृत्तांशाः पञ्चावस्थानुगाः क्रमात्।" ना० द०, १.३७
(ग) अवस्थाभिः प्रारम्भादिभिरनुगता, अवस्थासमाप्तौ समाप्यन्त इत्यर्थः ना० द०, पृ० ९४
(घ) यथासंख्यमवस्थाभिराभिर्योगात्तु पञ्चभिः।
पञ्चधैवेतिवृत्तस्य भागाः स्युः पञ्चसन्धयः ॥ सा० द०, ६.७४

३८. कैशिकीवृत्तिरहितः———। वही, ६.२३२

३९. कैशिकीरहितः———। सङ्गीतदामोदर, पृ० ८२—८३

४०. वृत्त्यात्मकत्वाच्च रसानामवचनेऽपि कैशिकीरहितेतरवृत्तित्वं रसवशादेव लभ्यते। अवलोक, पृ० २४९

४१. युद्धनियुद्धाधर्षणसङ्घर्षकृतश्च कर्तव्यः। ना० शा०, १८.९२

४२. नियुद्धं बाहुयुद्धं सङ्घर्षः शौर्यविद्याकुलरूपादिकृता स्पर्धा। अभि० भा०, १८.९२

४३. अस्त्रीनिमित्तसंग्रामो———। दशरूपक, ३.६२

४४. अस्त्रीनिमित्तसंग्रामो नियुद्धस्पर्धनोद्धतः। ना० द०, २.७४

सङ्ग्राम की ही चर्चा की है।[४५] इतिहास साक्षी है कि स्त्रियाँ युद्ध का निमित्त होती रही हैं अतः स्त्रीपात्रों की अल्पता होने पर भी वे युद्ध की निमित्त तो बन ही सकती हैं। अतः युद्ध के विशेषण के रूप में "स्त्रीनिमित्त" पद का विशेष महत्व है। लक्ष्य ग्रंथों में कुछ में तो स्त्री पात्र हैं ही नहीं और जिनमें हैं, युद्ध की निमित्त नहीं हैं।

रूपकों का द्वितीय भेदक तथा अपरिहार्य तत्व है नेता। नेता का अर्थ होता है नायक, किन्तु प्रकृत प्रसङ्ग में नेता का अर्थ है नायक तथा उसका सम्पूर्ण परिच्छेद। व्यायोग के पात्रों के विषय में भरतमुनि की मान्यता है कि व्यायोग में स्त्रीपात्रों की संख्या अल्प होगी, बहुत से युद्ध करने वाले पुरुष पात्र होंगे तथा नायक प्रख्यात तो होगा पर वह न तो दिव्य होगा, न राजा होगा और न ही ऋषि होगा।[४६] सङ्ग्रामबहुल रूपक का बाहुयुद्ध करने वाला नायक देव, राजा या ऋषि से भिन्न होने पर निश्चित रूप से उद्धत कोटि का होगा, अतः परवर्ती आचार्यों ने व्यायोग के नायक के लिए वैशिष्ट्यों को न बताकर भरतमुनि द्वारा उक्त केवल उद्धत विशेषण का प्रयोग किया गया है।[४७] आचार्य विश्वनाथ उद्धत नायक के लिये भरतमुनि द्वारा प्रयुक्त पारिभाषिक शब्द "धीरोद्धत" का प्रयोग करते हैं।[४८] वास्तव में उक्त समस्त आचार्यों का उद्धत से आशय धीरोद्धत से ही है। इस प्रकार यह निश्चित हुआ कि व्यायोग का नायक धीरोद्धत होता है। धीरोद्धत नाट्यशास्त्र का एक पारिभाषिक शब्द है, जिसका लक्षण ग्रंथों में लगभग समान है, किन्तु 'धीरोद्धत शब्द का अर्थ क्या है'—यह प्रश्न विचारणीय है। धीर का अर्थ होता है धैर्ययुक्त और उद्धत का अर्थ होता है अहंकारी, चल, चण्ड विकत्थन आदि। अतः जो धैर्यवान् होगा वह उद्धत कैसे हो सकता है। इस प्रकार के विरोध का आभास यहां होता है, जिसका निराकरण भी प्रकृत प्रसङ्ग में अनिवार्य हो जाता है। हिन्दी के मूर्धन्य समालोचक आचार्य हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी ने अपने ग्रंथ "नाट्यशास्त्र की भारतीय परम्परा और दशरूपक" में इस विरोधाभास के उपस्थापनपूर्वक इसका समाधान प्रस्तुत किया है। उनका मत है कि 'सबके आगे जो "धीर" विशेषण लगा हुआ है उससे कभी कभी भ्रम पैदा हो जाता है कि जो

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४५. (क) अस्त्रीनिमित्तसंग्रामो। भावप्रकाशन, पृ० २४८
(ख) अस्त्रीनिमित्तसमरो व्यायोग———। रसार्णवसुधाकर पृ० २८७
(ग) अस्त्रीनिमित्तसमरोदयः सा० द०, ६.२३२

४६. अल्पस्त्रीजनयुक्तः———॥
बहवश्च तत्र पुरुषा व्यायच्छन्ते यथा समवकारे।
न च दिव्यनायकयुक्तः———॥
न च दिव्यनायककृतः कार्यो राजर्षिनायकनिबद्धः। ना० शा०, १८.९०-९२

४७. (क) ख्यातोद्धतनराश्रयः॥ दशरूपक, ३.६०
(ख) नियुद्धस्पर्धनोद्धतः। ना० द०, २.७४
(ग) उद्धतो नायको मतः। प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण, पृ० १२८

४८. भवेद्धीरोद्धतश्च सः। सा० द०, ७.२३३

उद्धत है वह धीर कैसे हो सकता है ? उद्धत तो स्वभाव से ही चपल और चण्ड होता है। वस्तुतः धीर शब्द का संस्कृत में प्रचलित अर्थ ही इस भ्रम का कारण है। एक पुराना "धीर" शब्द भी था जो धीः, सहजबुद्धि, मनोभाव से बनता था। इस शब्द से निष्पन्न धीर शब्द का अर्थ होता था सहजबुद्धि वाला, मनोभाव सम्पन्न। वह शब्द नाट्य परम्परा में सुरक्षित रह गया है। अतः धीर का अर्थ है स्वाभाविक बोध-सम्पन्न और धीरोद्धत का अर्थ है स्वभावतः उद्धत।"[४९] द्विवेदी जी द्वारा उपस्थापित समस्या तो ठीक है पर उसका उक्त समाधान निराधार अतश्च अग्राह्य है। वास्तव में "धीर" शब्द का अर्थ है धैर्य से युक्त या धैर्यवान्।[५०] अब प्रश्न यह उठता है कि धैर्य का क्या अर्थ है ? "धैर्य" शब्द का अर्थ है "महान् विघ्न उपस्थित होने पर भी निश्चय से विचलित न होना"।[५१] अतः धीर=धैर्यवान् का अर्थ हुआ दृढ़ निश्चयवाला अथवा दृढ़संकल्प। यह विशेषता नायक मात्र में अनिवार्य है; अतः भरतमुनि ने उदात्तादि सभी के पूर्व धीर विशेषण अनिवार्य रूप में जोड़कर नायक के चार भेदों का उल्लेख किया है।[५२] परवर्ती आचार्यों ने भरतमुनि द्वारा दिये गये इन नामों को ज्यों का त्यों उद्धृत किया है। नाट्यशास्त्र के व्याख्याकार अभिनवगुप्त ने भी "धीर" शब्द की व्याख्या नहीं की है। दशरूपककार ने भी इसकी व्याख्या सम्भवतः इसलिए नहीं की है, क्योंकि उन्होंने नायक के सामान्य गुणों के अन्तर्गत "स्थिरता" और "दृढ़ता" का उल्लेख किया है।[५३] स्थिर और दृढ़ ही तो "धीर" शब्द का भी अर्थ है। नाट्यदर्पणकार ने "धीर" शब्द की व्याख्या[५४] पहली बार प्रस्तुत की थी जो उपर्युक्त व्याख्या से भिन्न नहीं है। उपलब्ध व्यायोगों में अधिकांश के नायक तो भीम ही हैं, जो अपनी उद्धतता के लिये विश्वविख्यात हैं पर जिन व्यायोगों के नायक श्रीकृष्ण, अर्जुन या गरुड़ सदृश अपेक्षाकृत सौम्य जन हैं उनके जीवन से भी महाकवियों ने ऐसी परिस्थितियों को अपने व्यायोगों का विषय बनाया है जिनमें उनका उद्धत हो उठना सर्वथा स्वाभाविक प्रतीत होता है।

स्त्रीपात्रों की संख्या के विषय में भरत का अभिमत है कि व्यायोगों में स्त्रीपात्रों की अल्पता होनी चाहिये,[५५] किन्तु परवर्ती आचार्य स्त्रीपात्रों की अल्पता न प्रतिपादित कर यह प्रति-

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४९. नाट्यशास्त्र की भारतीय परम्परा और दशरूपक, पृ० ४७

५०. धीरो धैर्यान्विते स्वैरे। मेदिनीकोश १२६.५१-५२

५१. व्यवसायादचलनं धैर्यं विघ्ने महत्यपि। सा० द०, ३.५३

५२. धीरोद्धता धीरललिता धीरोदात्तास्तथैव च।
धीरप्रशान्तकाश्चैव नायकाः परिकीर्तिताः॥ ना० शा०, २५.१७

५३. दशरूपक, २.१-२

५४. धीरो धैर्यं महाव्यसनेऽप्यकातर्यं विशेषणं येषामुद्धतादीनां धीरोद्धतधीरोदात्तधीरललितधीरप्रशान्ता इत्यर्थः। ना० द०, १.६ वृत्ति

५५. अल्पस्त्रीजनयुक्तः। नाट्यशास्त्र, १८.९०

पादित करते हैं कि स्त्री सङ्ग्राम का निमित्त न होगी[५६], जिससे यह तथ्य गम्य हो जाता है कि व्यायोग में स्त्रीपात्र का प्राधान्य न होगा। प्रधान स्त्रीपात्र (नायिका) के अभाव से पुरुषबहुल व्यायोगों में स्त्रीपात्रों की अल्पता स्वतः व्यक्त है। अतः इन समस्त आचार्यों ने स्त्रीपात्रों की अल्पता की चर्चा ही नहीं की है। नाट्यदर्पणकार अस्त्रीनिमित्त सङ्ग्राम की चर्चा के साथ ही व्यायोगों में नायिकासाहित्य का भी प्रतिपादन करते हैं।[५७] इस प्रकार 'नरकासुरविजय' में सत्यभामा (नायक श्रीकृष्ण की पत्नी), निर्भयभीम में द्रौपदी (नायक भीम की पत्नी) तथा 'सौगन्धिकाहरण' में द्रौपदी का अस्तित्व तो है पर ये सङ्ग्राम के निमित्त के रूप में नहीं प्रयुक्त हुई हैं; इसलिये न तो इनका प्राधान्य है और न ही ये नायिका कही जा सकती हैं। इस प्रकार व्यायोगों में स्त्रीहीनता का प्रतिपादन[५८] आचार्य भरत तथा अन्य नाट्यमीमांसकों के अभिमत के विरुद्ध तो है ही, लक्ष्यग्रन्थों से भी इस कथन की पुष्टि नहीं होती है।

जहाँ तक रसों का प्रश्न है भरतमुनि के अनुसार व्यायोगों में दीप्त रसों का प्रयोग होना चाहिए।[५९] दीप्त रसों की व्याख्या करते हुए अभिनवगुप्त ने यह बताया है कि दीप्त रसों से तात्पर्य है वीररौद्रादिक रसों से।[६०] आदि पद से वीभत्स अद्भुत करुण तथा भयानक का ग्रहण अभिमत है, क्योंकि जहाँ एक ओर शारदातनय ने व्यायोग के ही प्रसङ्ग में दीप्त रसों की संख्या छः निर्धारित की है[६१], वहीं विश्वनाथ ने स्पष्ट शब्दों में इसके अन्तर्गत हास्य, शान्त तथा शृङ्गार का निषेध किया है।[६२] सागरनन्दी, शारदातनय तथा श्री शुभङ्कर जैसे परवर्ती आचार्य इसमें स्वल्प शृङ्गार की भी स्थिति स्वीकार करते हैं[६३], जो कि 'निर्भयभीम', 'कल्याण-

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५६. (क) अस्त्रीनिमित्तसङ्ग्रामो। द० रू०, ३.६१
(ख) अस्त्रीनिमित्तसङ्ग्रामो———। भा० प्र०, पृ० २४८
(ग) अस्त्रीनिमित्तसङ्ग्रामो। ना० द०, २.७४
(घ) अस्त्रीनिमित्तसमरो व्यायोगः कथितो बुधैः। रसार्णवसुधाकर, पृ० २८७
(ङ) अस्त्रीनिमित्तसमरोदयः। सा० द०, ६.२३२

५७. व्यायोगो नायिकां विना। ना० द०, पृ० २१८

५८. 'इसमें———स्त्रीपात्र एक भी नहीं होती" अभिनव नाट्यशास्त्र, अभिनवभरत आचार्य पण्डित सीताराम चतुर्वेदी पृ० ५७८।

५९. दीप्तकाव्यरसयोनिः। ना० शा०, १८.९३

६०. दीप्तरसाद्याः वीररौद्राद्याः। अभि० भा०, १८.९३

६१. षड्दीप्तरसनिर्भरः। भावप्रकाशन, पृ० २४८

६२. हास्यशृङ्गारशान्तेभ्यः इतरेऽत्राङ्गिनो रसाः। सा० द०, ७.२३३

६३. (क) नातिकरुणशृङ्गारो व्यायोगो कथ्यते सद्भिः। ना०ल०र०को, पृ० २६५
(ख) क्वाचित्कः स्वल्पशृङ्गारः षड्दीप्तरसनिर्भरः। भा० प्र०, पृ० २३८
(ग) स्वल्पशृङ्गारो वीररसाधिकः। सङ्गीतदामोदर, पृ० ८२-८३

सौगन्धिक' तथा 'सौगन्धिकाहरण' जैसे लक्ष्य व्यायोगों को देखते हुए ठीक भी कहा जा सकता है। धनञ्जय, रामचन्द्र गुणचन्द्र तथा विद्यानाथ ने तो भरतमुनि के ही कथन की पुनरावृत्ति की है।[६४] व्यायोगों का दीप्तरसत्व युयुत्सु सामाजिकों की प्रकृति के अनुरूप है। उपलब्ध व्यायोगों में उपर्युक्त छः दीप्त रस ही मिलते हैं। किसी किसी में स्वल्प शृङ्गार भी स्वीकार किया जा सकता है, किन्तु हास्य तथा शान्त रसों की तो झलक तक नहीं मिलती है।

उक्त विवेचन के आधार पर व्यायोगों का परिनिष्ठित स्वरूप इस प्रकार का होगा—

व्यायोग स्वरूपतः एकाङ्की होते हैं, जिनमें वास्तविक जीवन के एक दिन का चरित निबद्ध होता है। इसका इतिवृत्त प्रख्यात होगा, नायक प्रख्यात तथा धीरोद्धत होगा, स्त्रीपात्र अत्यल्प होंगे और रूपक में उनका प्राधान्य भी नहीं होगा। व्यायोगों में कैशिकीवृत्ति तथा गर्भ और विमर्श सन्धियों का अभाव होगा पर पताका तथा प्रकरी वृत्तान्तों का अभाव नहीं होगा। इसमें बहुत से पुरुषपात्र होंगे; युद्ध, नियुद्ध, आधर्षण और सङ्घर्ष होंगे; किन्तु युद्ध का निमित्त स्त्री नही होगी। बीर, रौद्र, अद्भुत, करुण, बीभत्स तथा भयानक जैसे दीप्त रसों का प्रयोग होगा; थोड़ा सा शृङ्गार भी हो सकता है, पर हास्य तथा शान्त का नितान्त अभाव होगा। कुछ आचार्यों के अनुसार इसमें विषकम्भक तथा चूलिका का भी प्रयोग होता है।[६५]

उपलब्ध व्यायोगों की सूची इस प्रकार है—

१. महाकविभासविरचित मध्यमव्यायोग
२. महाकवि भासविरचित दूतवाक्य
३. काञ्चनाचार्यकृत धनञ्जयविजय
४. रामचन्द्रसूरिकृत निर्भयभीम
५. वत्सराजकृत किरातार्जुनीय व्यायोग
६. प्रह्लादनदेवकृत पार्थपराक्रम
७. मोक्षादित्यकृत भीमविक्रम
८. विश्वनाथकृत सौगन्धिकाहरण
९. धर्मसूरिकृत नरकासुरविजय व्यायोग
१०. नीलकण्ठकृत कल्याणसौगन्धिक
११. शतानन्दसूनुकृत भीमपराक्रम

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६४. (क) दीप्ताः स्युः डिमवद्रसाः। दशरूपक, ३.६०
(ख) ख्यातवस्तुदीप्तरसाश्रयः। नाट्यदर्पण, ९.७५
(ग) डिमवद्रसपोषणम्। प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण, पृ० १२८

६५. (क) ———विषकम्भादिसमन्वितः। भावप्रकाशन, पृष्ठ २४८
(ख) ———प्राप्तविष्कम्भचूलिकः। रसार्णवसुधाकर, पृष्ठ २८७

१२. गोविन्दकृत विनतानन्द (तञ्जौर महाराजा सरफोजी सरस्वती महल पुस्तकालय, तञ्जौर में पाण्डुलिपि रूप में सुरक्षित)
१३. हरिहरकृत शङ्खपराभव
१४. त्रिपुरविजय (अप्रकाशित तथा राजकीय प्राच्य पाण्डुलिपि पुस्तकालय, मद्रास में पाण्डुलिपि के रूप में सुरक्षित)
१५. विजयविक्रम (अप्रकाशित तथा राजकीय प्राच्य पाण्डुलिपि पुस्तकालय, मद्रास में पाण्डुलिपि के रूप में सुरक्षित)

उक्त सूची को देखने से सहज ही यह अनुमान हो जाता है कि इसमें एक शङ्खपराभव व्यायोग को छोड़कर सभी का स्रोत महाभारत है। प्रश्न उठता है "ऐसा क्यों है ?" रामायण से इतिवृत्त लेकर व्यायोगों की रचना क्यों नही की गयी है ? उत्तर स्पष्ट है। व्यायोग का नायक धीरोद्धत होता है। धीरोद्धत नायक पात्र महाभारत में ही मिल सकते हैं। आदर्श पात्रों से परिपूर्ण रामायण में मेघनादादि जो धीरोद्धत पात्र मिलते भी हैं वे रूपक में प्रतिनायक ही बनाये जा सकते हैं, नायक नहीं; क्योंकि नायकत्व के योग्य तो वही पात्र होगा जिसके प्रति सामाजिक की श्रद्धा हो। भीम अपने धीरोद्धत आचरण के लिए प्रख्यात होते हुए भी हम भारतीयों के श्रद्धा के पात्र हैं। फिर धीरोद्धत आदि शब्द एक ही व्यक्ति में पायी जाने वाली यथोक्त गुणों से युक्त विभिन्न अवस्थाओं के परिचायक हैं।[६६] अतः गरुड, अर्जुन तथा यहाँ तक कि श्रीकृष्ण को भी व्यायोगों का नायक बनाते हुये धीरोद्धत दिखाया गया है, परन्तु ये सभी पात्र किसी न किसी समय पर धीरोद्धत के गुणों से युक्त हुये हैं। रामायण के श्रद्धाभाजन पात्र तो अपने उदात्त चरित्र के लिए ही विख्यात है; फिर उन्हें धीरोद्धत बनाकर कैसे प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता था।

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६६. धीरललितादिशब्दाश्च यथोक्तगुणसमारोपितावस्थाभिधायिनः, वत्सवृषभमहोक्षादिवन्न जात्या कश्चिदवस्थितरूपो ललितादिरस्ति - - -। अवलोक, पृ० १२१.

UDAYANA ON THE ATTRIBUTES OF GOD

K. Visweswari Amma

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system is defenitely theistic since it admits the existence of God and the validity of the Vedas. In the Vaiśeṣika *sūtra*-s of Kaṇāda, there is no mention of Īśvara anywhere. In the Nyāya Sūtras of Gautama we find only a casual reference to God[1] and this leads us to suspect that theism was not the original tenet of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school. But the followers of Gautama make special reference to God and the later Vaiśeṣikas share the same view. Thus the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system on the whole can be considered to be theistic.

Gautama postulates God as the cause of the fruits of actions of individuals.[2] Vātsyāyana in his *Nyāyabhāṣya* states that God directs the merits and demerits of the individual souls and the physical elements to produce effects.[3] Udyotakara, author of the *Nyāyavārttika* refers to God as the efficient cause of the world[4] of which atoms are the material cause, the conjunction of atoms, the non-material cause and the merits and demerits of the individual souls, the auxiliary cause. The later Naiyāyikas like Vācaspati Miśra, Udayana, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa and others hold the same view.

The God of the Naiyāyikas is a particular type of soul, which is one of the nine substances. In the systematic exposition of the soul theory neither Gautama nor his commentators Vācaspati Miśra distinguish between the individual soul and the supreme soul. Udayanācārya, in his *Lakṣaṇāvali* and Bhāsarvajña in his *Nyāyasāra* mention God while expounding the

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1. *Nyāya-Sūtra*-s IV.1.19 to 21.
2. This view closely resembles Kant's idea of God as the dispenser of pains and pleasures.
3. *Nyāyabhāṣya*, IV.1.21.
4. *Nyāyavārttika*, IV.1.20; *Īśvaro jagadutpattikāraṇam syāt*.

soul theory. Ātman is of two kinds, the supreme soul and the individual soul and the former is God.

THE METAPHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Since God belongs to the category of substance all the five generic attributes common to all substances material as well as non-material apply to God. They are number (*saṅkhyā*), dimension (*parimāṇa*), individuality (*pṛthaktva*), conjunction (*saṃyoga*) and disjunction (*vibhāga*). But these attributes are of no consequence to the concept of God.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika phiosophers differ in their views as regards the specific qualities of God. The *Nyāyabhāṣya* is the first work of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika which contains a description of the divine nature. Vātsyāyana refers to God as a particular kind of soul endowed with qualities.[5] He includes merit (*dharma*) among the qualities of God but does not include desire (*icchā*). He attributes to God also *samādhi* and *aiśvarya* like *aṇimā*, *mahimā*, etc. But Udyotakara mentions desire also as a quality of God,[6] but he does not attribute merit to Him. Vācaspati Miśra attributes to God another novel quality viz., volition (*prayatna* or *kṛti*) and the later philosophers like Jayanta Bhaṭṭa and Udayana accept it. But Udyotakara does not attribute volition to God. His justification for the same is that creativity emerges from volition in the case of embodied souls, but since God is devoid of body, His creative urge does not depend on volition. In addition to the three specific qualities—knowledge, desire and volition, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa attributes to God two more qualities viz., merit (*dharma*) and happiness (*sukha*). Udyotakara[7] and Vācaspati do not admit that God possesses *dharma*. Eternal happiness is quite against the Naiyāyika view and is not accepted by Udayana and others. Though happiness is not explicitly rejected, it is not attributed to God either by Udyotakara or Vācaspati Miśra or by the later Naiyāyikas. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa admits the existence of happiness in God. He infers it from the scriptural passages where God is referred to as Nityānanda and also due to the reason that God who is devoid of happiness is not fit for creation.[8] Udayana does not admit that God possesses happiness though he calls 'the Ocean of Joy' (*Ānandanidhi*).

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5. *Guṇaviśiṣṭam ātmāntaram īśvarah*, *Nāyabhāṣya*, IV.1.21.
6. *Icchā tu vidyate akliṣṭā*, *Nyāyavārttika*, IV.1.21.
7. *'Na ceśvare dharmo'sti*, *Ibid*, p. 464.
8. *Asukhitasya caivamvidhakāryārambhayogyatābhāvāt*, *Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 185.

GOD'S KNOWLEDGE

God is omniscient, He possesses right knowledge and His knowledge is one, eternal, intuitive and all-comprehensive. His perception of all objects—past, present and future—is not produced by the intercourse of the sense-organs with the objects. His knowledge is not derived from inference or testimony and it is devoid of impressions and recollections. He possesses one eternal cognition which apprehends all objects. His knowledge is pereeption, since it is immediate valid knowledge (*sākṣātkāri pramā*). Human perception also is immediate valid knowledge, but it is produced by the intercourse of sense organs. But God's knowledge, though not produced by the intercourse of sense organs comes under perception since it is immediate valid knowledge.

Udayana establishes the eternity of divine knowledge. The Mīmāṃsakas contend that God's knowledge is not eternal since knowledge is always produced by sense-object contact. Udayana points out that there is neither invariable concomitance between cognition and non-eternity nor contradiction between cognition and eternity.

VALIDITY OF GOD'S KNOWLEDGE

Udayana criticises the Mīmāṃsaka contention that God's knowledge is not valid since it does not satisfy the definition of valid knowledge. He does not accept the definition of valid knowledge given by the Mīmāṃsakas. Valid knowledge, according to him, is the apprehension of an object as it is independent of any other knowledge. Udayana asserts that previous non-apprehension (*anadhi-gatatva*) is not the criterion of valid knowledge, as is maintained by the Mīmāṃsakas. He insists that God's knowledge is one eternal cognition and as such it does not apprehend an object apprehended before. He also asserts that God's knowledge is valid in spite of the fact that He has the knowledge of the human illusions such as the illusion of silver in nacre. He points out that though the knowledge of silver in nacre is illusory, the knowledge which objectifies such an illusion is valid because the validity of knowledge is not violated as long as it is not related to a contradictory object. Hence Udayana asserts that divine knowledge which apprehends human illusions also is valid.

Thus does Udayana prove the eternity and validity of divine knowledge.

GOD'S DESIRE

God's desire is one but it becomes many owing to limiting conditions. His desire to create, desire to destroy etc. are due to *upādhi*-s and his desire and volition are eternal.

GOD'S VOLITION

The earlier Naiyāyikas do not find any necessity to postulate volition in God to explain the creation of the world. Since God possesses unbounded will, He can do whatever he wills and so volition need not be attributed to him to account for the origin of the world. Udyotakara maintains that desire for creation is innate to God's nature. But Vācaspati Miśra, Udayana and the later Naiyāyikas postulate volition as an attribute of God. An objection is raised here that if God's volition be eternal, there is no necessity to postulate knowledge and desire in Him. Udayana brings out the distinction between knowledge, desire and volition. These are distinct qualities of the self and possess specific characteristics. Knowledge is directly related to an object while desire and volition require the assistance of knowledge so as to be related to an object. Udayana lays stress on the fact that though God's volition be eternal and all-comprehensive, the fact that it cannot be directly related to an object cannot be denied.

Thus Udayana establishes that God possesses the three specific attributes—knowledge, desire and volition and that they are eternal.

GOD'S BODY

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas adhere to the view that God is devoid of a physical body. The opponent may argue that physical body is a necessary condition for the emergence of will, volition etc. and since God possesses will and volition, He should be endowed with a physical body.

Udayana replies that physical body may be a necessary condition in the case of an agent when his desire, volition etc. are transitory but not when they are eternal. Since desire, volition etc. in God are eternal, there is no necessity for the postulation of a body for God. He asserts that physical body is not a necessary condition for producing effects. During cosmic rest or *pralaya*, the atoms are separated from each other and at the time of cteation activity is generated in the atoms. Udayana holds that God's volition creates motion in the atoms. He says that atoms may very well be conceived as constituting the body of God. He defines body as that which is directly supervised by volition and accordingly atoms which are directly

supervised by the volition of God turn out to be His body. Creative motion in atoms is generated by God in the same way as activity in the body of an individual is created by his volition. Udayana maintains that though God normally does not possess a body, He assumes a body whenever occasion arises. One of the proofs which Udayana gives for establishing the existence of God is as the originator of art and language. All arts like carpentry, smithy, weaving, writing, speaking etc., originated in God and He imparts them to the mankind at the time of creation. For this purpose, He assumes two bodies, one of the teacher and the other of the pupil. So Udayana maintains that though God does not possess a body, He does assume one when necessity arises.

Udayana's *Nyāya-Kusumāñjali* is often hailed as "the classic statement of the Nyāya proofs for the existence of God".[9] He accounts for the original activity in the atoms and the *adṛṣṭa* of the individual beings, God supervises the *adṛṣṭa* and is thus the giver of the fruits of actions. Udayana's bent for theism is evident from his monumental work *Kusumāñjali*, which is often called *Īśvara-Kusumāñjali*.

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9. S. Radhakrishnan '*Indian Philosophy*'. Vol. II, p. 166.

TOLKĀPPIYAM AND *AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ*—A COMPARATIVE STUDY

H. S. Ananthanarayana

It is stated that *Tolkāppiyam* came into existence in Tamil tradition after the latter had gained an intimate contact with the Sanskrit grammatical system and that Pāṇini's language does not show any trace of contact with Tamilians and their culture.[1] Further, in an introductory verse to *Tolkāppiyam*, Paṇampāraṇar, a classmate and friend of Tolkāppiyar, declared that *Tolkāppiyam* was full of *aintiram* which the commentators take as a reference to Aindra grammar. Dr. Burnell too wrote that *Tolkāppiyam* represents itself to be full of Aindra system, and was read in the Pāṇḍya king's assembly. This *Tolkāppiyam*, he added, is closely related to Kātantra, to Kaccāyana's Pāli grammar, and to the Prātiśākhyas, all of which are to be regarded as treatises belonging to the Aindra school of grammarians. But, as the Aindra grammar is late (10th cent. A. D.?), it is tempting to accept the proposal of K. Subramania Pillai, namely, to amend the text to read as *ain-tiram* 'the five sections' which fits the work well even though there are only three formal divisions; metrics and poetics are included in the section on *Poruḷ* 'subject matter'. An attempt is made in this article to determine the influence of Sanskrit grammatical system on *Tolkāppiyam*. I have chosen, for this purpose, to examine the contents and the methodology found in *Tolkāppiam* and in *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, the better known grammar in the Sanskrit tradition.

Tolkāppiyam is divided into three *atikārams* 'sections', viz. *eluttu* 'sound/letter', *col* 'word', and *poruḷ* 'subject matter'. Each section is further divided into nine chapters of varying numbers of verse-*sūtra*-s. The chapters are given names after the topics treated therein, e. g. *peyar-iyal* 'chapter on noun',

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1. Meenakshisundaran, T. P. 1974. *Foreign Models in Tamil Grammar*. DLA Publication, pp. 17-18.

vinay-iyal 'chapter on verb'. The section on *eluttu* deals with writing, sounds. number, classification, and production-, and *sandhi*. The section on *col* treats syntax and morphology. The last section on *porul* deals with the themes and forms of literature which were highly valued by the ancient Tamilians for leading a happy and useful life. 483 *sūtra*-s are devoted for *eluttu*, from 453 to 463 *sūtra*-s for *col* and from 656 to 665 *sūtra*-s for *porul*. The total number of *sūtra*-s is 1595 according to Iḷāmpuraṇar and 1611 according to Naccinārkkiniyar and Pérāsiriyār. The difference in the number of *sūtra*-s is, as in the Sanskrit tradition, due to the splitting of some of the *sūtra*-s into two or even three.

Pāṇini's grammar is generally known as *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as it comprises eight chapters each of which is further divided into four *pāda*-s consisting of various number of *sūtra*-s. According to the traditional recital, there are in all 3983 *sūtra*-s, more than double the number found in *Tolkāppiyam*. There are no names given here to individual chapters and the numbering of the *sūtra*-s is not continuous within each chapter as it is in *Tolkāppiyam* within each section. Sanskrit tradition does not include topics treated under *porul* in a formal grammar; they form the subject matter of other treatises.

The study of grammar proper was considered subservient to the study of *porul* which means, 'that which is important in life'. In the Sanskrit tradition too, the study of grammar was taken as a means for the goal of 'preserving the Vedic texts'. Patañjali states: *rakṣārtham vedānām adhyeyaṃ vyākaraṇam*. It was counted as the most important of the six ancilliary texts for the understanding of the Vedas—*mukhaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ smṛtam*. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* notes the importance of grammar by stating that the grammar is the Veda of the Vedas—*vedānāṃ vedaḥ*, and Bhartṛhari, the author of *Vākyapadiya*, goes to the extent of declaring that the study of grammar ultimately leads to salvation—*tad dvāram apavargasya*.

It is clear that Tolkāppiyar had predecessors as his frequent statements *enmanār* 'so they say', *enmanār pulavar* 'so say the wise' indicate. Pāṇini too indicates the names of grammarians who had flourished before him. It is known from tradition that besides the ten who are mentioned by Pāṇini, there were at least 15 more grammarians, Pauṣkarasādi, Kāśakṛtsna, Vyāḍi, to mention a few important names. Unfortunately, these are only names to us and grammatical works which may have been written by them are all lost either due to a better grammar that followed theirs in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, or due to the climatic havocs.

That Tolkāppiyar had before him an alphabet which was in use for Tamil is clear from his statement that the letters are said to be from [a] to

[n] and that they are 30 in number. Sounds are classified into vowels and consonants. He talks of vowels being 'short' and 'long' and indicates which of them belong to each group. Short is defined as of one *mātrā* duration and long of two *mātrā*-s duration; consonants require only half a *mātrā* duration. A *mātrā* in turn is explained as the time required for twinkling of the eye or the snapping of fingers. Consonants are subdivided into voiceless and voiced. An intermediary group of semivowels is also recognised. It is, however, not clear whether Tolkāppiyar is here discussing only the letters of an alphabet or the various sounds represented by the letters.

Nowhere in Sanskrit tradition do we find a discussion on the writing system. Again, it is clear from the *śivasūtra*-s which precede the *Aṣṭādhyāyi* that Pāṇini knew a system of sounds and an alphabet which represented these sounds of Sanskrit. Although the sounds are arranged in the *śivasūtra*-s for the sake of forming the *pratyāhāra*-s 'abbreviations' required in his grammar, it shows, in essence, the underlying division between vowels and consonants and the various subgroups under each of the major classes of sounds. However, since phonetics forms the subject matter strictly of the Śikṣā-s and the Prātiśākhya-s and since grammar was considerd as forming the subject of later study—*vyākaraṇam nāmeyam uttarā vidyā*—details of phonetics are not included for discussion in the grammar. Tolkāppiyar may, therefore, be following a different tradition in including phonetic material in his grammar.

Three allophones, viz. shorter i, shorter u, and *āytam*, are recognised by Tolkāppiyar. He has also recognised contextual variation of *āytam*, as Sanskrit tradition recognises for *visarga*. The exact nature of *āytam* is, however, not clear, i.e., whether it was a glottal stop, a fricative, or simply a diacritical mark indicating voice. Tolkāppiyar also speaks of the distribution of vowels as well as of consonants by stating that they are found to occur as initials and finals of words. He also talks of non-permissible sequences such as [v] followed by u/ū or o/ō and [c] followed by [a, ai, au]. But, he does not refer to the non-phonemic voicing of intervocalic consonants.

Tolkāppiyar gives various instructions regarding writing; e. g. the letter for any sound is repeated to indicate length[3], the letter for [m] indicates only the consonant value when a dot is put above the graph[4], a dot is not placed on the graph when the consonant symbol includes the vowel [a][5], the *āytam*

2. 1.101.
3. I.6.
4. I.14.
5. I.17.

is dot-shaped[6]. Tolkāppiyar shows a good knowledge of phonetics and gives a detailed description of Tamil phonetics in the chapter on Piṛappiyal. In one *sūtra* he explains how speech sounds are produced.[7] In another *sūtrā*[8] he states that the air is initiated from the larynx for the vowels. This description may recall to us the description found in the Āpiśaliśikṣā. Similarly, the use of the terms *mey* 'body' for consonants and *uyir* 'life' for vowels in Tolkāppiyam is thought as reflecting a similar distinction made in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*[9] where body, self, and breath are equated with consonants, voice, and sibilants. Since the similarity is only partial, it may not be due to any influence of the Sanskrit tradition.

Although the system of Tamil does not include vowels of three *mātrā*-s duration, Tolkāppiyar found it necessary to make an explicit statement to that effect. It is argued that he speaks of three *mātrā*-s because of his knowledge of the Sanskrit system where, in addition to 'short' and 'long' vowels, prolated vowels are also found. The statement is made here, I think, to indicate that there is no symbol in the writing for prolated vowels although such vowels may be found in speech, e. g. while calling a person from a distance.

Tolkāppiyar also gives information on phonotactics when, for instance, he says that [k, c, p] occur as second member of clusters while the first member is anyone of the group consisting of [t, ṛ, l, ḷ].[10] Similarly, [y] and [v] occur as second member when the first members in the cluster are either [l] or [ḷ][11]; the nasals are followed by the homorganic consonants.[12] The composition of the diphthongs [ai] and [au] is stated as consisting of [a] as the first member and [i] or [u] as the second member, accordingly[13]; however, they are to be taken as representing single units of sound.

As already indicated, Pāṇini does not include discussion on phonetic units. Prof. Thieme has, however, observed that Pāṇini has made an exception to this general rule only in two places. They refer to the description of *anunāsika* sound and the composition and nature of *svarita* accent. As an

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6. I.38.
7. I.83.
8. I.84
9. II.2.4.
10. I.23.
11. I.24.
12. I.25.
13. I.54-55.

explanation, Thieme suggests that anything that may be looked upon as c o m p l e x is of interest to Pāṇini, anything s i m p l e (e. g. the pronunciation of the primary phonemes) is not. Since *anunāsika* and *svarita*, are in this sense complex, being 'made up' of two primary units, were included for a discussion in the grammar. The Śikṣā-s which treat phonetics in detail do not, however, include statements on phonotactics and distribution of sounds as initials and finals of words. Though similarity may be noted between *Tolkāppiyam* and Sanskrit phonetic texts, it may be said that Tolkāppiyar is following a different tradition since he includes details on Phonotactics. Of course, there are various other details of the Śikṣā-s that one misses in *Tolkāppiyam*, e.g. intra-buccal and extra-buccal processes, accentual system. Though the omission of accents is understandable, one would expect to find the buecal processes if Tolkāppiyar was influenced by the Sanskrit texts.

Sandhi is described by Tolkāppiyar as of two types: (i) within a word between the stem and the case suffix, and (ii) between words. Four possible sequences are noted in *sandhi* situation, viz. vowel+vowel, consonant+consonant, vowel+consonant, and consonant+vowel, and the result of *sandhi* operation is classified into transformation, appearance, disappearance and no change.[14] A few morphophonemic changes are also noted when *sandhi* is observed within a word between the stem and the case suffix; t/n→ṟ/ṉ/ l/n + __[15] t/ṉ→ḍ/ṇ/ṇ/ḷ+__[16], ṇ→ṭ /__+C[17], C →CC/y+__[18].
-vd. -vd.

Pāṇini employs chiefly three kinds of morphophonemic operations affecting the vowels. One is a phonological replacement rule as seen in the *sūtra*, *iko yaṇ aci*,[19] which is regular and automatic. The replacement is only for the first of the two sounds in sequence. There is another type of replacement as seen in the *sūtra*, *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*[20] which is also regular and automatic. The replacement is here, however, for both the vowels in sequence which is provided by another *sūtra*, *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ*[21] The vowels involved here are homogeneous vowels while in the other operation they are dissimilar. A third type is found which is not as extensive in application as the other two

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14. I.110.
15. I.150.
16. I.151.
17. I.303.
18. I.358.
19. 6.1.77.
20. 6.1.101.
21. 6.1.84,

are. There is elision here of the first vowel which is always [a]. This has restricted application in that the second vowel e/o has to be only the initial of a verbal root. A subdivision of the third type is seen in the operation in which the second vowel, which is always [a], is elided following e/o which are final of a word.

Besides the types of replacement found affecting the vowels, we find some different types of operation involving the consonants. Pāṇini appears to have treated junctural position as a relevant context for certain changes. The rule *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*[22] which states 'the last consonant of a cluster is dropped word-finally', is an instance. Similarly, the non-cerebralisation of an [n] at the end of a word[23] *(na) padāntasya,* and the replacement of [r] by *visarga*[24] are such conditioned operations. The first consonant getting replaced before another consonant (e.g. *tat+ca=tacca*) is a similar operation to the one noticed for the vowels. Though there is again similarity in the types of *sandhi*-operations, the authors may be said to be independently describing what seems to be better suited for the genius of their respective language.

In the morphology, a distinction is made by Tolkāppiyar between *uriccol* 'root morphemes' and *iṭaiccol* 'non-root morphemes'. Of the fully formed words, two classes, *peyar* 'noun' and *viṇai* 'verb', are mainly recognized[25] and their distinction is elaborately established. Noun is defined both morphologically and syntactically. Morphologically, they are distinguished from verbs in not denoting tense and capable of adding a case marker. They are classified into *uyartiṇai* 'rational' and *aḥriṇai* 'non-rational'.[26] In the first group are included human beings and gods, and in the second, all other beings and things. The distinction of masculine versus feminine is relevant only for the rational class; the members of the non-rational class are all neuters. The gender-distinction is neutralized in the plural of the rational nouns. The feminine form is not derived from its masculine counterpart; each has its own characteristic marker (e.g. masc.-n, fem.-l). There are six case affixes: *ai, oḍu, ku, in, athu,* and *kaṇ*[27] which come after the stem.[28] Certain increments (*sāriyai*) may come between the stem and the case affix and a detailed description is given about their use.

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22. 8.2.23.
23. *(na) padāntasya* 8.4.37.
24. *khar avasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* 8.3.15.
25. II.158.
26. I.118.
27. I.114.
28. I.117.

Pāṇini too recognised only two kinds of words, *subanta* 'nominal' and *tiṅanta* 'verbal'. The other two parts of speech viz. *upasarga* 'prefix' and *nipāta* 'particle' found in Yāska are included by Pāṇini under *avyaya* 'indeclinable.' *Avyaya-s* are considered as nominals and feminine affix as well as case terminations are provided after them, which, however, are later elided. *Avyaya-s* form bases for further derivation as much as nominals do (e.g. *tatratyaḥ* 'a person from there', *amātyaḥ* 'minister').

The term *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' is defined both formally as different from *dhātu* 'root', *pratyaya* 'affix', and semantically as having meaning. It is the linguistic form to which *vibhakti* terminations are added. That it is a relative concept is clear from Pāṇini's extending the designation of *prātipadika* also to *kṛt* 'primary formation', *taddhita* 'secondary formation', and *samāsa* 'compound formation'. *Prātipadika* is to be understood only in relation to a *pada* 'word' in which there are at least two element, a nominal stem and a case suffix. Pāṇini makes a distinction between derivational suffixes and the inflectional suffixes. Since the case-terminations are added after the stem which may already inelude a derivational afflx and since nothing can further be added to the resulting form, we may conclude that Pāṇini not only distinguishes between the two kinds of affixes but gives also their distribution in a word. The feminine form is not derived from the masculine, but from the *prātipadika* by adding the affixes *ī* or *ā*.

A broad distinction is made of verbs into *vinai* 'regular verbs' and *kuṟippu* 'appellative verbs' on the one hand, and into 'rational', 'non-rational', and 'common' verbs on the other. The latter distinction is the same as the one noted for the nouns. Accordingly, verbs also distinguish for gender, masculine and feminine in the rational class, and the non-rational verbs are all neuter. The 'common' verbs include various types of non-finite verbs, like the infinitive, gerund, and participial forms. Verbs are distinguished from the nouns in that they do not add case markers. They denote tense[29] and the tenses are given as three : past, present, and future.[30]

Like the noun, the verb is defined in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as a form ending in a set of terminations called *tiṅ* which denote person and number. It then gets the designation *pada* 'word'. The distribution of prefixes in the verbal forms is also given ; they go before the roots. There could be suffixes other than *tiṅ* which are added before *tiṅ* ; they denote tense and mood. Verb

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29. II.198.
30. II.199-200.

roots are classified formally into those adding *ātmanepada* suffixes and those adding *parasmaipada* suffixes. Semantic criterion and even syntactic consideration are involved in the choice of these affixes. Verb roots are also classified on the basis of nominals with which they collocate in a syntactic expression. Thus, all those verbs which require in their syntactic frame a nominal in the ablative case form are grouped in a class. They happen to be verbs the meaning of which is either 'to fear', or 'to protect', or 'to prevent'. Similarly, verbs, the general meaning of which is 'to be angry', 'to harm', 'to envy', and 'to detract' all belong in one class since there must be a nominal in the dative case in the syntactic construction in which these verbs are employed.

Words are not only formally described, they are also described by their function in a sentence. The verb was taken as the core of the sentence. Other words were considered as standing in specific relations to the verb and of these the most important are the nouns in their different case inflections. Such relations of the noun to the verb were designated by the term *kāraka* in Sanskrit. Both *Tolkāppiyam* and *Aṣṭādhyāyi* describe these relations essentially in similar terms. There are similarities in that both recognise only two parts of speech, noun and verb, and they are designated by the same term, *pada* in Sanskrit, *col* in Tamil. For both of them, the unit of speech is the sentence and the pertinent relations within a sentence are, therefore, only between the noun and the verb. There are also differences in details. While *kāraka* is the semantic relation, these relations are formally expressed by the *vibhakti*. Such a distinction in terminology, i e. one term for the case-form and another for the case relation, is not made in *Tolkāppiyam*. The case relations, *Karma, Karaṇa* are defined as related to the verb through the medium of *Kartṛ* 'agent'. This is clear for instance, in the definition of *Karma* as *kartur ipsitatamam*, 'the most desired of the agent'. In the description of these relations in *Tolkāppiyam*, there is no such intervention of *kartṛ*. The sociative relation is differently expressed in Sanskrit and in Tamil. This difference is carefully observed by our grammarians and is described accordingly. For Tolkāppiyar, the noun taking the case sign *oṭu* is of greater importance[31] than the noun in the nominative case (e.g. tāyoṭu makaḷ vantāḷ 'the daughter came along with the mother'). But according to Pāṇini the noun taking the case sign *saha*, which is the equivalent of *oṭu* is *apradhāna* 'secondary'. The nominative agreeing with the predicate is of greater importance (e.g. *putreṇa saha āgataḥ pitā*, 'the father came accompained by his son').

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31. II.91.

Now about the methodology. The grammatical works in the Sanskrit tradition are in the *sūtra* style which is best suited for economy of statement and of course for commiting to memory. A *sūtra*, by definition, is a brief statement employing a minimum number of syllables. The Sanskrit grammarians took special care not to waste even half a *mātrā* in the formulation of the rules. It is, therefore, not without reason that Aśvaghoṣa describes them as *akṣaracintaka* 'one who counts his syllables'. To achieve the utmost brevity, Pāṇini adopted certain devices in his grammar. They are : *anubandha* or *it* 'marker', *pratyāhāra* 'abbreviation', *gaṇa*-s 'lists of words', *saṃjñās* 'technical terms'. *paribhāṣas* 'rules of interpretation', and *adhikāra* and *anuvṛtti* 'governing rule and its carrying over to the sūbsequent rules'. We may briefly explain these. Certain sounds are considered *it* by Pāṇini which are just dropped in the final formation of the word. They are included, although later dropped, to signal some grammatical operation. They also help in the formation of *pratyāhāra*-s which are effected mainly by means of the *śivasūtra*-s. Each *pratyāhāra* stands for a set of sounds (e.g. ik=i, u, ṛ, ḷ) all of which undergo a common operation in the grammar. Similarly, groups of words are referred to by the first item in the list (e.g. *prādayaḥ* '*pra*, etc.'). The full lists are given in the *gaṇapāṭha*. Groups of roots too are referred to by their first member and the full lists are given in the *Dhātupāṭha*. These are measures to achieve economy, since words and roots which undergo the same operation in the grammar are conveniently referred to by just the first member avoiding the repetition everytime of long series. The use of technical terms is another device to avoid lengthy references everytime. For instance, *vṛddhi* is a term which refers to the sounds [*ā*, *ai*, *au*] and it would be certainly a saving when they are not repeated in that way. *Paribhāṣā*-s are statements helping in the correct interpretation of the rules, in the removal of conflict between two rules which operate simultaneously in the process of the formation of words[32] and in the formation of correct words. *Adhikāra* is a governing rule standing at the head of a section[33] e.g. *pratyayaḥ* and is taken as understood in the successive *sūtra*-s upto a particular limit. It covers sometimes a large number of rules and often extends to more than one *pāda* or even an *adhyāya* ; its scope may be said to cover a whole topic. The process of *anuvṛtti* concerns itself with a small group of *sūtra*-s, sometimes even two *sūtra*-s.

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32. E.g. *sūtra* 1.4.2 which states that when rules of equal force are in conflict, then the latter prevails over the former.

33. e.g. *pratyayaḥ* 3.1.1.

The rules in Pāṇini's grammar are ordered. For resolving the conflict, therefore, between operations provided by two rules, Pāṇini had to devise certain principles. They are: the principle of *paratva* by which a succeeding rule sets aside the operation of a prior one, the principle of *nityatva* by which operation of a *nitya* rule is given preference over that of an *anitya* rule, the principle of *antaraṅgatva* by which an *antaraṅga* rule is declared to supersede a *bahiraṅga* rule and the principle of *utsargāpavāda* which provides for the operation of an *apavāda* debarring the operation of an *utsarga* rule. Besides these four principles, Pāṇini employs another principle called *asiddhatva* 'non-effectiveness'. The text is, for this purpose, taken to be consisting of two parts, the first comprising seven and one-fourths from the beginning and the second comprising the remaining three quarters. By the rule *pūrvatrāsiddham*[34], Pāṇini declares that with regard to whatever has been said in the first part of his grammar, the operations provided in the second part are considered as having no effect. And it is further interpreted to mean that within the second part too, operations given in a later rule will be treated as having no effect on the operations stated in an earlier rule.

Tolkāppiyam is written in verse-cum-*sūtra* style. The tradition does not state that economy of statement was one of the guiding principles of Tamil grammarians. The purpose was simply to account exhaustively and to state in clear terms, without being vague. The grammatical rules were also not committed to memory in Tamil tradition as it is even today in the Sanskrit tradition. There is thus no need felt for the devices employed in Sanskrit grammars. There are neither *pratyāhāra*-s nor lists of nouns and verbs which undergo common grammatical operations. For instance, all the ten appellative verbs are listed in the *sūtra* itself[35] and all the 15 pronominal forms are given in the *sūtra*[36]. There are technical terms which would be required in any grammar (e.g. veṟṟumai 'case ending'), but terms like *vṛddhi*, *sarvanāma* of the Sanskrit grammars are not to be found here. Commentators have tried to show that there is the principle of *paribhāṣā* or metarule working in *Tolkāppiyam*. For instance, it is observed that *sūtra*-s II.202 and 203 suggest a *paribhāṣā* that, if a termination is mentioned in the *sūtra*, it suggests the verb with that termination. The principle of *anuvṛtti* is differently stated here from that followed in Sanskrit grammars. The use of words like *avaṟām*, *avaṟṟul* in a *sūtra* suggests a reference to what was already stated in the previous *sūtra*. Again, the concept of rule ordering

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34. 8.2.1.
35. II.220.
36. II.162.

that we are familiar with in *Aṣṭādhyāyi* is not found utilised in *Tolkāppiyam*. One might argue that the rules treating a particular topic are placed in an order. This kind of ordering is to be expected in any work, whether it is a grammatical work or a literary work. We, therefore, are not confronted with conflicts between the operations stated in any two rules.

Thus an examination of the contents treated in these two traditions shows that there is considerable similarity as well as difference. It is possible that the author of *Tolkāppiyam* had studied Sanskrit grammar. [If *orai* in III.133 is the astrological *hour* (from the Greek *horā*) the earliest possible date for the *Tolkāppiyam* would be the 2nd cent. B.C. Pāṇini is generally placed in the 5th or 6th cent.B.C.] It is, therefore, not surprising that one finds instances of Sanskrit influence. The word *atikāram* for the sections of his grammar and the term *karumam* 'object'[37] are Sanskrit. The numbering of cases into first, second, etc. is taken as an influence of Sanskrit. Some think that the phonetic section shows the influence of the Prātiśākhyas though the 'retroflex' consonants are n o t retroflex in *Tolkāppiyam* but are so in the Prātiśākhyas. We have already recalled *Āpiśaliśikṣā* in the description of the production of sounds in *Tolkāppiyam*. Although our śikṣā-s do not talk of distribution of combination of sounds, they are noted in the Prātiśākhya-s and are considered as the source for this information in *Tolkāppiyam*. Some also believe that the number of cases (seven, or eight, if the vocative is counted) was established under the influence of Sanskrit. Similarly, it is shown that many verb forms are taught through prototypes using the root *cey* 'do' as a model, inspired by the use of *kṛ* in Sanskrit. In the classification of nominal compounds, we might note the influeuce of *Mahābhāṣya* when *Tolkāppiyam* lists those with the stress on the first member, second member, both or neither, corresponding to *Avyayibhāva*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Dvandva*, and *Bahuvrihi*[38]. However, the inclusion of phonetics, metrics, and poetics with grammar and a few differences in the treatment of certain topics might suggest that *Tolkāppiyam* may be following a different but still an Indian tradition. He has not allowed himself to be fully influenced by the tradition of *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, though possibly he knew it. The techniques and principles of description observed in *Aṣṭādhyāyi* are completely lacking in *Tolkāppiyam*.

It is a misunderstanding on the part of those who believe that *Aṣṭādhyāyi* is mainly concerned with word formation and that rules on syntax and

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37. II.80.
38. II.413.

phonology are subservient to that.[39] As a proof of this they point out that there are no separate chapters on phonology and syntax but phonological and syntactic rules are interspersed with rules of word derivation. It may be shown that Pāṇini's concern was equally syntax and phonology. He derives the elements of sentences; corresponding to sentential expression and for the most part, alternating with them, he has derived compounds which form the basis for further derivation. From nominal bases he has derived secondary nominals which are again equivalent to separate expressions. Pāṇini's description is thoroughly cohesive in character and the rules are highly interrelated. For him, *vyākaraṇa* is an integrated description to present neatly the facts of a language in the most concise form. The *Kāraka* theory which probably inspired modern case grammar constitutes an important topic in Pāṇini's grammar. How could then one say that Pāṇini's main interest is word formation?

It is maintained by these scholars that in *Tolkāppiyam* the emphasis is mainly on syntax and word formation finds no place at all in it. How can this statement be true when the whole of first section concerns itself with matters other than syntactic? *Tolkāppiyam* does speak of elements which go into the formation of a noun form and a verb form. Is this not word formation? The separate treatment of phonology and syntax and subordination of morphology to syntax in *Tolkāppiyam*, it is claimed, have no parallels in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. Could this, viz. separation of linguistic levels, be considered a virtue, not shared by the Sanskrit tradition in which grammar was taken an integrated description of a language? Of the nine chapters of *Collatikāram*, the first four alone deal with syntax and the remaining five with morphology, i.e., one of 460 *sūtra*-s, the share of syntax is 154 *sūtra*-s and the remaining 306 belong to the area of morphology. How could this distribution be understood as reflecting subordination of morphology to syntax in *Tolkāppiyam*?

No one can deny that *Tolkāppiyam* shows influence of Sanskrit tradition. On the other hand, no one has shown that the Sanskrit tradition shows Tamil influence. Because of the differences we noted, it may be that *Tolkāppiyam* does not belong to the same tradition which is reflected in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyi*. The question whether there was a model which the author of *Tolkāppiyam* followed remains still to be answered.

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39. Agesthialingom, S. Foreword to (the second edition of) *Tolkāppiyam—Collatikāram* by P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, 1979. Annamalai University, p. viii.

"आनन्दसागरस्तव" एक परिचय

बटुकनाथ शास्त्री खिस्ते

संस्कृत वाङ्मय में दर्शन, धर्म तथा उपासना के क्षेत्र में श्री अप्पय्य दीक्षित की ख्याति चिरकाल से प्रसिद्ध है। इन्हें 'चतुरधिकशतप्रबन्धनिर्माता' कहा जाता था। लगभग सभी शास्त्रों में इनकी ग्रन्थ-सम्पत्ति उपलब्ध है। यह केवल पण्डित न होकर एक महान् साधक तथा सम्प्रदाय-प्रवर्तक पुरुष थे। शाङ्कर सम्प्रदाय की ही शाखा-प्रशाखाओं को सुदृढ़ करना इनकी लेखनी का लक्ष्य था। इन्हीं के सहोदर भ्राता थे श्री आच्चान दीक्षित तथा उनके पुत्र थे श्री नारायण दीक्षित। इनकी पत्नी का नाम श्री भूमिदेवी था।

इन भूमिदेवी के गर्भ से एक महान् कवि तथा साधक का जन्म हुआ, जिनका नाम श्री नीलकण्ठ दीक्षित था। इस वंश में सभी एक से बढ़कर एक विद्वानों की परम्परा प्रादुर्भूत हुई। श्री नीलकण्ठ के छोटे भाई श्री अतिरात्रयज्वा हुए।

श्री नीलकण्ठ दीक्षित में पाण्डित्य, कवित्व, सहृदयता तथा भक्ति का अद्भुत सामञ्जस्य था। इन्होंने अनेक ग्रन्थों का निर्माण किया जिसमें शिवलीलार्णव, गङ्गावतरण जैसे महाकाव्य तथा अनेक छोटे बड़े स्तोत्र, सुभाषित तथा दर्शन और तन्त्र ग्रन्थ भी हैं। यह वंश स्वभावतः भगवान् शिव तथा उनकी सहचरी भगवती उमा का निष्ठावान् भक्त था। यह हर्ष का विषय है कि श्री नीलकण्ठ दीक्षित के विषय में कुछ दिन पूर्व नागपुर विश्वविद्यालय के प्रो०के०रा० जोशी ने एक विस्तृत शोध प्रबन्ध 'नीलकण्ठ आणि त्यांची काव्यसंपदा' इस शीर्षक से मराठी में लिखा है। अच्छा होता कि उसे हिन्दी भाषा में भी अनूदित किया जाता। लेखक ने अत्यन्त परिश्रम से कवि तथा तात्कालिक वातावरण और कवि की रचनाओं का विशद परिचय दिया है। अतः उस विषय में अधिक न जाकर कवि के एक प्रमुख स्तोत्र का परिचय मात्र यहाँ प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा हैं।

संस्कृत वाङ्मय में स्तोत्र-साहित्य भी अत्यन्त विशाल है। स्तोत्रों को केवल देवता-स्तुतिमात्र समझना भूल होगी। उस प्रसङ्ग से कविगण शास्त्र, दर्शन, उपासना, साहित्य तथा प्रतिभा-चमत्कार उपस्थापित करते थे। सूर्यशतक, चण्डीशतक, शिवस्तोत्रावली, स्तवचिन्तामणि, नारायणीयम्, इत्यादि स्वतन्त्र प्रबन्ध के रूप से प्रख्यात हैं।

इसी परम्परा में हम श्री नीलकण्ठ दीक्षित के 'आनन्दसागरस्तव' का महत्त्व समझते हैं। 'आनन्दसागरस्तव' में आराध्य भगवती मीनाक्षी है, जिनका मन्दिर शिल्प-सौन्दर्य के लिए प्रसिद्ध है। 'शिवलीलार्णव' काव्य में इनकी कथा को बड़े ही सरस ढङ्ग तथा वैदर्भी शैली में कवि ने निबद्ध किया है, किन्तु अत्यन्त भक्ति और भावुकता के साथ स्वतन्त्र स्तोत्र-निर्माण के लिए कवि की बलवती प्रवृत्ति हुई ऐसा मालूम होता है।

'आनन्दसागरस्तव' की श्लोकसंख्या एक सौ आठ है, जो जपमाला के प्रतीक को बताती है। तन्त्रशास्त्र के अनुसार अनुलोम विलोम मातृकाएं सौ हैं तथा मातृका-वर्ग के कूटस्थ आठ अक्षरों को लेकर अष्टोत्तरशत-एक सौ आठ संख्या हो जाती है। कवि का अभिप्राय इस स्तोत्र से जगन्माता की आराधना ही है। सभी पद्य वसन्ततिलका वृत्त में निबद्ध हैं। बसन्ततिलका वृत्त में आरोह-अवरोह क्रम से पढ़ने में गाम्भीर्य की अनुभूति होती है।

इस स्तोत्र में कहीं भी शब्दाडम्बर या अतिरञ्जित आलङ्कारिकता का प्रयोग नहीं है। केवल भाव-प्रधानता से ही कवि ने अपने आशय को प्रकट किया है। जगह-जगह निगूढ़ दार्शनिक तत्त्व अत्यन्त सरल भाषा में अभिव्यक्त किये गये हैं, जिन्हें पढ़कर कवि की उपस्थापन-कुशलता पर आश्चर्य होता है। साथ ही उपासना के रहस्य भी अति सरल भाषा में कहे गये हैं। इस स्तोत्र के नाम-करण का भी सम्बन्ध एक मध्यवर्ती पद्य से है, जो कवि की भक्ति की पराकाष्ठा से प्राप्त जीवन्मुक्ति-दशा का परिचायक है। पद्य इस प्रकार है—

आचूडमाचरणमम्ब ! तवानुवार–
मन्तः स्मरन् भुवनमङ्गलमङ्गमङ्गम्
आनन्दसागरतरङ्गपरम्पराभि–
रान्दोलितो न गणयामि गतान्यहानि ।।

कवि का कथन है—'हे जगन्मातः। मस्तक से चरण तक तथा चरण से मस्तक तक आपके परमसौन्दर्यमय तथा मङ्गलमय अङ्गप्रत्यङ्ग का ध्यान करते हुए मैं आनन्द-समुद्र की तरङ्गों पर झूलता हुआ जो आनन्द पाता हूँ, उससे मुझे यह दिन और रातें कहाँ जाती है इसका कुछ भी ध्यान नहीं रहता है।

कवि की जीवन्मुक्ति-दशा का यह वर्णन है। प्रथम श्लोक में कवि ने सांसारिक भक्तपुरुष की अवस्था को दिखाते हुए लिखा है कि संसार में फँसे हुए भक्त को कभी मनोनुकूल अवसर ही नहीं मिल पाता है कि वह निश्चिन्त होकर अपने आराध्य से अपनी व्यथाओं का निवेदन कर सके। अन्ततः वह थक जाता है। उस विश्वोत्तीर्ण परा शक्ति से, जो बहुत दूर है, सम्पर्क करना उसे कठिन सा लगता है। इसी अवसर पर उसे स्मरण हो आता है कि विश्वमाता तो सभी जीवों पर सहज करुणावृत्ति करती हैं। 'महाकारुण्यरूपिणी' उसका नाम है और तत्क्षण करुणातरङ्गित माता के कृपाकटाक्ष का उसे दर्शन होता है। इस भाव को बड़े नपे तुले शब्दों में कवि ने लिखा है—

विज्ञापनार्हविरलावसराऽनवाप्त्या
मन्दोद्यमे मयि दवीयसि विश्वमातु: ।
अव्याजभूतकरुणापवनापविद्धा—
न्यन्त: स्मराम्यहमपाङ्गतरङ्गितानि ।।

आगे कवि का कथन है- 'यदि मैं अपनी व्यथा का निवेदन करूँ तो वह व्यर्थ सा है, क्योंकि आपको अविदित तो कुछ नहीं है परन्तु मानव-स्वभाव की यह दुर्बलता है कि जब तक अपना दुःख किसी से न कहा जाय मन हलका नहीं होता है। अतः हे मलयध्वज-राजकन्ये! मेरी बातों को कानों में डाल लो—

आवेद्यतामविदितं किमथाऽप्यनुक्तं
वक्तव्यमान्तररुजोपशमाय नाऽलम्
इत्यर्थ्यसे किमपि तच्छ्रवणे निधातुं
मातः प्रसीद मलयध्वजपाण्डकन्ये ।

शास्त्रों का सिद्धान्त है, 'प्रारब्धकर्मणां भोगादेव क्षयः' प्रारब्ध कर्म का भोग मुक्त पुरुष को भी करना पड़ता है। सञ्चित और क्रियमाण भले ही नष्ट हो जायें परन्तु भक्त का आग्रह है कि यदि तुमने प्रारब्ध कर्म की शृङ्खला न तोड़ी तो तुम्हारी क्या विशेषता रह जायेगी, क्योंकि तुम्हीं साध्य हो और साधन भी हो। तुम्हारी स्वतन्त्रता अपरिमेय है। जो श्रवण, मनन, निदिध्यासन आदि के द्वारा मुक्ति पाना चाहते हैं उनके लिए प्रारब्धकर्म प्रतिबन्धक हो सकता है, परन्तु 'चितिः स्वतन्त्रा विश्वसिद्धिहेतुः' इस प्रत्यभिज्ञा-सिद्धान्त के अनुसार पराशक्ति चाहे तो प्रारब्ध कर्म को अनायास मिटा सकती है। निम्नाङ्कित पद्य के द्वारा यह आशय व्यक्त हुआ है—

मुक्तिं सिसाधयिषतां निजयैव बुद्ध्या
प्रारब्धकर्म भवतु प्रतिबन्धहेतुः
त्वामेव साधनतयाऽपि समाश्रितानां
तुल्यं तदम्ब यदि कस्तव वीरवादः ।।

जगन्माता के चरण में 'कमल' चिह्न है। इस पर कवि कहता है जो यह मेरा हृदय-कमल आपके सुकुमार-पादतल में लगा वही तो आपके दो सौ से अधिक भुवनों के साम्राज्ययोग की सूचक पद्मरेखा है।' सामुद्रिक शास्त्र के अनुसार सम्राट् या सम्राज्ञी के पैर में पद्मरेखा होती है। शैव दर्शनों में भुवनों का वर्णन दिया गया है, जो दो सौ चौबीस हैं।

'चतुर्विंशत्युत्तरं यत् भुवनानां शतद्वयम्' इस प्रकार आगम-शास्त्रोक्त 'षडध्व' में कैसे भुवनाध्वा का वर्णन कवि ने किया है।

आगे कवि ने एक पद्य में ज्ञानोत्तर भक्ति सिद्धान्त का चमत्कार-पूर्ण विवेचन किया है। अद्वैतसिद्धान्त के अनुसार भेदज्ञान नष्ट होने पर जो उपासना की जाती है वही भक्ति है तथा भक्ति पञ्चम पुरुषार्थ है। उपनिषदों में कहा गया है 'यं मुक्ता अप्युपासते'।

कवि कहता है 'हे त्रिपुरे मुक्ताश्च' मोतियों की माला अथवा मुक्त पुरुष भी तुम्हारे स्तनपान की इच्छा से स्तनतट को नहीं छोड़ते तो मेरे जैसे उद्भट भवज्वर से परितप्त बालकों का सूखा हुआ मुख क्या कुछ आर्द्र न होगा। उन्हें स्तनपान का अवसर न मिलेगा।

मुक्ताश्च खल्वपि यदि त्रिपुरे! भवत्याः
स्तन्याशया स्तनतटं न परित्यजन्ति
अस्माकमुद्भटभवज्वरतापिताना—
मार्द्रीभवन्तु वदनानि कुतो न हेतोः ॥

उपनिषदों का मत है कि उस परब्रह्म के शासन में ही सूर्य, चन्द्र आदि अपनी गति पर लगे हैं, वायु भी उसी के शासन से चलता है। 'एतस्य प्रशासने गार्गि सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ विधृतौ तिष्ठतः', 'भीषास्माद्वातः पवते भीषादेति सूर्यः' इत्यादि सुना जाता है। परन्तु सर्वथा बालभाव ग्रहण कर जाने वाले को उसका अनुग्रह प्राप्त करना सहज साध्य है। एक जगह उपनिषद् में कहा गया है-

पाण्डित्यान्निर्विद्य बाल्येन तिष्ठासेत्

इस आशय को नितान्त सरल शैली में कवि ने अभिव्यक्त किया है—इस भगवान् परम शिव के अन्तःपुर में रवि का प्रवेश नहीं है, वात को भी जाना मना है। अधिक क्या कहें सारे संसार को इसकी भीतरी बातों की जानकारी नहीं है। परन्तु हमारे जैसे बालक को कोई रोक-टोक नहीं है। पहरेदार भी हमें नहीं रोक सकते हैं—

नाऽस्मिन् रविस्तपति नाऽत्र विवाति वातो
नाऽस्य प्रवृत्तिमपि वेद जगत्समस्तम्
अन्तः पुरं तदिदमीदृशमन्धकारै—
रस्मादृशास्तु सुखमत्र चरन्ति बालाः ॥

शास्त्रीय बातों को इतनी सरलता से लिखना कवि की लेखनी का चमत्कार है।

जगन्माता की उदार दानशील कृपादृष्टि का प्रभाव बताते हुए कवि ने लिखा—'हे अम्ब! आपकी उदार दानवी दृष्टि पृथ्वी को सुई की नोक के तुल्य तथा सुमेरु को अणुतुल्य समझती है। आपके उसी दृष्टिपात के प्रभाव से हम भी इस उत्तालतरङ्गों वाले भवसागर को एक तुच्छ 'पल्वल'-छोटी पोखरी-की तरह देख रहे हैं।

इस पद्य के द्वारा आगमशास्त्रीय वेधदीक्षा जो गुरु के द्वारा होती है, उसका सङ्केत मिलता है।

इस प्रकार यह सम्पूर्ण स्तोत्र अपने भावगाम्भीर्य, सहज सरल शैली तथा यथार्थ के निकट होने के कारण परिशीलनीय है। साहित्य और सौन्दर्य का भी इसमें परिपाक दर्शनीय है। कवि श्री नीलकण्ठ महान् पण्डित तथा सहृदय महाकवि थे, यह उनकी सभी रचनाओं से स्पष्ट है।

भारतीय मनीषा का नवनीत—ज्ञान, कर्म और भक्ति का तत्त्व-दर्शन—

विश्व का अनमोल ग्रन्थ-रत्न—

श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता

विजयेन्द्र स्नातक

भारतवर्ष के समस्त दार्शनिक, धार्मिक, साम्प्रदायिक तथा तत्त्व-चिन्ता विषयक ग्रन्थों में से यदि एक ग्रन्थ का चयन करना हो तो निस्सन्देह सर्वसम्मत रूप में श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता को ही यह मूर्धन्य स्थान प्राप्त होगा। भगवद्गीता को धर्म, दर्शन, ज्ञान, भक्ति, उपासना और कर्म—सभी क्षेत्रों में गूढ़-गम्भीर मीमांसा का ग्रन्थ स्वीकार किया जाता है। विभिन्न मतावलम्बियों ने अपनी-अपनी दृष्टि से गीता का विमर्श किया है और सभी आचार्यों और विद्वानों ने इस ग्रन्थ को अपनी विचारधारा का प्रबल समर्थक सिद्ध किया है। गीता दृष्टि-सृष्टि का अनुपम निदर्शन है। जिसकी जैसी भावना है उसे वैसी ही विलक्षण–तत्त्व-चिन्ता गीता में दिखाई देती है। यही कारण है कि आज तक गीता पर जितने भाष्य, टीका, शब्दार्थ–प्रतिपादक ग्रन्थ लिखे गये हैं उतने किसी भारतीय दर्शन या साहित्य-विषयक ग्रन्थ पर नहीं लिखे गये हैं। भारतीय विचारकों ने तो इसे अपने-अपने मत की प्रतिपादक ठहराकर भाष्य टीका आदि लिखे ही, किन्तु विदेशी विद्वानों ने भी इस ग्रन्थ में विविध प्रकार के जीवन-दर्शन खोजने का प्रयास किया है। ग्रीक, लैटिन, फ्रेंच, जर्मन, इंगलिश, रूसी, जापानी आदि भाषाओं में लगभग तीन दर्जन से अधिक भाष्य और अनुवाद गीता-विमर्श के लिए हुए हैं। इसके सार्वभौम महत्त्व का इससे बड़ा प्रमाण क्या हो सकता है।

भारतीय विद्वानों में शङ्कराचार्य से लेकर विनोबा भावे तक शताधिक विद्वानों के भाष्य टीका, अनुवाद, भावार्थ, शब्दार्थ, टिप्पणी, प्रवचन आदि गीता पर उपलब्ध हैं। गीता केवल दार्शनिकों और धर्माचार्यों के ही आकर्षण का विषय नहीं रही है, वरन् राजनेताओं, सामाजिक कार्यकर्ताओं और सामान्य जन को भी निरन्तर आकर्षित करती रही है। फलतः वह इस युग में

रामकृष्णपरमहंस, विवेकानन्द, लोकमान्यतिलक, महात्मा गांधी, विनोबा भावे, डा० राधाकृष्णन, अरविन्द आदि के भी ध्यान और बिमर्श का विषय वनी है।

गीता-माहात्म्य :

श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता महाभारत के भीष्म-पर्व का अङ्ग है। महाभारत में इसे पृथक् रूप में गीता नाम से कोई स्थान प्राप्त नहीं है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि श्रीकृष्ण के इस उपदेश को महत्त्वपूर्ण तथा सर्वजन-संवेद्य मानकर प्राचीन काल में ही महाभारत से अलग कर लिया गया था। उस समय इसे 'श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता–उपनिषद्' नाम से व्यवहृत किया गया था। आधुनिक युग में जो ग्रन्थ हमें उपलब्ध हैं उसमें प्रत्येक अध्याय के अन्त में समाप्ति-दर्शक संकल्प दिया हुआ है। वह इस प्रकार हैं : "इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिष्त्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां------ध्यायः।" इस संकल्प में उपनिषद् शब्द पर विचार करने से विदित होता है कि गीता को तत्त्व-चिन्ता से संश्लिष्ट करने की भावना प्रारम्भ से रही है। यह संकल्प यह भी व्यक्त करता है कि भगवान् के द्वारा गाया गया यह उपनिषद् है। गीता के माहात्म्य वर्णन में आलंकारिक शैली से जो वर्णन मिलता है वह भी गीता को उपनिषदों से जोड़ता है––

सर्वोपनिषदो गावो दोग्धा गोपालनन्दनः।
पार्थो वत्सः सुधीर्भोक्ता दुग्धं गीतामृतं महत्॥

समस्त उपनिषद् ग्रन्थ गो हैं, गोपालनन्दन (श्रीकृष्ण) दूध दुहने वाले हैं, गो का दूध पीने वाला बछड़ा पार्थ (अर्जुन) है और जो दूध दुहा गया है वही गीता रूपी अमृत है। इस माहात्म्य-वर्णन में गीता के महत्त्व का संकेत करना ही अभीष्ट है। श्रीकृष्ण और अर्जुन दोनों का गीता से सीधा सम्बन्ध भी इस श्लोक से स्पष्ट हो जाता है।

गीता-अभिधान का आकर्षण :

गीता नामक ग्रन्थ की विद्वत्समाज में प्रतिष्ठा होने से इसी नाम के अनुकरण पर परवर्ती काल में अनेक गीतानामधारी ग्रन्थों की रचना हुई है। वस्तुतः यह उपक्रम गीता के महत्त्व से प्रेरित होकर ही किया गया था, किन्तु तात्त्विक दृष्टि से सारवान् न होने से उनका धर्म, दर्शन या साहित्य क्षेत्र में कोई विशेष समादर नहीं हुआ है। हाँ, कुछ साम्प्रदायिक लोगों ने अपने अपने सम्प्रदायों में इन तथाकथित गीता-नामधारी ग्रन्थों को पठन-पाठन में स्थान दिया है, किन्तु सारहीन अथवा संकीर्ण दृष्टि के कारण इन ग्रन्थों का प्रचलन न हो सका। महाभारत के शान्ति-पर्व के कुछ श्लोकों को संकलित कर अनेक गीतानामधारी ग्रन्थों का भी प्रणयन किया गया है। पिंगल-गीता, बोध्य-गीता, हारीत-गीता, हंस-गीता उन्हीं में से हैं। कुछ गीतानामधारी ग्रन्थ देवी-देवताओं के नाम से भी रचे गये हैं, जैसे, गणेश-गीता, राम-गीता, सूर्य-गीता, व्यास-गीता, देवी-गीता, पाण्डव-गीता, शिव-गीता, ईश्वर-गीता आदि। इसी प्रकार अपने सिद्धान्त

निरूपण के लिए भी गीता नाम से कुछ ग्रन्थों के प्रणयन की सूचना मिलती है। इन समस्त गीता-नामधारी ग्रन्थों से केवल यही विदित होता है कि गीता को जो प्रतिष्ठा अपने रचनाकाल से मिली है वह परवर्ती अनेक लोगों के लिए स्पर्धा-ईर्ष्या का विषय बनी है, किन्तु कोई भी अन्य ग्रन्थ भगवद्गीता के समतुल्य न हो सका। भगवद्गीता निरन्तर पठन-पाठन, अध्ययन-अनुशीलन चिन्तन-मनन, ध्यान-धारणा का विषय बनी रही है। उसकी मीमांसा में युगानुरूप प्रभावों का सन्धान होने से उसकी व्यापक दृष्टि का भी प्रसार होता रहा है। आधुनिक युग में भी भगवद्-गीता का उपदेश अनासक्ति के साथ कर्म की प्रेरणा देता है जो विश्व के किसी अन्य ग्रन्थ में उपलब्ध नहीं है। बीसवीं शती में ही गीता पर लगभग दो दर्जन व्याख्याएं प्रस्तुत की गई हैं।

प्रस्थान-त्रयी और गीता के विविध भाष्य :

प्रस्थान-त्रयी वैदिक मतावलम्बियों के लिए पूज्य बुद्धि से ग्रहण किये जाने वाले तीन ग्रन्थों का समुच्चय है। प्रस्थान शब्द का अर्थ है--"प्रतितिष्ठति ब्रह्मविद्या येषु।" जिनमें ब्रह्म-विद्या प्रतिष्ठित (प्रतिपादित) होती है वे ग्रन्थ प्रस्थान में आते हैं। उपनिषद्, ब्रह्मसूत्र (वेदान्त-दर्शन) और श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता को इसमें स्थान प्राप्त है। इन तीन ग्रन्थों को ही प्रस्थानत्रयी में क्यों रखा गया है, यह एक विचारणीय प्रश्न है। इसका उत्तर विद्वानों ने अपनी-अपनी मति के अनुरूप दिया है। कुछ विद्वानों का विचार है कि प्रस्थान-त्रयी के तीनों ग्रन्थ पद्धति–भेद से प्रवृत्ति और निवृत्ति मार्ग का उपदेश देकर भव-बन्धन में फंसे व्यक्ति को माया-जाल से मुक्त करते हैं। जो लोग इन तीन ग्रन्थों के मन्तव्यों को स्वीकार नहीं करते हैं अथवा इन ग्रन्थों के सिद्धान्तों का विवेचन-विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत कर स्वमत की स्थापना नहीं करते हैं वे लोग अवैदिक हैं और उन्हें भारतीय तत्त्व-चिन्तन के क्षेत्र में ग्रहण नहीं किया जाता है। शंकराचार्य तथा उनके परवर्ती रामानुजाचार्य, मध्वाचार्य, निम्बार्काचार्य, वल्लभाचार्य ने प्रस्थान-त्रयी पर भाष्य या टीका लिखकर अपने-अपने अद्वैत मत की पुष्टि की है। अद्वैत की स्वीकृति होने पर भी शंकराचार्य से इन चारों आचार्यों का मत भिन्न प्रकार का था। विशिष्टाद्वैत, द्वैताद्वैत, द्वैत, शुद्धाद्वैत आदि विभिन्न नामों से इन आचार्यों ने गीता पर भी भाष्य या टीकाएं लिखी हैं। इस लेखन से गीता की प्रस्थान-त्रयी में प्रतिष्ठा के साथ भारतीय मनीषा में भी उसे उच्च स्थान प्राप्त हुआ है। लोकमान्य तिलक ने इस सम्बन्ध में टिप्पणी करते हुए लिखा है—"साम्प्रदायिक दृष्टि से प्रस्थान-त्रयी पर भाष्य लिखने की यह रीति जब चल पड़ी तब भिन्न-भिन्न पण्डित अपने-अपने सम्प्रदायों के भाष्यों के आधार पर टीकाएं लिखने लगे। यह टीका उसी सम्प्रदाय के लोगों को अधिक मान्य हुआ करती थी जिसके भाष्य के अनुसार वह लिखी जाती थी। इस समय गीता पर जितने भाष्य और जितनी टीकाएं उपलब्ध हैं उनमें से प्रायः सब इसी साम्प्रदायिक रीति से लिखी गयी हैं। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि यद्यपि मूल गीता में एक ही अर्थ सुबोध रीति से प्रतिपादित हुआ है तथापि गीता भिन्न-भिन्न सम्प्रदायों की समर्थक समझी जाने लगी।"[1]

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१. गीतारहस्य अथवा कर्मयोग शास्त्र, पृ० १२

प्रस्थान-त्रयी के अन्तर्गत गीता पर भाष्य लिखने वाले आचार्यों में शंकराचार्य की दृष्टि अत्यन्त स्वच्छ और स्पष्ट है। उन्होंने अद्वैत दर्शन के आधार पर गीता को निवृत्ति मार्ग का पोषक ग्रन्थ ठहराया है। निवृत्ति मार्ग संन्यास मार्ग का ही दूसरा नाम है। उनके मत में ज्ञान-प्राप्ति के बाद कर्म संन्यास अनिवार्य है। कर्म और ज्ञान में उन्होंने विरोध माना है। ज्ञान-प्रकाश-कारक है तो कर्म अन्धकार फैलाता है। ये दोनों परस्पर विरोधी भाव हैं, अतः मोक्ष-कामी को ज्ञान-मार्ग पर ही आरूढ़ रहना चाहिए। गीता के श्लोकों की इसी पीठिका पर शंकराचार्य ने विस्तृत भाष्य लिखकर कर्म की अवहेलना सिद्ध की है। 'ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुरुते' ज्ञान रूपी अग्नि से सब कर्म जलकर भस्म हो जाते हैं। शंकराचार्य के मत को स्वीकार करने वाले कई परवर्ती विद्वानों ने गीता को इसी दृष्टि से देखा-परखा है। यह सब दृष्टि-सृष्टि-वाद का परिणाम है।

श्री रामानुजाचार्य ने भी गीता पर विस्तृत भाष्य लिखा है। शंकराचार्य के अद्वैत मत को इन्होंने अपनी तर्क-पद्धति से खण्डित कर विशिष्टाद्वैत मत की स्थापना की है और गीता को इसी कसौटी पर कसा है कि गीता में यद्यपि ज्ञान, कर्म और भक्ति का वर्णन है तथापि तत्त्व-ज्ञान-दृष्टि से विशिष्टाद्वैत और आचार-दृष्टि से **वासुदेव भक्ति** ही गीता का प्रतिपाद्य है। कर्म-निष्ठा कोई स्वतन्त्र वस्तु नहीं है—वह केवल ज्ञान-निष्ठा की उत्पादक है।

श्रीमध्वाचार्य ने भी गीता पर भाष्य लिखा है और द्वैतवाद की दृष्टि से अपने विचार व्यक्त किये हैं। मध्वाचार्य का कहना है कि यद्यपि गीता में कर्म के महत्त्व का वर्णन है तथापि वह केवल साधन है, साध्य तो **भक्ति** है। भक्ति की सिद्धि हो जाने पर सांसारिक कर्म करने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं रहती है। गीता में कर्म के सम्बन्ध में जो विमर्श किया गया है उसे मध्वाचार्य ने अपने अनुशीलन में स्थान नहीं दिया है। फलतः रामानुजाचार्य की भाँति ये भी गीता को **भक्ति का ग्रन्थ** मानते हैं।

श्री वल्लभाचार्य ने गीता पर टीका लिखते समय शुद्धाद्वैतवादी दृष्टि से विचार किया है। इन्होंने मोक्ष-प्राप्ति के लिए **भगवद्भक्ति** को प्रमुख साधन माना है। तत्त्व-दीपिका में गीता के तात्पर्य को स्पष्ट करते समय ज्ञान और कर्म की आवश्यकता स्वीकार की गयी है, किन्तु अन्तिम उपाय **श्रीकृष्ण की भक्ति** ही को ठहराया गया है। निम्बार्काचार्य का मत भी इसी मत के अनुरूप है। निम्बार्क सम्प्रदाय के मनीषी विद्वान् केशव कश्मीरी ने गीता पर तत्त्वप्रकाशिका टीका में इसी मत की स्थापना की है। द्वैताद्वैत मत की दृष्टि से **भक्ति** पर इनका सिद्धान्त टिकता है। कर्मयोग को इन्होंने भी स्वीकार नहीं किया है। फलतः वैष्णव आचार्य गीता को भक्ति मार्ग का प्रतिपादक ग्रन्थ स्वीकार करते हैं।

इन आचार्यों के अतिरिक्त परवर्ती विद्वानों, पण्डितों, सन्तों, साधुओं और अन्य महानुभावों ने गीता पर जो टीका-टिप्पणी की है वह भी ध्यातव्य है। यह कम आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है कि साधु-सन्तों की विशाल परम्परा ने गीता को अपनी विचार सीमा से कभी बाहर नहीं किया है। कुछ विद्वानों ने समन्वयात्मक दृष्टि से गीता का विमर्श किया है और कुछ इसके मन्तव्य

की परख साम्प्रदायिक दृष्टि से करते रहे हैं। श्रीधर स्वामी की टीका में **भक्ति** को ही मुख्य प्रतिपादक सिद्ध किया गया है। मराठी के सुप्रसिद्ध गीता भाष्य 'ज्ञानेश्वरी' में समन्वयात्मक दृष्टि है। उन्होंने गीता के प्रथम छह अध्यायों को **कर्म** प्रतिपादक, मध्य के छह अध्यायों को **भक्ति** निरूपक और अन्तिम छह अध्यायों को **ज्ञान** मार्ग का समर्थक कहा है। ज्ञानेश्वर महाराज स्वयं परम योगी थे और ज्ञान मार्ग के साधक थे। सङ्क्षेप में, प्रस्थान-त्रयी के भाष्य तथा परवर्ती साधु-सन्तों की टीकाएं गीता को अधिकांश में ज्ञानपरक निवृत्तिमार्गी अथवा भक्तिमार्गी ग्रन्थ ही मानते हैं। कर्म-मार्ग अथवा कर्म-शास्त्र का विचार प्राचीन आचार्यों तथा साधु-सन्तों द्वारा नहीं किया गया है। ज्ञान और भक्ति पर ही उनकी दृष्टि केन्द्रित रही है।

चिन्तन की नयी दिशा : कर्म-योग और गीता

भगवद्गीता के माध्यम से श्रीकृष्ण ने अर्जुन को कुरुक्षेत्र की युद्धभूमि में जो उपदेश दिया था वही गीता नाम से व्यवहृत किया जाता है। वह उपदेश गद्यात्मक था या पद्यात्मक, अठारह अध्याय और सात सौ श्लोकों में था या कुछ न्यूनाधिक मात्रा में—यह सब विचार-विमर्श प्रस्तुत सन्दर्भ में ग्राह्य नहीं है। जिस रूप में आज हमें भगवद्गीता नामक ग्रन्थ उपलब्ध है और उस पर शताधिक विद्वानों के जो मत हमें मिलते हैं उनके आलोक में ही उसके मूल कथ्य का निर्णय करना है। गीता महाभारत के भीष्म पर्व का अंग है। महाभारत समस्त विषयों का आकर है—"यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न तत् क्वचित्—" जो महाभारत में वर्णित है वही अन्य शास्त्रों में है और जो यहाँ नहीं है वह किसी और जगह भी नहीं मिलेगा।" क्या गीता के विषय में यह सूक्ति किसी प्रकार चरितार्थ होती है ? गीता का क्षेत्र सम्भवतः इतना व्यापक नहीं है, किन्तु गीता के भाष्यकारों ने उसे ज्ञान, भक्ति और कर्म का समुच्चय बनाकर महाभारत के सदृश गूढ़-गम्भीर तत्त्व-ज्ञान का ग्रन्थ बना दिया है। महाभारत के तीन रूप हैं—**जय**, **भारत** और **महाभारत**। गीता इन तीनों रूपों में से किससे सम्बद्ध है यह अभी तक अनिर्णीत है। महाभारत शब्द का प्रयोग सामान्यतः प्रचलित है। उसे ही गीता के सन्दर्भ में स्वीकार करना चाहिए।

आधुनिक युग के चिन्तकों ने गीता के सम्बन्ध में विचार करते समय परिस्थिति, सन्दर्भ, वक्ता, बोद्धा, कर्तव्य-कर्म आदि पर दृष्टि रख कर कुछ ऐसे निष्कर्ष प्रस्तुत किये हैं जो पूर्वाचार्यों तथा साधु-सन्तों से भिन्न हैं। विदेशी विद्वानों के मन्तव्यों को यदि हम छोड़ दें और भारतीय विचारकों के निष्कर्षों पर ही दृष्टिपात करें तो हम देखेंगे कि गीता का सन्देश आधुनिक युग-सन्दर्भ में भग्न-मनोरथ, निराश, खिन्न और विषण्ण मन को जीवन-जागृति, बल और बलिदान की भावना से अनुप्राणित कर संसार के संघर्ष में जूझने की प्रेरणा देता है। कर्म की प्रेरणा देना तो प्रत्येक श्रेष्ठ ग्रन्थ का लक्ष्य है किन्तु निष्काम कर्म, अनासक्त भाव से कर्म, फल की कामना से रहित कर्म का उपदेश संसार के किसी अन्य ग्रन्थ में उपलब्ध नहीं होता है। जिसे लोकमान्य तिलक ने कर्मयोग नाम दिया था, महात्मा गांधी ने अनासक्ति योग कहा था, डा० राधाकृष्णन ने नीतिशास्त्र के साथ आत्म-स्वातन्त्र्य का ग्रन्थ बताया था, आचार्य विनोबा

भात्रे ने जिसे जीवनचर्या का सात्त्विक पाठ बताया था वह ग्रन्थ किस मार्ग का उन्मेष करता है ? विदेशी विद्वान् गीता को कर्मयोग-प्रधान तथा नीति-प्रधान मानते हैं। अरस्तू, प्लेटो, सुकरात, कांट, इमर्सन, जान स्टुअर्ट मिल आदि विचारकों से गीता के मूल प्रतिपाद्य की तुलना की गयी है और अपनी-अपनी दृष्टि से इसके कथ्य को पकड़ने का प्रयास किया गया है। क्या गीता में ऐसा कोई गोप्य भाव या गूढ़ सिद्धान्त छिपा है जो सही तौर पर किसी की पकड़ में नहीं आता है ? मैंने इस प्रश्न पर गम्भीरता से विचार किया है और निवृत्ति-प्रवृत्ति के द्वन्द्व को समझकर इनके साम्य--वैषम्य को तटस्थ भाव से देखना चाहा है।

निवृत्ति मार्ग के लिए भारतीय आश्रम व्यवस्था में संन्यासाश्रम का विधान है। ज्ञान के साधक कहते हैं कि वैराग्य-भावना के बिना ज्ञान की प्राप्ति नहीं होती है— "ऋते ज्ञाना-न्न मुक्तिः"—बिना ज्ञान के मोक्ष सम्भव नहीं है। फलतः भारत में निवृत्ति-मार्ग को प्रमुख स्थान प्राप्त हुआ था और अपरिग्रही संन्यासियों ने गीता में इसी मार्ग का सन्धान किया था। ज्ञान मार्ग की इस साधना के साथ संसार का मिथ्यात्व भी जुड़ गया और माया के द्वारा यह मिथ्या प्रतीति मनुष्य को भ्रमित करती रही। इसे अद्वैत दर्शन में अज्ञान, अविद्या अथवा अध्यास भी कहा जाता है। गीता में श्रीकृष्ण इसी मिथ्या ज्ञान या अध्यास से अर्जुन को मुक्त करना चाहते हैं, ऐसा ज्ञानमार्गी पण्डितों का कथन है।

अब विचार यह करना है कि श्रीकृष्ण ने युद्धक्षेत्र को उपदेश के लिए क्यों चुना और अर्जुन का कैवल्य दूर करने के लिए युद्ध में प्रवृत्त करने की प्रेरणा क्यों दी ? यदि कृष्ण अर्जुन को संन्यास या वैराग्य का उपदेश देते तो बात और थी। यदि निवृत्ति मार्ग में प्रवृत्त करना श्रीकृष्ण का उद्देश्य होता तो निश्चय ही वह अर्जुन को "युद्धस्व विगतज्वरः" का उपदेश कदापि न देते। अतः यह तो असन्दिग्ध रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि गीता का लक्ष्य औपनिषदिक वैराग्य से बचाना और यज्ञ-विषयक कर्मकाण्ड से दूर रखना है। उपनिषदों का ज्ञानयोग और मीमांसा का कर्मयोग दोनों ही श्रीकृष्ण को स्वीकार्य नहीं थे। गीता में कठोर तपस्या अथवा शारीरिक कष्ट-साधना का कहीं विधान नहीं है। भक्ति का विधान है, श्रद्धा और समर्पण का विधान है, फलासक्तिविहीन कर्म का विधान है, अतः हम कह सकते हैं कि गीता मनुष्य को जीवन-संघर्ष में पूरी शक्ति-सामर्थ्य के साथ जूझने और निरन्तर कर्म करने की सत्प्रेरणा देती है। इस सत्प्रेरणा के साथ भगवान् की भक्ति और उसका आश्रय भी आवश्यक मानती है। गीता वास्तव में तत्त्वचिन्तन के क्षेत्र में दार्शनिक समन्वय का समीकरण (Synthetic Philosophic Compromise)है—एक ऐसा समन्वयात्मक समीकरण जो अन्यत्र दुर्लभ है।

व्यामोह से मुक्ति का मार्ग :

दार्शनिक दृष्टिबिन्दुओं का समीकरण प्रस्तुत करते समय गीता में मुख्य सन्दर्भ—युद्धक्षेत्र—प्रस्तुत किया गया है। संसार के इतिहास में, पुराण अथवा मिथक में, कहीं इस प्रकार का विलक्षण सन्दर्भ नहीं मिलता है, जहां सारथि गुरु अपने योद्धा शिष्य को सच्चे जीवन-दर्शन का

बोध रणक्षेत्र में कराता हो। यदि हम अर्जुन को मोह या अज्ञान का प्रतीक भी मान लें तब भी इस विचित्र सन्दर्भ पर कोई दुष्प्रभाव नहीं पड़ता है। अर्जुन को जिस कारण युद्ध से विरति होती है वह सामान्यजन की समझ से बाहर की बात नहीं है। अर्जुन अपने समय का सबसे दुर्धर्ष धनुर्वेत्ता योद्धा था। श्रीकृष्ण को अर्जुन की वीरता का ज्ञान था। किन्तु अर्जुन के हाथ से धनुष् का छूटना, शरीर में कम्प होना, मस्तिष्क में चक्कर आना और युद्ध के मैदान से कायर की भांति भाग खड़े होने की इच्छा होना आदि ऐसे लक्षण हैं जो अर्जुन को मोहदशा में ले जाते हैं। इस मोह में अर्जुन की कायरता ही नहीं और भी कई तत्त्व काम करते दिखाई देते हैं। बन्धु-बान्धुओं और गुरुजनों का वध करने से हिंसा और पाप का भय; ममता की भावना; युद्ध में विजयी होने पर मन की अशान्ति आदि की बात अर्जुन ने श्रीकृष्ण से कही है। गीता के प्रथम छह अध्यायों में कर्म के सन्दर्भ में जो विचार व्यक्त किये गये हैं उनके विश्लेषण से हम इसी निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचते हैं कि सांसारिक दृष्टि से जो विहित कर्म हैं उनका पालन करना मनुष्य का धर्म है। यदि निवृत्ति-मार्ग का अनुसरण करते हुए व्यक्ति कर्म-विरत हो जाता है तो वह गीता के उपदेश को व्यवहार में लाने में अक्षम सिद्ध होता है। अतः गीता प्रवृत्ति का नया मार्ग खोजती है।

इस सम्बन्ध में विचार करते समय हमारे समक्ष गीता में प्रतिपादित योग शब्द की दो विभिन्न धाराएं आती हैं। गुणों के वैषम्य में साम्यभाव रखना ही योग है—"समत्वं योग उच्यते।" यह विचारधारा निवृत्तिपरक साङ्ख्य मत के अनुकूल है। दूसरी विचारधारा "योगः कर्मसु कौशलम्"—में है। अर्थात् कर्मों में संलग्न रहकर ऐसी विधि से कर्म करना कि उनमें लिप्त होने से बचा जा सके। कर्म, बन्धन का कारण न बने, अनासक्त होकर निष्काम भाव से कर्म साधना चलती रहे—यह योग-दर्शन के मत में है। इन दोनों धाराओं को जो भलीभाँति नहीं समझता है वह गीता के मूल प्रतिपाद्य को समझने में भूल करता है। गीता की कर्मयोग की धारणा मूलतः प्रवृत्तिपरक है। वह प्रवृत्ति "निवृत्तरागस्य गृहं तपोवनम्" जैसी भी मानी जा सकती है। इस कर्मशास्त्र के विषय में डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल ने लिखा है—"सम्भवतः संसार का दूसरा कोई भी ग्रन्थ कर्म के शास्त्र का प्रतिपादन इस सुन्दरता, इस सूक्ष्मता और निष्पक्षता से नहीं करता। इस दृष्टि से गीता अद्भुत मानवीय शास्त्र है।"

सांसारिक कार्यकलाप में लीन मनुष्य के सामने जीवन में ऐसे अनेक विचित्र प्रसङ्ग आ जाते हैं जब वह अपना कर्म मार्ग निर्धारित नहीं कर पाता है। यह स्थिति व्यामोह कहलाती है। यों तो सामान्यतः कर्म-अकर्म का निर्णय करना ही कठिन है, किन्तु मनःस्थिति के दोलायमान हो जाने पर कर्म का निर्णय और अधिक दुष्कर हो जाता है। अर्जुन इसी कार्पण्यजनित मनः स्थिति का शिकार है। श्रीकृष्ण ऐसे अवसर पर कर्तव्याकर्तव्य का दृढ़ता के साथ निश्चय करते हैं। अर्जुन का विषाद कार्पण्यजनित दुर्बल मन प्रश्नों से भर जाता है। अपने बान्धवों को मारने से कुलक्षय होगा जो एक बड़ा पातक है—ऐसा अर्जुन के भ्रमित चित्त का संशय है। गीता का प्रथम अध्याय इसी विषाद—कार्पण्य—को प्रस्तुत करता है।

गीता का द्वितीय अध्याय कर्मयोग का प्रतिपादन करने वाला, संसार-समर में संशय रहित मन से कर्तव्य पालन करने का उपदेश देने वाला, निष्काम भावना से, इन्द्रिय-दमन-पूर्वक श्रद्धा-संयुत होकर कर्म की प्रेरणा देने वाला है। जीवन और मृत्यु का रहस्य भी इसी अध्याय में वर्णित है। आत्मा की अमरता और शरीर की अनित्यता को स्पष्ट करते हुए श्रीकृष्ण ने अर्जुन से कहा—

अशोच्यानन्वशोचस्त्वं प्रज्ञावादांश्च भाषसे।
गतासूनगतासूँश्च नानुशोचन्ति पण्डिताः ॥[२]

जिनके लिए शोक नहीं करना चाहिए, हे अर्जुन, तू उन्हीं के लिए शोक कर रहा है। बड़ी ऊँची-ऊँची ज्ञान की बातें कर रहा है। किसी के प्राण चाहे जायं या चाहे रहें, ज्ञानी पुरुष प्राण के लिए शोक नहीं करते हैं। इस श्लोक में निर्गत प्राण या स्थित प्राण के विषय में जो कहा गया है वह यही बताता है कि प्राण तो शरीर सञ्चालन वायु है। मूल तो आत्मा है जो अमर है—शरीर के नष्ट हो जाने से आत्मा पर कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ता है।

न जायते म्रियते वा विपश्चिन्नायं कुतश्चिन्न बभूव कश्चित्।
अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे ॥[३]

कठोपनिषद् के इस श्लोक का हवाला देकर श्रीकृष्ण ने आत्मा की नित्यता, शाश्वतता, अजरता और अमरता का उपदेश दिया है। इसी भाव को समझाने और स्पष्ट करने के लिए जीर्ण वस्त्र के साथ शरीर की तुलना की गयी है। आत्मा को अकाट्य, अदाह्य, अशोष्य आदि बताकर उसके नित्य अविकारी स्वरूप का बोध कराया गया है। शरीर, प्राण, आत्मा आदि की स्थिति स्पष्ट करने के अनन्तर अर्जुन की शोक-विह्वलता को दूर किया गया है तथा बताया गया है कि यदि वह रण क्षेत्र से पलायन कर गया तो उसकी अपकीर्ति फैलेगी। लोग उसे कायर, भीरु और नपुंसक कहेंगे। उसे स्मरण दिलाया गया है कि समाज में सम्मानित व्यक्ति के लिए अपयश तो मृत्यु से भी बढ़ कर होता है।

अकीर्तिं चापि भूतानि कथयिष्यन्ति तेऽव्ययाम्।
संभावितस्य चाकीर्तिर्मरणादतिरिच्यते ॥[४]

इसके बाद युद्धभूमि में सन्नद्ध योद्धा का कर्तव्य कर्म भी अर्जुन को बताया गया है। यह कर्मयोग ही गीता की प्रेरणा है। यही कर्मशास्त्र है जो शास्त्र-स्तर पर कहीं नहीं है—

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२. भगवद्गीता, २.११
३. कठोपनिषद्, १.२.१८
४. भगवद्गीता, २.३४

हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं, जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे महीम्,
तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय युद्धाय कृतनिश्चयः ।।
सुखदुःखे समे कृत्वा लाभालाभौ जयाजयौ ।
ततो युद्धाय युज्यस्व नैवं पापमवाप्स्यसि ।।[५]

कर्म के प्रति आस्था रखने से मरण का भय मिट जाता है। अर्जुन यदि रणभूमि में मारा गया तो उसे स्वर्ग प्राप्त होगा, यदि विजयी हुआ तो वह पृथ्वी का भोग करेगा। इस लिए उसे युद्ध के लिए—कर्म के लिए–निश्चय करना होगा। उसे विवेकी चित्त से संसार की उपलब्धियों को, लाभ-हानि को, सुख-दुःख को समान रूप में ग्रहण करना होगा। यदि वह इस समत्व बुद्धि से स्थितियों का सामना करेगा तो निश्चय ही उसे किसी प्रकार का पाप नहीं लगेगा। इसके आगे कर्म करने या न करने में भी मनुष्य की सीमाएं हैं। मनुष्य का अधिकार केवल कर्म करना है। फल मिलना या न मिलना मनुष्य के हाथ में नहीं है। यह समझ कर फलासक्ति छोड़कर कर्म का आचरण ही ठीक है।

"कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन।" यही गीता का कर्मशास्त्र है जो कर्मयोग के नाम से विख्यात है। सांसारिक दृष्टि से यह "आदर्श वाक्य" ही कहा जायेगा, क्योंकि बिना प्रयोजन के मूर्ख व्यक्ति भी कर्म में प्रवृत्त नहीं होता है—ऐसा नीति वाक्य प्रसिद्ध है—'प्रयोजन-मनुद्दिश्य नहि मन्दोऽपि प्रवर्तते'। प्रयोजन में फलासक्ति अन्तर्भुक्त ही है। इस फलासक्ति को त्यागकर निष्काम भाव से कर्म करना कठिन है किन्तु गीता का कर्मयोग इसी पर आधृत है। कर्म की सिद्धि या असिद्धि में समत्व भाव का भी उपदेश इसी अध्याय में है। "सिद्ध्यसिद्ध्योः समो भूत्वा समत्वं योग उच्यते।" साम्य बुद्धि ही कर्मयोग की जड़ है। समत्व बुद्धि के विषय में विद्वानों में मतभेद अवश्य है। कुछ विद्वान् बुद्धि शब्द को ज्ञान का पर्याय ठहराकर इसे ज्ञान-मार्ग का उपदेश कहते हैं किन्तु मूल प्रकरण को यदि ध्यान में रखा जाये तो यहाँ ज्ञान मार्ग का आरोप युक्तिसंगत प्रतीत नहीं होता है। इस कर्ममार्ग की प्रेरणा देकर भी श्रीकृष्ण ने अर्जुन को जीवन-दर्शन के गन्तव्य स्थल से विमुख नहीं किया है। इसी अध्याय के अगले पैंतीस श्लोकों में स्थितप्रज्ञ का स्वरूप, विषयासक्ति का परिणाम, चित्त की प्रसन्नता, इन्द्रियनिग्रह, वासना से विमुखता आदि का उपदेश है। अध्याय के अन्तिम दो श्लोकों में कर्मयोग का उपसंहार करते हुए बताया गया है कि जो पुरुष सब प्रकार की आसक्ति त्याग कर, निस्पृह होकर व्यवहार करता है, जिसमें ममत्व तथा अहंकार नहीं होता है वही शक्ति प्राप्त करता है। यही ब्राह्मी स्थिति है। इस स्थिति में पहुंचकर कोई मोह में नहीं फँसता है और मरणदशा में भी ब्रह्म-निर्वाण को प्राप्त करता है।

विहाय कामान्यः सर्वान्पुमांश्चरति निःस्पृहः।
निर्ममो निरहंकारः स शान्तिमधिगच्छति ।।[६]

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५. वही, २.३७-३८

६. वही, २.७१

कर्म-विमर्श का यह समस्त प्रकरण किसी अन्य शास्त्र के मेल में न होकर स्वतन्त्र चिन्तन प्रस्तुत करता है। कर्म का क्षेत्र अति व्यापक है किन्तु लोक-संग्रह की भावना से सम्पादित कर्म की प्रतिष्ठा द्वारा श्रीकृष्ण ने अर्जुन को जनकादि का उदाहरण देकर तथा स्वयं अपनी कर्मं-नेरन्तर्यता बताकर कर्मयोग की स्थापना की है।

कर्मणैव हि संसद्धिमास्थिता जनकादयः।
लोकसंग्रहमेवापि संपश्यन्कर्तुमर्हसि ॥[७]

लोक-संग्रह और कर्म-मार्ग :

लोक-संग्रह को दृष्टि में रखकर कर्म करने वाला व्यक्ति संकीर्ण स्वार्थपरायणता से मुक्त हो जाता है। उसका परिवार वसुधा बन जाता है। कर्म के फल की कामना विलीन हो जाती है। श्रीकृष्ण जानते थे कि कर्म का स्वरूप-निर्णय करना कठिन है। "गहना कर्मणो गतिः" कह कर उन्होंने अर्जुन को समझाया था और कहा था कि यदृच्छा से जो प्राप्त हो जाये उसमें सन्तुष्ट, द्वन्द्वों से मुक्त, निर्मत्सर और कर्म की सिद्धि या असिद्धि को एक सा ही मानने वाला पुरुष कर्म करके भी उनके पाप-पुण्य से बद्ध नहीं होता है। मन को संशयरहित बनाकर श्रद्धा-संयुत चित्त से कर्म में प्रवृत्त होने वाला व्यक्ति खिन्न और विषण्ण नहीं होता है। श्रद्धालु को यथेष्ट ज्ञान प्राप्त होता है, संशयात्मा का नाश हो जाता है। यह ठीक है कि कर्म-संन्यास भी आत्मा की शान्ति का एक सुन्दर उपाय है, किन्तु संसार में रहते हुए लोक-संग्रह-संयुत कर्म ही आवश्यक है, अतः श्रीकृष्ण ने अर्जुन से कहा है—"तयोस्तु कर्मसंन्यासात्कर्मयोगो विशिष्यते।" कर्मयोग को वरीयता देकर रणक्षेत्र के सन्दर्भ में जो कुछ कहा गया था उसकी पुष्टि भी कर दी गयी है। कर्म की प्रेरणा के साथ अध्यात्म-चिन्तन को इसी के साथ छोड़कर साम्यबुद्धि का निर्देश किया गया है। लोक-संग्रह-पूर्वक कर्मनिष्ठ व्यक्ति को यह समझ लेना चाहिए कि वह संसार में रहता हुआ जो आचरण करे उसमें समताभाव सतत बना रहे। भेद-बुद्धि या पक्षपात बुद्धि से कर्म न करे। समस्त प्राणियों में समबुद्धि रखे।

विद्या विनयसम्पन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि।
शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥[८]

कर्म-संन्यास और कर्म-योग—

गीता में बार-बार इस प्रश्न को उठाया गया है कि कर्म-संन्यासी और कर्मयोगी में क्या अन्तर है। यदि साङ्ख्य- दर्शन की भावना को प्रमुख स्थान दिया जाये तो कर्म-संन्यास द्वारा

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७. वही, २.२०

८. वही, ५.१८

ज्ञानमार्ग में प्रवृत्त होना ही मनुष्य का कर्तव्य होना चाहिए। किन्तु छठे अध्याय के प्रारम्भ में ही इस विचिकित्सा का समाधान मिल जाता है—

अनाश्रितः कर्मफलं कार्यं कर्म करोति यः।
स संन्यासी च योगी च न निरग्निर्न चाक्रियः ॥[९]

कर्म फल पर आश्रित न होकर जो शास्त्रानुकूल कर्म करता है, वही संन्यासी है और वही कर्मयोगी है। जो अग्निहोत्र आदि कर्मो से विरत होकर, निष्क्रिय बैठ जाता है वह न तो सच्चा संन्यासी है और न कर्मयोगी। आहार-विहार में संयमित, कर्मो के आचरण में मर्यादित, शयन-जागरण-परिमित व्यक्ति के लिए योग सब दुःखों को नष्ट करने वाला होता है। यहाँ (पातञ्जल) योगक्रिया के विषय में संकेत किया गया है। यह भी कर्मयोग का ही एक विधान है।

युक्ताहारविहारस्य युक्तचेष्टस्य कर्मसु।
युक्तस्वप्नावबोधस्य योगो भवति दुःखहा ॥[१०]

इसी प्रकरण में श्रीकृष्ण ने अर्जुन को योग के साथ मनोनिग्रह और ध्यान-धारणा का भी बोध कराया है। मन की चञ्चलता, मन की वेगगति, मन का निग्रह आदि समझाते हुए कहा गया है कि योग-दर्शन में प्रतिपादित रीति से ही मन को वश में करना चाहिए।

असंशयं महाबाहो मनो दुर्निग्रहं चलम्।
अभ्यासेन तु कौन्तेय वैराग्येण च गृह्यते ॥[११]

संक्षेप में, कर्मयोग का प्रतिपादन करते हुए मनुष्य के मनोजगत् और मनोविकारों का जिस रूप में वर्णन किया गया है वह एक और सम्पूर्ण मनोविज्ञान को उद्घाटित करता है तो दूसरी ओर साङ्ख्य और योग में निरूपित शास्त्रीय मीमांसा पर भी प्रकाश डालता है। यह कहना असङ्गत या भ्रामक नहीं है कि कर्मयोग अथवा कर्मशास्त्र का ऐसा मौलिक विवेचन किसी देश की भाषा में न तो भगवद्गीता की रचना से पहले हुआ था और न अद्यावधि हो सका है। श्रीकृष्ण ने निःसन्देह उपनिषद् और दर्शनशास्त्र को गीता में समन्वित रूप में समाविष्ट कर दिया है।

ज्ञान–विज्ञान तथा भक्ति :

गीता में ज्ञान—विज्ञान के साथ उन तत्त्वों का भी वर्णन और सूक्ष्म रीति से प्रतिपादन मिलता है जो उपनिषदों के चिन्तन—मनन के विषय हैं। अध्यात्म–चिन्तन की जो

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९. वही, ६.१
१०. वही, ६.१७
११. वही, ६.३५

पद्धति उपनिषदों में है उसका सार-संक्षेप गीता के सातवें से ग्यारहवें अध्याय तक क्षेत्र-क्षेत्रज्ञ, क्षर-अक्षर, ब्रह्म-विद्या, विभूतियोग तथा विश्वरूप-दर्शन आदि गूढ़-गम्भीर विषयों का सहज सरल शैली में उद्‌घाटन किया गया है। सृष्टि के नानात्व का ज्ञान ही विज्ञान है। यह शब्द विशिष्ट ज्ञान के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त है। नानात्व के ज्ञान के बाद एकत्व की प्रतीति ही ज्ञान है। भौतिक जगत् में हमें जो कुछ दिखाई देता है वह अपरा प्रकृति है, इसमें ईश्वर की प्रेरणा से जो चेतना आती है उसे परा प्रकृति कहते हैं। ईश्वरीय सत्ता के नाना रूपों का वर्णन करके यह बताया गया है कि कर्मयोगी को इस नानात्व को भली भाँति समझ कर अपना मार्ग निर्धारण करना चाहिए। अक्षर विद्या का जो वर्णन हमें उपनिषदों में मिलता है उसे हम गीता में भी देख सकते हैं। अक्षर ब्रह्म परम ब्रह्म अक्षर है। इस वर्णन को पढ़कर पाठक का ध्यान उपनिषदों की ब्रह्मविद्या की ओर जाना स्वाभाविक है। इसके आगे अध्यात्म का विचार है जिसे गीताकार ने राजगुह्ययोग शब्द से व्यवहृत किया है। समस्त चराचर जगत्, देवी-देवता, सत्-असत् सब का पर्यवसान ब्रह्म में है। मनुष्य अपनी इच्छा, साधन-सम्पन्नता, योग्यता, भावना और बुद्धि-विवेक से अपने इष्ट की पूजा-अर्चना करता है; उसे भक्ति कहते हैं। भक्ति भाव में जड़-चेतन का भी भेद नहीं है। लोग पीपल, पहाड़ (गोवर्धन), नदी (गंगा) आदि की पूजा करते हैं। सांप, कच्छप, मत्स्य आदि को भी पूज्य मानते हैं। यह भक्ति का विलक्षण क्षेत्र है। गीता में विभूतियोग शीर्षक से इस प्रकार की भक्ति का स्वरूप स्पष्ट किया गया है। यदि कोई भक्त सात्विक भाव से उन शक्तिशाली रूपों की पूजा करता है तो वह भगवान् का भक्त ही है। भगवान् को देखने, जानने-मानने और पूजने में भक्त की भावना ही प्रमुख रहती है। जिस प्रकार ऋग्वेद के पुरुषसूक्त में तथा छान्दोग्योपनिषद् में ईश्वर का वर्णन है और अन्त में कह दिया गया है कि 'एतावान् अस्य महिमाऽतोऽज्यायांश्च पूरुषः'—यह इतनी (ईश्वर की) इसकी महिमा हुई, पुरुष तो इसकी अपेक्षा कहीं श्रेष्ठ है। गीता के ग्यारहवें अध्याय में भगवद्-रूप का वर्णन करने के पश्चात् स्वयं भगवान् कृष्ण ने अपना दिव्य रूप अर्जुन के समक्ष दिखाया है। इसे विश्वरूप-दर्शन-योग कहा जाता है।

लोक-व्यवहार :

गीता के मर्म को हृदयंगम करने के लिए कर्मयोग, ज्ञानयोग, भक्तियोग के साथ कर्मफल-त्याग का अभ्यास अपेक्षित है। इसके साथ ही जीवनचर्या को भी एक विशेष शैली में ढालने की आवश्यकता होती है। यह शैली चरित्र विकास की सरणि है। किसी से द्वेष न करना, समस्त प्राणियों से मित्रतापूर्ण व्यवहार करना, करुणापूर्ण रहना, ममत्व और अहंकार से रहित होना, सुख-दुःख में समान भाव रखना, क्षमाशील होना, मनुष्य के अपने विकास के लिए अत्यावश्यक है।

अद्वेष्टा सर्वभूतानां मैत्रः करुण एव च।
निर्ममो निरहंकारः समदुःखसुखः क्षमी ॥

सन्तुष्टः सततं योगी यतात्मा दृढनिश्चयः ।
मय्यर्पितमनोबुद्धिर्यो मद्भवतः स मे प्रियः ॥[१२]

भक्त और भक्ति-योग का विवेचन गीता में सांकेतिक रूप से किया गया है, किन्तु साम्प्रदायिक दृष्टि से भाष्य, टीका या वृत्ति लिखने वाले आचार्यों ने समस्त गीता तत्त्व को भक्तिपरक सिद्ध करने का प्रयास किया है। भगवान् की शक्तिसामर्थ्य और सृष्टि रचना-प्रसंग में भक्ति का वर्णन गीता में है, किन्तु गीता को आद्यन्त भक्ति-विमर्श का ग्रन्थ ठहराना युक्तिसंगत नहीं है। क्षेत्र-क्षेत्रज्ञ विचार से शरीर और जीवात्मा के धर्मों का संकेत देकर इस रहस्य को विस्तृत किया गया है कि इस शरीर-रचना में सोद्देश्यता है। जो इसके रहस्य को नहीं जानते हैं वे कर्म ज्ञान और भक्ति तत्त्व को ठीक प्रकार से नहीं समझ सकते हैं।

गीता के तेरहवें अध्याय से सत्रहवें अध्याय तक जिन विषयों का उपदेश दिया गया है वे सभी गूढ़-दार्शनिक सिद्धान्तों पर प्रकाश डालते हैं। इन विषयों की चर्चा उपनिषदों में उपलब्ध है, किन्तु वहाँ ज्ञानमार्गीय दृष्टि की प्रधानता से विषय का निरूपण गीता से भिन्न कोटि का है। सत्त्व, रजस्, तमस नामक गुणत्रय की व्याख्या सांख्यमतानुसार न करके नवीन दृष्टि से की गयी है। पन्द्रहवें अध्याय में विश्व का वर्णन अश्वत्थ वृक्ष के रूप में किया गया है। रूपक शैली का यह वर्णन काव्यात्मक होने के साथ कठोपनिषद् के आधार पर है। इस प्रकार के रूपकात्मक वर्णन छान्दोग्य, श्वेताश्वतर उपनिषदों और महाभारत में भी मिलते हैं। इसी प्रकरण में क्षर-अक्षर का भी विवेचन है तथा यह स्पष्ट किया गया है कि इस लोक में क्षर और अक्षर दो संज्ञाएं हैं। समस्त नाशवान् भूतों को क्षर कहा जाता है और सब भूतों के कूट में—मूल में—रहने वाले को कूटस्थ अक्षर कहते हैं, जो प्रकृति रूप अव्यक्त तत्त्व है। परमात्मा इन दोनों से ऊपर है। वह अव्यय है और त्रैलोक्य में व्याप्त रहता है। क्षर अक्षर का विवेचन उपनिषदों में भी विस्तारपूर्वक किया गया है। इन समस्त वर्णनों में मौलिकता लाने और मनुष्य को सन्मार्ग की ओर प्रेरित करने के लिए इनका प्रतिपादन सरल और सुबोध शैली में उपलब्ध होता है।

मनुष्य की वृत्ति और लोक-व्यवहार :

इस सृष्टि में हमें दो प्रकार की प्रवृत्तियों के मनुष्य दिखाई देते हैं। आसुरी प्रवृत्ति के मनुष्य तामस गुण प्रधान होने से मर्त्यलोक की अनृतमयी भावनाओं से अन्धकार फैलाते हैं। दैवी प्रवृत्ति अमृतत्वमयी, प्रकाशमयी तथा सत्यनिष्ठ होती है। गीता में इस द्विविध रूप सृष्टि का वर्णन दैवीसम्पत् और आसुरी सम्पत् के नाम से सोलहवें अध्याय में है। दम्भ, क्रोध, निष्ठुरता, अज्ञान आदि आसुरी (राक्षसी) सम्पत्ति में जन्मे हुए मनुष्य में रहते हैं। तेजस्विता, क्षमा, धृति, शुचिता, अक्रोध, शान्ति आदि गुण दैवी सम्पत्ति वाले पुरुष में रहते हैं। आसुरी सम्पत्ति बन्धनकारक और दैवी मोक्षदायक है। आसुरी वृत्ति वाले व्यक्ति कर्तव्याकर्तव्य का

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१२. वही, १२.१३–१४

निर्णय नहीं कर पाते हैं; वे आचार में भी शुद्धता नहीं रखते हैं। विषय-वासना में फंसकर वे अपना जीवन तो नष्ट करते ही हैं, इस संसार को भी दोषमय बनाते हैं। गीता में आसुरी सम्पत्ति वाले व्यक्ति का जो वर्णन है वह आधुनिक युग के स्वार्थी, मोहान्ध, छली, कपटी व्यक्तियों पर पूरी तरह घटिता होता है। आसुरी वृत्ति से छुटकारे का उपाय भी इसी अध्याय में बताया गया है। काम, क्रोध और लोभ नरक के तीन द्वार हैं। जो इन तीनों का त्याग कर देता है वह आसुरीसम्पत् से छूटकर दैवी सम्पत्ति का अधिकारी हो जाता है।

त्रिविधं नरकस्येदं द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः।
कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत्त्रयं त्यजेत् ॥[१३]

दैवी सम्पत्ति प्राप्त करने के बाद मनुष्य को शास्त्र विधि का यथोचित पालन करना चाहिए। शास्त्र मर्यादा के निर्वाह के लिए श्रद्धा की आवश्यकता होती है। वह श्रद्धा तीन प्रकार की होती है। सात्विकी, राजसी और तामसी। सात्विकी वृत्ति के लोग देवताओं का भजन करते हैं, राजसी वृत्ति के लोग यक्षों और राक्षसों का भजन करते हैं और तामसी वृत्ति के लोग भूत-प्रेतों का भजन करते हैं। शारीरिक यातना सहकर दम्भपूर्ण तपस्या करने वाले लोग तामस गुण प्रधान ही हैं। वे व्यक्ति अविवेकी और आसुरी वृत्ति के हैं। इन तीनों प्रकार के स्वभाव वाले मनुष्यों का आहार भी भिन्न प्रकार का होता है। इनके यज्ञ, तप तथा दान भी तीन प्रकार के होते हैं। गीता में इस विषय का वर्णन बहुत सटीक पद्धति से किया गया है। मनुष्य के शील-स्वभाव के अनुसार उसके कर्मों की पहचान के लिए पूरा मनोविज्ञान यहाँ लक्षित किया जा सकता है। हम यज्ञ करते हैं, तप करते हैं, दान देते हैं, किन्तु इनकी भावना का विचार नहीं करते हैं। यदि गीता का यह प्रकरण भली-भाँति पढ़ा और समझा जाये तो हमारी ये समस्त क्रियाएं शास्त्र विधि से, कर्तव्याकर्तव्य विचार से सम्पन्न हों। इन दो अध्यायों को हम मनुष्य की जीवन-चर्या का अंग भी कह सकते हैं। आचरण की पवित्रता और कार्यानुष्ठान की शुद्धता के लिए गीता के इस विवेचन का अनुशीलन आवश्यक है। श्रद्धा का स्वरूप जितना परिष्कृत होगा मनुष्य की दैवी सम्पत् उतनी ही समृद्ध होगी। उसके यज्ञ, तप, दान आदि कर्म उसी के अनुसार सञ्चालित होंगे। लोक-व्यवहार से मनुष्य को प्रवृत्त करने वाले ये कर्म सम्यग् रीति से हों, यह परिज्ञान गीता के इस अध्याय से होता है। हम तप करते हैं किन्तु तप की सात्विक विधि नहीं जानते हैं, यज्ञ करते हैं किन्तु याज्ञिक अनुष्ठान से अपरिचित रहते हैं, हम दान करते हैं किन्तु दान के रूप और दान की सही भावना को नहीं पहचानते हैं; फलतः हमारी सारी क्रियाएं व्यर्थ होती हैं। गीता में इस प्रकार के लोक-व्यवहार और आचार संहिता को प्रतिपादित कर श्रीकृष्ण ने अर्जुन को सात्विक जीवनचर्या का पाठ पढ़ाया है। गीता के ये तीनों अध्याय किसी भी नीतिशास्त्र के ग्रन्थ से बढ़ कर हैं। व्यक्तिगत चरित्र और समष्टिगत आचरण का ऐसा सुन्दर निरूपण कहीं अन्यत्र उपलब्ध नहीं होता है।

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१३. वही, १६.२१

गीता की प्रासंगिकता

आधुनिक युग-सन्दर्भ में यदि हम गीता पर विचार करें तो हमें प्रतीत होगा कि आज के संघर्षमय युग में गीता का उपदेश अधिक प्रासंगिक है। अजुन जिस व्यामोह में फंसा था आज का मनुष्य उससे अधिक गम्भीर मोह में ग्रस्त है। विज्ञान के भौतिक विकास ने मनुष्य की आस्तिक भावना को संशय की देहरी पर ला खड़ा किया हैं। ईश्वर-विश्वास दोलायमान है। चित्त चञ्चल है। आस्था स्खलित है। कर्म-निष्ठा पर अंधविश्वास का आवरण आच्छादित है। मानवता पथभ्रष्ट होकर भौतिकता की अंधी गली में भटक गयी है। किं कर्म, किम् अकर्मेति— का विचार मनुष्य को संशयग्रस्त बनाकर कर्म विमुख कर रहा है। ऐसी स्थिति में गीता का उपदेष्टा कहता है कि स्थितप्रज्ञ बनो। वासनाओं और कुण्ठाओं से मुक्त बनो। दुःख में उद्विग्न मत रहो, सुख में डूबकर आसक्त न बनो, प्रीति, भय, क्रोध आदि छोड़कर स्थितप्रज्ञ बनो।

दुःखेष्वनुद्विग्नमनाः सुखेषु विगतस्पृहः।
वीतरागभयक्रोधः स्थितिधीर्मुनिरुच्यते ॥[१४]

इस प्रकार की स्थितप्रज्ञता का उपदेश न तो किसी धर्मशास्त्र में है, न नीतिशास्त्र में। आज के कुण्ठित चित्तवृत्ति वाले मानव के लिए यह मनःस्थिति कितनी शान्तिदायक होगी यह शब्दों में कहना कठिन है। गीता के पारायण से ऐसे असंख्य अनमोल मोती आज के आस्थाहीन मानव को प्राप्त हो सकते हैं और वह नैराश्य, कुंठा, अवसाद और विषाद योग से अपने को मुक्त कर सकता है। गीता के उपदेश को आत्मसात् करने के लिए एक बार विश्वास की सुदृढ़भूमि पर खड़ा होना अनिवार्य है। जो व्यक्ति कर्म में आस्था, भोग में अनास्था; दैवी सम्पत्ति में विश्वास और आसुरी सम्पत्ति से विरक्ति रखकर जीवन-यापन करता है उसके लिए गीता से बढ़कर जीवन में और कोई सक्षम संबल नहीं है। भगवान् कृष्ण ने ऐसे सच्चे विश्वासी भक्त को आश्वासन देते हुए कहा है—सब धर्मों को छोड़कर मेरी शरण में आजा, मैं तुझे सब पापों से मुक्त करूंगा, तू किसी प्रकार का भय या चिन्ता मत कर :

सर्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज।
अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥[१५]

भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण की यह वाणी जितने आत्मविश्वास के साथ उच्चरित हुई है यदि भक्त उसे उतने ही विश्वास और आस्था के साथ ग्रहण करे तो निश्चय ही उसमें ईश्वर-विश्वास का उदय होगा और वह आज के द्वन्द्व-संघर्ष को विस्मृत कर कर्म मार्ग में निष्ठापूर्वक संलग्न हो सकेगा।

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१४. वही, २.५६
१५. वही, १८.६६

उपसंहार

गीता के सम्यक् अनुशीलन के बाद हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचते हैं कि गीता किसी एक मार्ग, पद्धति, दर्शन या सम्प्रदाय के सिद्धान्तों का प्रतिपादक ग्रन्थ नही है। यह समन्वित जीवन-दर्शन को प्रस्तुत करने वाला समन्वयवादी ग्रन्थ है जिसमें कर्म की प्रेरणा, कर्मफल त्याग का उपदेश, ज्ञान-विज्ञान के विविध पक्षों का उद्घाटन, भक्ति-पद्धति का विवेचन, लोक-संग्रह के लिए कर्तव्य का निर्धारण, मानव-जीवन की पूर्णता के लिए दैवी तथा आसुरी सम्पत्ति का परिज्ञान, लोक-व्यवहार के लिए आचरण की मर्यादा का संकेत तथा सम्पूर्ण आचार-संहिता का निर्देश किया गया है। अध्यात्म के उच्च धरातल से लेकर दैनन्दिन लौकिक स्तर के कर्तव्य-कर्म का परिज्ञान जैसा इस ग्रन्थ से होता है वैसा किसी अन्य ग्रन्थ से नहीं होता है। गीता अध्यात्म के स्तर पर उपनिषद् है, चिन्तन के स्तर पर दर्शन है, आचार-मर्यादा के स्तर पर नीतिशास्त्र है, विधि-विधान के स्तर पर धर्मशास्त्र है, कर्तव्य-कर्म के स्तर पर यह व्यवहारशास्त्र है। गीता का उपदेश मनुष्य को सत्कर्म की प्रेरणा देकर कर्मयोग में प्रवृत्त करता है; कार्पण्य और क्लैव्य से मुक्त करता है, पुरुषार्थ, पौरुष और साहस से परिपूर्ण करता है; छल-छन्द से छुटकारा दिलाकर सत्त्वगुण के साथ दैवी सम्पत् की ओर अभिमुख करता है। गीता का उपदेश व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से उपादेय है, काम्य है, सुगम है, व्यवहार्य है। कर्म और अकर्म की पहचान के लिए इससे अच्छे ग्रन्थ को पा लेना असम्भव है। सांसारिक प्रलोभनों के बीच भटकने वाले मनुष्य के लिए गीता से अच्छा पथ-प्रदर्शक कोई दूसरा ग्रन्थ संसार में है ही नहीं।

भारतीय दर्शनों में निवृत्ति मार्ग पर अधिक ध्यान दिया गया है। संसार के मिथ्यात्व के साथ इसकी क्षणभंगुरता और असारता का ही वर्णन अधिक है। इस दृष्टि से कर्म में मनुष्य की सहज प्रवृत्ति नहीं होती है। वैराग्य का विचार कर्म-विरोधी होकर मनुष्य को लोक-संग्रह से विमुख बना देता है। व्यक्ति आत्मकेन्द्रित होकर समाज के प्रति अपने दायित्व और कर्तव्य का निर्वाह नहीं करता है। इस वैराग्य-बुद्धि से यह भ्रम फैलता है कि कर्म करने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। गीता इस भ्रम का उच्छेद करती है। गीता कर्म का आलोक विकीर्ण कर पथ-भ्रष्ट मनुष्य को कर्तव्यपथ पर आरूढ करती है। सांख्य और योग दोनों मार्गों का विवेचन-विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत कर गीता सम्यग् ज्ञान, सम्यग् दृष्टि और सम्यग् कर्म का बोध कराती है। गीता में 'समत्वं योग उच्यते' भी है और 'योग: कर्मसु कौशलम्' भी। इनकी पारस्परिकता तथा द्वन्द्वात्मकता का जैसा निरूपण गीता में है वैसा अन्यत्र कहीं नहीं है।

निवृत्ति मार्ग से जीवन यापन करने वाले मनीषियों ने गीता में त्याग, अपरिग्रह, वैराग्य और ज्ञान का सन्धान किया है। रामकृष्ण परमहंस ने तो गीता शब्द की ध्वनि में से ही त्याग का स्वर सन्धान किया था। वे कहते थे कि यदि दस बार लगातार बिना रुके 'गीता' शब्द का उच्चारण किया जाये तो गीता में से ही तागी-तागी-तागी अर्थात् त्यागी की ध्वनि सुनाई देगी। वेदान्त और सांख्य मार्ग के मनीषी भी निवृत्ति का संदेश गीता में खोजते हैं। वैष्णव भक्तों को गीता, भक्ति तत्व से आपूर्ण भक्ति का रसायन प्रतीत होती है। मनीषियों की दृष्टि किस प्रकार

एक ही ग्रन्थ के कथ्य में विविध प्रकार की तत्त्व-सृष्टि कर लेती है यह निस्सन्देह विस्मय-जनक है।

अनन्याश्चिन्तयन्तो मां ये जनाः पर्युपासते।
तेषां नित्याभियुक्तानां योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहम्॥

गीता में भक्ति का जो रूप श्रीकृष्ण ने वर्णित किया है वह भी अद्‌भुत है। श्रीकृष्ण स्वयं कहते हैं कि जो अनन्यनिष्ठ लोग मेरा चिन्तन कर मेरा भजन करते हैं, उन नित्य योगयुक्त पुरुषों का योग-क्षेम मैं स्वयं वहन करता हूँ। योग-क्षेम अर्थात् सांसारिक नित्य-निर्वाह का दायित्व जिस भक्ति के लिए भगवान् उठाते हैं वह अनोखी भक्ति है।

गीता के मूल उपदेश और प्रतिपाद्य को किसी धर्म-सम्प्रदाय की दृष्टि से देखना उसके साथ न्याय नहीं है। गीता ज्ञान का भाण्डार है, इस भाण्डार में मानवमात्र के लिए ग्राह्य तत्त्व संकलित हैं। यह किसी देश, जाति, राष्ट्र या धर्म की सम्पत्ति नहीं है। न तो इसकी कोई भौगोलिक सीमा है और न साम्प्रदायिक संकीर्ण मर्यादा। अतः इसके उपदेश को सभी मानव आत्म-कल्याण के लिए स्वीकार कर सकते हैं। संघर्षरत मानव के लिए कर्म की अनिवार्यता है, अतः उसके लिए गीता में कर्म योग है; निवृत्ति मार्ग से जीवन यापन करने वाले वैरागी के लिए गीता में ज्ञानमार्ग है; ईश्वर की भक्ति में लीन रहने वाले भक्त जन के लिए गीता में भक्ति-मार्ग है। इन त्रिविध मार्गों के साथ जीवन-निर्माण की प्रक्रिया, जीवन को सफल बनाने की विधि और जीवन के गूढ़ रहस्यों को समझने की पद्धति गीता में ओतप्रोत है। आज का युग कर्म का युग है। कर्म को सत्कर्म के रूप में तभी परिणत किया जा सकता है जब उसमें से फलासक्ति का परित्याग किया जा सके। गीता इसी कर्म की प्रेरणा देकर संसार को रहने योग्य, अनासक्त भाव से भोगने योग्य और जीवन को सफलतापूर्वक व्यतीत करने योग्य बनाती है। गीता आज के युग संघर्ष में मानव की आस्था को नया संबल, कर्म-संकल्प की नई दीप्ति और जिजीविषा की नई तेजस्विता प्रदान करने में समर्थ है।

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१६. वही, ९,२२

THE DISTINCTIVE FEATURE OF SANSKRIT POETRY OF KASHMIR : QUEST FOR ORIGINALITY

S. V. Singh

The first striking feature of Sanskrit poetry of Kashmirian Sanskrit poets is its quest for originality which means the love of novelty. Love of novelty and love of beauty belong to the human spirit which the Sanskrit poets of Kashmir had overstriven to realise in their delineation of the life of man and the life of nature. The realisation of the Beautiful and the Blissful Being had been, in fact, the spiritual urge of the Sanskrit poets of Kashmir.

The literary legacy for the Sanskrit poets of Kashmir has been the same as that for the Sanskrit poets of the other parts of India. The works of Vālmīki and Vyāsa and Kālidāsa have been the common cultural heritage for them all. Similarly, the epic compositions of Bhāravi and Māgha have equally inspired the Kashmirian as well as the non-Kashmirian Sanskrit poets. But the spirit of originality seems to dawn, first of all, on the literary horizon of Kashmir as far back as the 6th century A. D. There is hardly a Kashmirian Sanskrit poet of note who does not aspire for originality in his poetic compoitions. It is a different matter that his achievement does not always equal his aspiration.

As early as the 8th centuary A. D., it was Ānandavardhana, the great literary philosopher of Kashmir, who acknowledged, first of all, the spiritual urge for originality or novelty in the Sanskrit poets of his native land. It is difficult to resist the temptation of quoting his lines :

यदपि तदपि रम्यं यस्य लोकस्य किञ्चित्
स्फुरितमिदमितीयं बुद्धिरभ्युज्जिहीते ।
अनुगतमपि पूर्वच्छायया वस्तु तादृक्
सुकविरुपनिबध्नन् निन्द्यतां नोपयाति ।

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1. *Dhvanyāloka*, 4.16.

The import of these lines is that no poet writes in a vacuum but in full consciousness of the past products of the art of poetry. Resemblances, therefore, in poetic compositions are but natural. But whatever strikes as the beauiful or the inspired in the new poetry as it meets the appreciation and the preference of the reader does constitute the essence of its excellence.

This spiritual urge for originality in the Kashmirian Sanskrit poets has inspired Kṣemendra (10th century A. D.) to compose the following beautiful lines of the 'New' or the 'Novel' in poetry :

सूक्तीनां प्रतिभानाञ्च मञ्जरीणां च्च जृम्भितम् ।
नवमेव मनोहारि नारीणामिव यौवनम् ॥[2]

What Kṣemendra means to suggest in the above lines is that it is the charm of novelty residing in a piece of poetry or poetic inspiration or the mango-blossom that wields the power similar to the power of the youthfulness of a beautiful woman to captivate our hearts.

Now, all this poetic effusion of the Kashmirian Sanskrit authors on originality or novelty is not to be taken as an act or fact of imagination, but, as the reflection of the real state of affairs in the sphere of Sanskrit poetry in Kashmir. We know from Kalhaṇa (11th Century A. D.) that one Bhartṛmeṇtha, a contemporary of the King Mātṛgupta of Kashmir (6th Century A. D.) was a great Sanskrit poet, well-known for his originality of conception and novelty of execution of the '*Hayagrivabadha*' which, if existent today, could have ranked at par with the *Śiśupālabadha.* The following stanzas of the *Rājatarangiṇi* record the great esteem in which Bhartṛmeṇtha's epic was held by the contemporary royal court and the contemporary literary societies of Kashmir :

हयग्रीववधं मेण्ठस्तदग्रे दर्शयन्नवम् ।
आसमाप्ति ततो नापत् साध्वसाध्विति नो वचः ॥
अथ ग्रन्थयितुं तस्मिन् पुस्तकं प्रस्तुते न्यधात् ।
लावण्यनिर्याणभियः राजाऽधः स्वर्णमाञ्जनम् ॥
अन्तरज्ञतया तस्य तादृश्या कृतसत्कृतिः ।
भर्तृमेण्ठः कविर्मेने पुनरुक्तं श्रियोऽर्पणम् ॥[3]

These lines allow us to infer the fact that the '*Hayagrivabadha*', though written in the literary tradition of Māgha's *Śiśupālabadha*, was a new creation

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2. *Bauddhāvadānakalpalatā*, 53.11.
3. *Rājatarangiṇī* (Kalhaṇa), 3.260-262.

of the art of Sanskrit epic in Kashmir. We can also imagine the nature of its originality or novelty cosisting in :

(I) Deviation from earlier epic poets in respect of the selection of the mythological story of Hayagrīva to raise the structure of the epic plot.

(II) Departure from the traditional practice of the earlier epic poets in respect of glorious presentation of the character of the Hero.

(III) And, Variation of the age-old turns of expression and modes of imageries as dictated by personal perceptions and emotions.

This cult of novelty emanating from Bhartṛmeṇṭha gains greater momentum in the course of subsequent centuries as is evidenced by the '*Haravijaya*' of Rājānaka Ratnākara of Kashmir (850 A. D.). Composed in the tradition of Māgha it is anything but a copy of the *Śiśupālabadha*. It is quite true what Dr. Keith observes on the *Haravijaya*[4] that : 'No more striking instance exists than this (the *Haravījaya*) of the utter lack of proportion which can afflict the minds of poets with considerable technical facility and abundant knowledge.' But it is also quite true that in its time, the work was an object of critical admiration for its wealth of striking imageries and its mellifluous music of the *Vasantatilakā* metre, the like of which was unheard of in the earlier epic compositions. The most striking aspect of originality of the *Haravijaya* is its conscious philosophical leaning which is. conspicuous by its absence in its model, the *Śiśupālabadha*. There is no much metaphysical mysticism about Māgha's conception of Kṛṣṇa, the hero of the *Śiśupālabadha*. But Ratnākara's conception of Hara, the hero of the *Haravijaya*, is coloured by the metaphysical idealism of the *Trika*-system of Kashmirian Śaiva philosophy, Similary, the central theme of the *Śiśupālabadha*, namely, 'Kṛṣṇa killing Śiśupāla' does not present any riddle of religio-philosophical symbolism. But, the central theme of the *Haravijaya*, that *Tripura-Vijaya* is challengingly symbolic in that it stands for the destruction of the 'Three Puras' of the *Veyda* (the object of knowledge), the *Vedaka* (the subject, the knower) and the *Vedana* (the act of knowledge) by the Maheśvara, who, in turn, means, the Self-luminous, Self-conscious Univeral Awareness.

There is another kind of novelty relating to the formal aspect of the *Haravijaya* which also strikes our gaze. We know the well-known forms of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi and Māgha and we can safely imagine the delight they afforded to the musical ear of Rājānaka Ratnākara. But there is no imitation in the *Haravijaya* of the verse-forms of the old classical poets. On the contrary,

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4. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 135.

it is the *Vasantatilakā* metre which satisfies Ratnākara for its sweet, sonorous music and hence it is that he has made it the vehicle of the poetic intutions and epic imageries. The '*Upamā*' of Kālidāsa, the '*Arthagaurava*' of Bhāravi, the '*Padalālitya*' of Daṇḍin and the '*Guṇatraya*' of Māgha—all are there in the mind of Ratnākara, but, as he has to create the impression of the natural in his treatment of the supernatural, he adopts the '*Utprekṣā*' and the '*Atiśayokti*' as his mode of poetic expression and transforms the world of Śaiva theology and philosophy into the world of the classical Sanskrit poetry of the New Order.

Another epic poem in the new classical tradition of Ratnākara is the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* of the poet Maṅkha or 'Maṅkhaka, a high state-official under King Jayasiṃha of Kashmir (1127–1157). The *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* turns out to be a poetic idealisation of Reality as '*Ānanda*' or Absolute Bliss which in the terminology of Kashmir Śaivism is called '*Prakāśa-Vimarśa-Sāmarasya*' which, in turn, is the very basis of the unique concept of the Ardhanārīśvara. Maṅkha is explicit in his philosophical leaning as is evident from his following lines :

एकस्त्वं त्रिनयन दृश्यसेऽधिकर्तुं
ज्ञातुञ्च त्रिभुवनमीश्वरः प्रकाशः ।
तादात्म्यं विवृतवती विमर्शशक्ति–
र्द्वैधेऽपि प्रथयति तेन भेददोषम् ॥[5]

In fact, Maṅkha, somewhat, excels Ratnākara in the poetic transfiguration of the metaphysical concepts of Kashmir Śaivism. Śiva as '*Prakāsā*' or the Self-effulgent aspect of Universal Consciousness in inalienable relationship with Pārvatī as '*Vimarśa*' or the Self-conscious aspect of Universal Consciousness seems to inspire the poet in new twists and turns of expressions and emotional suggestiveness. In place of Ratnākara's '*Utprekṣā*' and '*Atiśayokti*' Maṅkha makes use of the '*Vakrokti*' and the '*Rūpaka*' for the creation of poetic effects of his composition. The following verse-form through which the poet describes the 'Moon' is a new creation of the metrical melody :

गगनमहीरुहसितकुसुमं
जयति स रजनिभुजङ्गः ।
मधुकरनिकरविलासमयं
प्रथयति यस्य कुरङ्गः ॥[6]

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5. *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam*, 17.29.
6. *Ibid.*, 12.74.

In addition to the above types of variations or new traditions of themes and forms of Sanskrit poetry composed in Kashmir, we come across other ones also which show the restless urge of the Kashmirian Sanskrit poets for creating the new order of classical Sanskrit poetry. For instance, the poet Dāmodaragupta (8th Century A. D.) of Kashmir composed his '*Kuṭṭanīmatam*' which has no literary precedent in the history of Sanskrit poetry. The theme of the poem has nothing to do with the Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir. Instead, it is the day-to-day life of the people of Kashmir that provides the theme for Dāmodaragupta. To say that the poet took the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana for poetic representation is to show indifference to the poetic beauty of the '*Kuṭṭanīmatam*. The poet's theme is the pleasure of love as the birth-right of man. In rebellion against the old *Kāvya*-tradition Dāmodaragupta presents a courtesan as the heroine and none or everyone as the hero. The *Kuṭṭanīmatam* takes its birth in the real life of Kashmir under king Jayāpida (779-830 A. D.) So lucid is the music of its verses that it lulls our intellect and leads us away from the world of strife and strain to the world of beauty and harmony· The rhythm of the line :

'चिकुरभरस्तव सुन्दरि ! कामिजनं किङ्करीकुरुते'[7] ।

is the dominant rhythm and its effect is so hypnotic that it keeps the reader under its spell from the beginning till the end.

Dāmodaragupta gives some new directions also for descriptive poetry in Sanskrit through his description of the dance-adaptation of the *Ratnāvali* which is unique in the history of Sanskrit poetry. He illustrates how a gifted poet can change the world of sordid reality into the world of love and dance and music and magnanimity.

A new type of *Mahākāvya* in the form of the '*Vikramāṅkadevacarita* comes again from Kashmir. Its author, the poet Vilhaṇa (10th-11th Centry A. D.) may be called the Bhāravi of Kashmir. The central suggestion of the '*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*' composed on the deeds of the valour of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla (1076-1127 A. D.) of Kalyāṇa is a patriotic sentiment in the sense that it embraces the poet's passionate love of Kashmir, his motherland. Vilhaṇa composed his *Mahākāvya*, while living in exile in the Cālukya capital to beguile his forlorn heart. Even while living hundreds of miles away from Kashmir, he does not forget the natural beauties of his homeland. The description of the 'Seasons' in the '*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*'

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7. *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, 44.

it is the *Vasantatilakā* metre which satisfies Ratnākara for its sweet, sonorous music and hence it is that he has made it the vehicle of the poetic intutions and epic imageries. The '*Upamā*' of Kālidāsa, the '*Arthagaurava*' of Bhāravi, the '*Padalālitya*' of Daṇḍin and the '*Guṇatraya*' of Māgha—all are there in the mind of Ratnākara, but, as he has to create the impression of the natural in his treatment of the supernatural, he adopts the '*Utprekṣā*' and the '*Atiśayokti*' as his mode of poetic expression and transforms the world of Śaiva theology and philosophy into the world of the classical Sanskrit poetry of the New Order.

Another epic poem in the new classical tradition of Ratnākara is the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* of the poet Maṅkha or 'Maṅkhaka, a high state-official under King Jayasiṃha of Kashmir (1127–1157). The *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* turns out to be a poetic idealisation of Reality as '*Ānanda*' or Absolute Bliss which in the terminology of Kashmir Śaivism is called '*Prakāśa-Vimarśa-Sāmarasya*' which, in turn, is the very basis of the unique concept of the Ardhanārīśvara. Maṅkha is explicit in his philosophical leaning as is evident from his following lines :

एकस्त्वं त्रिनयन दृश्यसेऽधिकर्तुं
ज्ञातुञ्च त्रिभुवनमीश्वरः प्रकाशः ।
तादात्म्यं विवृतवती विमर्शशक्ति–
र्द्वैधेऽपि प्रथयति तेन भेददोषम् ॥[5]

In fact, Maṅkha, somewhat, excels Ratnākara in the poetic transfiguration of the metaphysical concepts of Kashmir Śaivism. Śiva as '*Prakāśa*' or the Self-effulgent aspect of Universal Consciousness in inalienable relationship with Pārvatī as '*Vimarśa*' or the Self-conscious aspect of Universal Consciousness seems to inspire the poet in new twists and turns of expressions and emotional suggestiveness. In place of Ratnākara's '*Utprekṣā*' and '*Atiśayokti*' Maṅkha makes use of the '*Vakrokti*' and the '*Rūpaka*' for the creation of poetic effects of his composition. The following verse-form through which the poet describes the 'Moon' is a new creation of the metrical melody :

गगनमहीरुहसितकुसुमं
जयति स रजनिभुजङ्गः ।
मधुकरनिकरविलासमयं
प्रथयति यस्य कुरङ्गः ॥[6]

5. *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam*, 17.29.
6. *Ibid.*, 12.74.

In addition to the above types of variations or new traditions of themes and forms of Sanskrit poetry composed in Kashmir, we come across other ones also which show the restless urge of the Kashmirian Sanskrit poets for creating the new order of classical Sanskrit poetry. For instance, the poet Dāmodaragupta (8th Century A. D.) of Kashmir composed his '*Kuṭṭanīmatam*' which has no literary precedent in the history of Sanskrit poetry. The theme of the poem has nothing to do with the Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir. Instead, it is the day-to-day life of the people of Kashmir that provides the theme for Dāmodaragupta. To say that the poet took the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana for poetic representation is to show indifference to the poetic beauty of the '*Kuṭṭanīmatam*. The poet's theme is the pleasure of love as the birth-right of man. In rebellion against the old *Kāvya*-tradition Dāmodaragupta presents a courtesan as the heroine and none or everyone as the hero. The *Kuṭṭanīmatam* takes its birth in the real life of Kashmir under king Jayāpida (779-830 A. D.) So lucid is the music of its verses that it lulls our intellect and leads us away from the world of strife and strain to the world of beauty and harmony· The rhythm of the line :

'चिकुरभरस्तव सुन्दरि ! कामिजनं किङ्करीकुरुते'[7] ।

is the dominant rhythm and its effect is so hypnotic that it keeps the reader under its spell from the beginning till the end.

Dāmodaragupta gives some new directions also for descriptive poetry in Sanskrit through his description of the dance-adaptation of the *Ratnāvali* which is unique in the history of Sanskrit poetry. He illustrates how a gifted poet can change the world of sordid reality into the world of love and dance and music and magnanimity.

A new type of *Mahākāvya* in the form of the '*Vikramāṅkadevacarita* comes again from Kashmir. Its author, the poet Vilhaṇa (10th-11th Centry A. D.) may be called the Bhāravi of Kashmir. The central suggestion of the '*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*' composed on the deeds of the valour of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla (1076-1127 A. D.) of Kalyāṇa is a patriotic sentiment in the sense that it embraces the poet's passionate love of Kashmir, his motherland. Vilhaṇa composed his *Mahākāvya*, while living in exile in the Cālukya capital to beguile his forlorn heart. Even while living hundreds of miles away from Kashmir, he does not forget the natural beauties of his homeland. The description of the 'Seasons' in the '*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*'

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7. *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, 44.

is but a pretext for the expression of his deep love for his native land. While describing the winter in Kalyāṇa, the poet sings, in sweet forgetfulness of his surroundings, the beauty of Kāshmir in the winter. The following verse of his may be cited to illustrate the point :

कुसुमस्मितसंकोची क्रौञ्चीमदनदेशिकः ।
मित्रमुत्तरवायूनां वियल्लावण्यतस्करः ॥
अलभन्त नभः क्षेत्रे तारास्तरलकान्तयः ।
त्विषं तुषारबीजानां नूतनाङ्कुरशालिनाम् ॥[8]

Similarly the autumn for the poet living in the court of the Cālukya king is the autumn in Kashmir which is the season for the saffron to bloom (*Kuṅkumavikāsāvasara*)[9]. The spring to him is likewise the spring season of Kashmir and he has composed a beautiful poem on the spring-lotus in the following two lines :

द्विवर्षकन्यामुखकोमलाभं
पङ्कोदरात् पङ्कजमाविरासीत् ।[10]

From Kashmir again, in the 11th–12th century A. D., comes Rājānaka Jayānaka, the author of the *Pṛthvirājavijaya*, a Mahākāvya on the exploits of Chauhan king Pṛthvirāja. Jayānaka seems to be the first Sanskrit poet from Kashmir whose concept of 'Bhārata' as a political unity under Pṛthvīrāja[11] is unique in the history of Sanskrit poetical literature. The following verse describing the armies of Gori on the Indian soil is poetic while presenting the facts of history of the times :

भाषादोषवशाद्गिरां बलरजस्तोमैर्दिशामम्भसा-
मक्ष्णां भानुरुचाञ्च दुष्कृतभराद् द्यावापृथिव्योरपि ।
काठिन्यात् कुलिशस्य मारकफलासङ्गादिषूणां वधाद्
धेनूनाञ्च परस्परोऽपि दशधा तथ्याभिधैर्गोऽरिभिः ॥[12]

Another new creation of Kashmirian Sanskrit poets is the *Rājakathākāvya* or the historical poems which form the fusion of the old *Mahākāvya*—

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8. *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam*. 16.1,
9. *Ibid.*, 14.40.
10. *Ibid.*, 7.33.
11. *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, 11.7.
12. *Ibid.*, 10.49.

traditions and the *Ākhyāna*—tendencies. The most important feature of this class of composition is '*Bhūtārtha-varṇanā*' or the narration of the events as took place in the past. It, accordingly, differs from the traditional *Mahākāvya* which contains much imaginative material. It also differs from the *Ākhyāna*, since, it does not only aim at the creation of the aesthetic pleasure, but also tends to be a 'moral approach' to the 'natural order of events'. In the words of Kalhaṇa it is useful as a 'stimulant and as a sedative' in times of national prosperity and national adversity as the case may be. The first and the foremost of the *Rājakathā Kāvya*-s is the famous *Rājatarangiṇi* of Kalhaṇa of Kashmir. In the history of Sanskrit poetry and literature it is Kalhaṇa whose age is indisputable and who has offered the key to the date of many a great Sanskrit poet and man of learning. Kalhaṇa was a commandant of the frontier—defending forces of king Harṣa of Kashmir (1089-1101 A.D.) and played a great part in the royal expeditions inside and outside Kashmir. He is a dispassionate observer of the various happenings of his times. He lived in the times when dynastic and political revolutions were undermining the social foundations of his homeland. With a singular courage of conviction, he has expressed himself, in the manner of a true historian, on all the problems facing Kashmir of the times.

Kalhaṇa's central suggestion is the '*Śānta Rasa*' or the sentiment of Quietude. He has amply succeeded in the delineation of the '*Śānta Rasa*', a difficult literary task to be sure. The eight waves of the River of Kings appeal to us as the eight waves of the River of *Śānta*.

Kalhaṇa is '*Karuṇavedin*', the poet-seer of pathos and '*Praśamavedin*', the poet-philosopher of poise, both at the same time. In all the bloody battles described, in all the acts of royal munificence eulogized and in all the great ambitions and achievements of kings and queens vividly presented, he is guided by his deep-seated feeling of '*Nirveda*' which is not his personal feeling, but, the dominant feeling of his age. We quote below his following verse embodying the above feeling :

जन्तूनां विक्रमत्यागयशःप्रभृतयो गुणाः ।
भवे चित्रस्वभावेऽस्मिन्न भवेयुरभङ्गुराः ॥[13]

'All the virtues of living beings such as valour and liberality and sagacity, are, in the kaleidescopic existence but transient'.

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13. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

Kalhaṇa's art of portraiture of character is equally a new art of poetic characterisation. The supreme beauty of his characterisation lies, in fact, in endowing the men and women he sketches, with the reality and the mystery of life. Kalhaṇa has given the outlines of hundreds of characters that could be developed into epic or dramatic statures. By way of illustration, we may mention the outlines of the character of 'Mihirakula', the Indian Attila, who is presented as '*Bhūloka–Bhairava*'[14] or '*Bhūloka–Vetāla*', whose presence used to be announced by vultures and crows intent on their feast of flesh of human beings butchered by his hoardes.[15] Sanskrit poetic literature does not show any female character like the powerful queen 'Diddā' of Kashmīr (981 A.D.), a strange admixture of contradictions of character and conscience.

Kalhaṇa's originality of graphic description, as evidenced in his treatment of new themes like 'the famine' or 'the fire' or 'the snowfall', has no parallel in Sanskrit poetry. The following verses will suffice to illustrate the point :

पाकोन्मुखशरच्छालिच्छन्नकेदारमण्डले ।
मासि भाद्रपदेऽकस्मात् पपात तुहिनं महत् ।।
तस्मिन् विश्वक्षयोद्युक्तकालाट्टहसितोपमे ।
न्यमज्जन् शालयः साकं प्रजानां जीविताशया ।।
अथासीत् क्षुत्परिक्षामजनप्रेतकुलाकुलः ।
प्रकामरनियस्येव घोरो दुर्भिक्षविप्लवः ।।
पत्नीप्रीतिं सुतस्नेहं पितृदाक्षिण्यमातुरः ।
कुक्षिम्भरिः क्षुदुत्पत्तो विसस्माराखिलो जनः ।।
क्षुत्तापाद्व्यस्मरन् लज्जामभिमानं कुलोन्नतिम् ।
अशनाहुङ्क्रियाघ्रातो लोकोऽलक्ष्मीकटाक्षितः ।।[16]

Here, while we are struck with awe at the spectacle of the 'snow appearing like the boisterous laughter of the god of destruction' we feel intense pity over the scene of 'the rice-crop sinking along with the peoples' hope of existence'. The comparison of the 'dire calamity of famine' with the stronghold of hell pictures to our mind the torments of hunger which are more deadly than the torments of death.

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14. *Ibid.*, 1.289.
15. *Ibid.*, 1.291.
16. *Ibid.*, 2.18 to 22.

Kalhaṇa's contributions to Sanskrit poetry of the reflective, the descriptive and the narrative orders require a small volume for proper presentation. Kalhaṇa is the first example of literary individualism in the history of Sanskrit poetry of the Kashmirian origin. The new order of epic composition which came into being in the form of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇi* continued to flourish in the succeeding centuries also. There comes, first of all, the poet Jonarāja, a contemporary of Sultan Jain-ul-abidin of Kashmir (1417-1467 A.D.) who composed his '*Rājāvali* to stand as a supplement to Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. His work reflects the aspects of real life in Kashmir of the times. His portraiture of life in Kashmir under the rule of Sultan Jain-ul-abidin meets full verification at the hands of the contemporary history of Kashmir and India. His verdict on the character of the Sultan is simply memorable for its originality. It runs like this: 'The Sultan had equal consideration for the Muslim and the Hindu ways of life. Like a merchant intolerant of the loss of balance between the merchandise and the weights, the Sultan never tolerated any loss of balance between the Muslim and the Hindu philosophies of life.[17]

Jonarāja's poetry also is a subtle suggestion of '*Nirveda*' or the feeling of frustration of Kashmir of the 13th-14th centuries. Jonarāja's literary tradition is enriched by Śrīvara Paṇḍita who is known for his *Jainarājataraṅgiṇi* which is a supplement to Jonarāja's *Rājavali* as it carries the record to the accession of Fateh Shah in 1486 A.D. The originality of the following poetic lines of Śrī Paṇḍita on 'Fireworks' is indisputable :

तथा ह्योषधसंपूर्णान्नालाद्बह्निकणाः घनाः ।
निर्यूत्कुसुमसंपूर्णस्वर्गवल्लीभ्रमं व्यधुः ॥
सर्पाकाराऽनलज्वाला निर्गता सलिलान्तरात् ।
चक्रे प्रेक्षकलोकानां त्रासाश्चर्यभयोदयम् ॥
नालकादुत्थिता व्योम्नि ज्वालागोलकपंक्तयः ।
राजद्राजतरोचिष्का जीवच्छुक्रोपमां व्यधुः ॥
रज्जुबद्धाऽरामद् दूरं ज्वलन्त्योषधनालिकः ।
आहूतेव तया नीतस्तादृश्यो बहवो गताः ॥
गतागतानि कुर्वन्त्यो दीप्ता उल्का इवोल्कया ।
प्रेक्षकाणां प्रिया दृष्टीरहरन्नद्भुतावहाः ॥[18]

17. *Rājāvali*, 992-993.
18. *Jainarājataraṅgiṇi*, 1.4.20-25.

In the 15th-16th century A.D., there came Prājñabhaṭṭa to continue the tradition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*. His *Rājāvalipatākā* is the third supplement to the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* of Kalhaṇa in which the history of Kashmir is continued from the reign of Fateh Shah (1486 A.D.) to the times of Akbar's invasion and annexation of Kashmir to the Moghul Empire. The work does not contain much of narrative history. The author rightly blames the troubled times for casting gloom over his work. But he seems to have a firm faith in the immortal spirit of Kashmir and he sings merrily and passionately of the natural and the cultural glories of Kashmir, his homeland 'the land of the Veda and the Vedānta, of logic and Philosophy, of the Purāṇa and the Āgama, of the temples and the monasteries, of vines and saffron-fields and the land of lakes of heavenly coolness.'[19]

The kind of *Kāvya*-composition called the '*Kathāprabandha*' has also been the monopoly of Sanskrit poets of Kashmir. The type of '*Kathāprabandha*' technically termed as the '*Parikathā*' seems to have been raised to the status of the *Sargabandha*-composition by the Kashmirian Sanskrit poets. The charm of the *Sargabandha* lies in the creation of *Rasa* and the beauty of the *Parikathā* consists in the skill in the telling of the story. So far as the exhibition of the variety and the complexity of life is concerned, the *Parikathā* and the *Sargabandha* follow the same method and have the same organic characters. The real and the fanciful intermingle as much in the *Parikathā* as in the *Sargabandha*. The stylistic accomplishments are common to the compositional patterns of the both. The first author of the *Parikathā-Kāvya* from Kashmir is the poet Abhinanda (7th-8th century A.D.) whose reconstruction of the intricate plot of Bāṇa's *Kādambari* is seen in his *Kādambarikathāsāra*'. Abhinanda's originality in the handling of the age-old *Anuṣṭup* metre has met the admiration of Kṣemendra of Kashmir (10th century A.D.) who seems to be simply enamoured of the *Anuṣṭup*-s of the '*Kādambarikathāsāra*', which, according to him perform miracles, capable, as they are, of racy narration of events as well as poignant expression of emotions and sentiments.[21] It is the uncompounded words arranged in perfect musical order that create in Abhinanda's composition an effect of sonorousness rarely to be found elsewhere. Any other poet attempting the metrical summary of the *Kādambari* could have yielded to the lure of the musical effect of the long compounds. The natural rhythmic flow of the syllables of Abhinanda's *Anuṣṭup*-s is simply pleasing to the ears. It seems the poet was composing and listening to the song of the syllables at the same time.

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19. *Rājāvalipatākā*, 473-74.
20. *Snvṛttatilaka*, 3.29.

The keynote of the *Anuṣṭup*-s of Abhinanda is '*Śravyatā*' the superb quality of pleasurable acceptability to the ear. The following lines will suffice to prove the point:

इदं रूपमियं कान्तिरिमे लावण्यशीकराः ।
मर्त्यतामपि न प्राहुर्मतिङ्गत्वे तु का कथा ॥[21]

Next to Abhinanda comes Somadeva, the author of the '*Kathāsaritsāgara*' (1028-1065 A.D.), a poet of wide sympathies and a master of the art of portraiture of scenes and characters. The thematic analysis of the tales of the *Paiśacī Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya as retold by Somadeva suggests the social and the moral disquietude of the contemporary centuries and the popular eagerness for escape from the tyrannies of the times.

Somadeva's contemporay Kṣemendra is a creator of new poetic modes and the setter of new poetic standards in Sanskrit poetical literature. His margin of personal variation is much greater than that of his predecessors' or contemporaries'. His literary individualism consists in his over-indulgence in passions of creating something new. Adhering to the age-old literary institutionalism and following the same aesthetic doctrines with which his contemporaries were familiar, he is always eager for tapping recources left untouched by his contemporaries. He is intuitively aware also of his progressive renewal of poetic inspirations. His works bear a testimony to his genius as a poet and to his jovial nature as a man.

In the history of Sanskrit poetry Kṣemendra is the only Sanskrit poet who is gifted with the poetic language expressive of vulgar denouncements of hypocrisy and immorality. Long is the list of his works and all his literary output suggests his devotion to the cause of Sanskrit poetry and criticism and his desire to enrich Sanskrit poetry and criticism with his personal contributions. Kashmir is indebted to Kṣemendra for his originality of *Parihāsa*—compositions and Kṣemedra to the poetry-loving people of Kashmir for their love of the new or the novel in Sanskrit poetry.

We may sum up all about originality of Sanskrit poetry in Kashmir in the words of Vilhaṇa arranged in a different order with slight verbal changes as :

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21. *Kādambarīkathāsāra*, 1.28.

रत्नश्रेणीकिरणकलिकाकोमलो यत्र भानुः
द्राक्षाखण्डान्यमृतकिरणापाण्डुवर्णानि यत्र ।
यन्नारीणां सरसकदलीकोमला गात्ररेखाः
काव्यं तेषां प्रकृतिसुभगं हन्त ! काश्मीरकाणाम् ।।

How sweet the poetry of that Land of Lakes,
where the grapes look sweet like the sweet moonshine,
where the sun-rays shine like the hues of the gems
and the plaintain–like feminine form looks fine.

भाषा-विश्लेषण का एक नया आयाम : प्रोक्तिविज्ञान

भोलानाथ तिवारी

प्रोक्तिविज्ञान

विश्व–भाषाविज्ञान में 'प्रोक्ति' की दृष्टि से भाषा का अध्ययन-विश्लेषण अपेक्षाकृत बहुत नई चीज़ है। भारत में भी और यूरोप में भी अभी हाल तक भाषा की सहज और वृहत्तम इकाई वाक्य मानी जाती रही है और ध्वनि, अक्षर, शब्द, पद पर विचार करते-करते हमारा अध्ययन-विश्लेषण वाक्य पर आकर समाप्त हो जाता रहा है। इसीलिए ध्वनिविज्ञान (Phonetics और Phonology), रूपविज्ञान (Morphology) तथा वाक्यविज्ञान (Syntax)—ये तीन ही भाषाविज्ञान के मुख्य विभाग माने जाते रहे हैं। इधर पश्चिम में कुछ समय से 'प्रोक्ति' रूप में भाषा का विश्लेषण होने लगा है, किन्तु अभी तक इस अध्ययन को न तो भारत के बाहर और न भारत में ही कोई नाम देने का प्रयास हुआ है। प्रस्तुत पंक्तियों का लेखक इस अध्ययन को 'प्रोक्तिविज्ञान' कहने का सुझाव देना चाहता है। यदि 'ध्वनि', 'रूप' और 'वाक्य' के अध्ययन क्रमशः ध्वनिविज्ञान, रूपविज्ञान और वाक्यविज्ञान हैं तो 'प्रोक्ति' के अध्ययन के लिए 'प्रोक्तिविज्ञान' नाम को अनुपयुक्त नहीं कहा ज़ा सकता है। अंग्रेज़ी में भी इसके अध्ययन के लिए कोई स्वतन्त्र नाम नहीं है। मेरे विचार में यदि 'प्रोक्ति' अंग्रेज़ी में 'डिस्कोर्स' (Discourse) है तो 'प्रोक्तिविज्ञान' के लिए 'डिस्कोर्सोलॉजी' (Discoursology) नाम फ़ोनोलॉजी, मार्फ़ोलॉजी आदि के ढांचे पर ठीक ही रहेगा।

प्रोक्ति

अंग्रेज़ी 'डिस्कोर्स' के लिए 'प्रोक्ति' शब्द का प्रयोग हिन्दी में १९८० से ही विशेष रूप से चला। १९८० में ही रवीन्द्रनाथ श्रीवास्तव, बाल गोविंद मिश्र तथा भोलानाथ तिवारी द्वारा सम्पादित पुस्तक 'हिंदी का शैक्षिक व्याकरण' प्रकाशित हुई थी, जिसमें प्रोक्ति पर लगभग पैंतीस पृष्ठों का एक पूरा खण्ड था।

इस विशेष अर्थ में 'प्रोक्ति' (प्र+उक्ति) शब्द अंग्रेज़ी 'डिस्कोर्स' के लिए हिन्दी में बनाया गया एक नया शब्द है। 'डिस्कोर्स' अंग्रेज़ी का सामान्य अर्थ (बातचीत, भाषा, तर्क-

शक्ति, लेख, भाषण, वार्ता आदि) में तो काफ़ी पुराना शब्द है, किन्तु इस विशिष्ट अर्थ में इस सदी के प्रथम चरणान्त में ही उसका प्रयोग शुरू हुआ है।

प्रोक्ति के अंग्रेज़ी में कई नाम

प्रोक्ति (डिस्कोर्स) के लिए अंग्रेज़ी में कई नामों, शब्द-बन्धों तथा व्याख्याओं का प्रयोग मिलता है। जैसे सस्यूर भाषा को वाक्य तक सीमित नहीं रखते है। वे उसे 'मै-तुम' के परिप्रेक्ष्य में देखते हैं। 'कहना' उनके अनुसार भाषा नहीं, 'बातचीत करना' भाषा है, और 'डिस्कोर्स' यह बातचीत ही है। ग्लीसन इसे वाक्य का उर्ध्ववर्ती विस्तार (Upward extension of sentence) कहते हैं। हैरिस ने इसे 'डिस्कोर्स' कहा है तो हेलिडे ने 'टेक्स्ट' (पाठ) कहा है। कुछ लोग 'डिस्कोर्स' और 'टेक्स्ट' में अन्तर मानते हैं। जो 'बातचीत' होती है, वह 'डिस्कोर्स' है तथा उसी का लिखित रूप 'टेक्स्ट' (पाठ) है। आस्टिन इसे 'स्पीच ऐक्ट' (भाषिक क्रिया) कहते हैं, तो हाइन्स 'स्पीच इवेंट' (भाषिक घटना)।

भारत में इस संकलपना की प्राचीनता

भारत के लिए प्रोक्ति की संकलपना बिल्कुल नई नहीं है। विश्वनाथ ने साहित्यदर्पण में 'महावाक्य' प्रायः इसी को कहा है। वे कहते हैं 'वाक्योच्चयो महावाक्यम्' अर्थात् 'वाक्यों के उच्चय को महावाक्य कहते हैं'। 'उच्चय' मूलतः 'उत् × चय' है अर्थात् 'एक के ऊपर एक चिना हुआ'। इस प्रकार साहित्यदर्पणकार के अनुसार वाक्यों का मात्र समूह 'महावाक्य' नहीं है। जैसे दीवाल में चिनी ईंटें एक दूसरे से पूरी तरह जुड़ी होती हैं, वैसे ही कई वाक्य पूरी तरह एक दूसरे से मिलकर ही महावाक्य की रचना करते हैं।

साहित्यदर्पणकार ने आगे महावाक्य की संरचना को स्पष्ट करते हुए लिखा है—

स्वार्थबोधे समाप्तानामगांगित्वव्यपेक्षया।
वाक्यानामेकवाक्यत्वं पुनः संहत्य जायते ॥[1]

अर्थात् महावाक्य के घटक 'प्रत्येक वाक्य' का अपना-अपना अर्थ होता है, किन्तु वे जब एक दूसरे से अंगांगिभाव से मिलते हैं तो मिलकर समवेततः 'एक' अर्थ देते हैं तथा उनमें एक वाक्यत्व आ जाता है, अर्थात् वे संरचना और अर्थ के स्तर पर एक इकाई हो जाते हैं।

वस्तुतः प्रोक्ति (डिस्कोर्स) की परिभाषा-स्वरूप इस सदी में पश्चिम में और पूर्व में जो कुछ भी कहा गया है, उसे कई सौ वर्ष पूर्व साहित्यदर्पणकार ने उपर्युक्त श्लोकांश तथा एक श्लोक में बहुत ही सफ़ाई और पूर्णता से कह दिया है।

यह एक अजीब-सी बात है कि अपनी परम्परा के इस पुराने शब्द 'महावाक्य' को छोड़ कर आज हमने इस अर्थ में एक नया शब्द 'प्रोक्ति' बनाया और स्वीकार किया है। निश्चय ही ऐसा करके हमने अपनी परम्परा के प्रति बहुत न्याय नहीं किया है।

यों इसमें संदेह नहीं कि 'महावाक्य' शब्द में बड़े वाक्य का भाव है, कई वाक्यों का नहीं। इसीलिए मैं 'डिस्कोर्स' के लिए 'महावाक्य' और 'प्रोक्ति' की तुलना में 'वाक्यबन्ध' नाम के प्रति व्यक्तिगत रूप से अधिक आग्रही रहा हूँ। आखिर हमारे यहां 'शब्द-बन्ध' और 'पद-बन्ध' का प्रयोग होता ही है तो उसी परम्परा में 'वाक्यबन्ध' भी कम सार्थक नाम नहीं होता।

प्रोक्ति की परिभाषा

प्रश्न उठता है कि 'प्रोक्ति' किसे कहते हैं। जो विशेषताएं इसकी कही जाती रही है उन सबके आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि 'तर्कपूर्णक्रमयुक्त और आपस में अतिरिक्त रूप से सुसम्बद्ध, एकाधिक वाक्यों की ऐसी व्यवस्थित इकाई को प्रोक्ति कहते हैं, जो सन्दर्भ-विशेष में अर्थद्योतन की दृष्टि से पूर्ण हो।' अर्थात्—

(१) प्रोक्ति में एक से अधिक वाक्य होते हैं।
(२) इन वाक्यों का क्रम तर्कपूर्ण होता है।
(३) ये आन्तरिक रूप में आपस में सुसम्बद्ध होते हैं।
(४) ये वाक्य, आपस में मिलकर, सन्दर्भ विशेष में अर्थ की दृष्टि से पूर्ण होते हैं।
(५) ये वाक्य तर्कपूर्णक्रमयुक्तता, आपस में सुसम्बद्धता तथा अर्थद्योतन की दृष्टि से पूर्णता के कारण एक इकाई के रूप में होते हैं।

गहराई से देखें तो उपर्युक्त परिभाषा में 'तर्कपूर्णक्रमयुक्तता,' 'आपस में', 'आन्तरिक रूप से', 'एकाधिक', 'व्यवस्थित' तथा 'सन्दर्भ-विशेष' आदि को छोड़ा जा सकता है, क्योंकि यदि वाक्य 'सुसम्बद्ध' हैं तो 'उनका क्रम तर्कपूर्ण ही होगा' तथा वे 'आन्तरिक रूप से' जुड़े भी होंगे, क्योंकि 'सुसम्बद्ध वाक्यों' की अभिव्यक्ति में 'एकाधिकता' 'तर्कपूर्णक्रमयुक्तता' (बिना इसके सुसम्बद्धता नहीं आ सकती), 'आपस में सम्बद्धता' तथा 'आन्तरिक सम्बद्धता' आ गयी, और बिना 'व्यवस्थितता' के वाक्यों का समूह तो हो सकता है, सच्चे अर्थों में 'इकाई' नहीं बन सकती है। जहां तक 'सन्दर्भ-विशेष' का प्रश्न है, किसी लेख, कहानी, उपन्यास या नाटक आदि का एक पैराग्राफ़, गीत, मुक्तक, खण्डकाव्य, या महाकाव्य का एक छन्द, या नाटक के एक दृश्य का पूरा अर्थ सन्दर्भ-विशेष में ही होता है, किन्तु ऐसी प्रोक्तियां भी होती हैं जिनके लिए सन्दर्भ को अनिवार्यतः आवश्यक नहीं माना जा सकता है। जैसे—

रहिमन पानी राखिए बिन पानी सब सून।
पानी गए न ऊबरे मोती मानुस चून॥

एक प्रोक्ति है, किन्तु निश्चित सन्दर्भ के बिना भी अर्थद्योतन की दृष्टि से यह अपने आप में पूर्ण है। 'एक एक ग्यारह होते हैं' की भी यही स्थिति है। सन्दर्भ-विशेष में इसका विशेष अर्थ [तुम लोग (श्रोता या श्रोताओं को लक्षित) आपस में मतभेद मत रखो] हो सकता है किन्तु बिना सन्दर्भ के भी यह निरर्थक नहीं है। इसका अर्थ होगा—'एकता में बड़ी शक्ति है।' इस तरह प्रोक्ति के लिए प्रसंग-विशेष अनिवार्य नहीं है। निष्कर्षतः—

'वाक्यों की सुसम्बद्ध ऐसी इकाई को प्रोक्ति कहते हैं जो अर्थ की दृष्टि से पूर्ण हो।'

प्रोक्ति : भाषा की मूलभूत इकाई

अब तक भाषा का जो अध्ययन—चाहे वह पूरब और पश्चिम के परम्परागत व्याकरण हों या संरचनात्मक, रूपान्तरक प्रजनक व्याकरण, बन्धिमविज्ञान, व्यवस्थापरक व्याकरण आदि भाषा–विश्लेषण के आधुनिक प्रतिमान—होता रहा है, उसमें भाषा की मूलभूत इकाई वाक्य को मानते रहे हैं। किन्तु वास्तविकता यह नहीं है। भाषा का प्रयोग हम किसी बात को कहने के लिए करते हैं, और किसी बात को कहने में प्रायः हम एक वाक्य का प्रयोग न करके, एकाधिक वाक्यों का प्रयोग करते हैं। प्रायः वक्ता एक वाक्य से अपना कथ्य स्पष्ट नहीं कर पाता है। ऐसी स्थिति में किसी बात को कह सकने में समर्थ वे 'एकाधिक वाक्य' या उन 'एकाधिक वाक्यों' की इकाई ही भाषा की मूलभूत इकाई हुई। एक वाक्य कभी ऐसा होगा भी तो अपवादतः। यह एकाधिक वाक्यों की इकाई ही प्रोक्ति है। इस प्रकार प्रोक्ति ही भाषा की मूलभूत इकाई है, वाक्य नहीं। वाक्य सामान्यतः प्रोक्ति का अंग होता है, अर्थात् भाषा की मूलभूत इकाई का एक घटक मात्र।

प्रोक्ति के विषय में कुछ अन्य ज्ञातव्य बातें

इस प्रसंग में निम्नलिखित बातें भी विचारणीय हैं—

(क) प्रोक्ति में प्रायः एकाधिक वाक्य होते हैं। यों कभी–कभी एक वाक्य की भी प्रोक्ति होती है, किन्तु अपवादतः। जापानी में लिखे गए 'हाइकू' में प्रत्येक एक प्रोक्ति होते हैं तथा कइयों में मात्र एक ही वाक्य होता है। अज्ञेय की एक प्रसिद्ध कविता को यदि 'सांप, तुम नगर में तो रहे नहीं, डसना कहाँ सीखा ?' रूप में रखें तो यह भी एकवाक्यीय प्रोक्ति है। यों 'आ' एक ध्वनि भी हैं, एक अक्षर भी है, एक शब्द भी है, एक रूप भी हैं, एक वाक्य भी है तथा अपवादतः कुछ स्थितियों में एक प्रोक्ति भी। इसी तरह अनेक लोकोक्तियाँ (जैसे 'एक और एक ग्यारह होते है', 'एक हाथ से ताली नहीं बजती', 'सत्य कड़ुवा होता हैं', 'लोहे को लोहा काटता हैं' आदि) भी एकवाक्यीय प्रोक्ति होती हैं। यही स्थिति सार्वभौम सत्य को व्यक्त करने वाले वाक्यों की भी होती है। उदाहरणार्थ 'सूरज पूरब में निकलता है' या 'पानी जमने पर बर्फ़ हो जाता है।' आदि।

(ख) वाक्य ऊपरी तौर पर सुसम्बद्ध हों या नहीं, आन्तरिक रूप में अवश्य सुसम्बद्ध होते हैं। यों सामान्यतः तो प्रोक्ति के वाक्य बाह्यतः भी आपस में सम्बद्ध होते हैं किन्तु कभी-कभी ऐसे उदाहरण भी मिलते हैं जब वाक्य आपस में ऊपरी तौर पर बिल्कुल भी जुड़े नहीं होते है। जैसे 'सूरज डूब रहा है। आसमान लाल है। पशु दिन भर बाहर चर कर घर लौट रहे हैं।' इस प्रोक्ति में तीनों वाक्य बाहर से अलग-अलग हैं, किन्तु भीतर से जुड़े हैं, क्योंकि सभी

अपने-अपने ढंग से एक ही बात 'शाम हो चली है' को शाम के तीन बिम्बों के द्वारा ध्वनित कर रहे हैं।

(ग) प्रोक्ति अपने छोटे रूप में एक छन्द या एक दृश्य (नाटक का) भी हो सकती है, एक अध्याय या अङ्क भी हो सकती है तथा अपने बृहत्तम रूप में एक पूरी कहानी, पूरा उपन्यास, पूरा एकांकी या नाटक, पूरा निबन्ध, पूरी कविता, पूरा खण्डकाव्य या पूरा महाकाव्य भी।

(घ) प्रोक्ति का निर्णय आकार से नहीं, प्रकार्य से होता है। जब तक उसमें पूरी बात को कहने की क्षमता न हो, बड़ी या छोटी होने के आधार पर उसे प्रोक्ति नहीं कहा जा सकता है।

(ङ) प्रोक्ति मूलतः बातचीत है, इसीलिए 'वक्ता', 'श्रोता', 'कथ्य' (सम्प्रेष्य या सन्देश) 'सन्दर्भ' और 'मौखिक सरणि'— ये पाँच प्रोक्ति के घटक है। यदि वह 'लिखित' या 'पाठ' है तो पाँचवाँ घटक 'लिलित सरणि' है।

(च) प्रोक्ति मूलतः संप्रेषण की एक पूर्ण इकाई होती है। यों यह पूर्णता सापेक्ष होती है। उदाहरण के लिए प्रत्येक 'उपन्यास', उसका 'प्रत्येक अध्याय' तथा प्रत्येक अध्याय के 'अभिव्यक्ति की दृष्टि से पूर्ण पैराग्राफ़'—ये सभी प्रोक्ति हैं, किन्तु उपन्यास की पूर्णता तथा अध्याय की पूर्णता और अध्याय के एक पैराग्राफ़ की पूर्णता एक प्रकार की नहीं हो सकती है।

(छ) कभी-कभी वाक्य अनेकार्थी होता है, किन्तु प्रोक्ति उसे अनेकार्थी से एकार्थी बना देती है। जैसे 'यह राम की तसवीर है' के तीन अर्थ (क. राम इसका स्वामी है, ख. राम ने इसे बनाया है, ग. यह राम के चेहरे की है) हैं, किन्तु 'यह राम की तसवीर है, उसने कल ही ख़रीदा है' में वह एकार्थी है। उस वाक्य की यही स्थिति 'यह राम की तसवीर है, कल ही उसने बनाई है' या 'यह राम की तसवीर है, किन्तु उसके अपने चेहरे से इस तसवीर का चेहरा कहीं अच्छा है' में भी है।

प्रोक्ति के प्रकार

प्रोक्ति का वर्गीकरण कई आधारों पर किया जा सकता है, जिनमें से कुछ मुख्य आधार तथा उनके आधार पर हो सकने वाले प्रोक्ति-प्रकार यहाँ अत्यन्त संक्षेप में देखे जा सकते हैं:—

(क) 'प्रोक्ति क्या (विधा) है, अथवा किस विधा का अंश है'—इसके आधार :

इसके आधार उपन्यास, कहानी, नाटक, एकांकी, खण्डकाव्य, महाकाव्य, मुक्तक, गीत अथवा उपन्यासांश, नाटकांश, खण्डकाव्यांश, महाकाव्यांश तथा गीतांश आदि भेद हो सकते हैं। इन सब की प्रकृति में अन्तर होता है। किसी में संवाद ही होते हैं तो किसी में केवल उत्तम पुरुष की प्रधानता होती है तो किसी में वक्ता या लेखक तटस्थ वर्णन मात्र होता है और किसी में कई चीज़ें मिली-जुली होती है।

(ख) 'प्रोक्ति के वाक्य आपस में किस साधन के द्वारा जोड़े गए हैं'—इसके आधार पर :

इसके आधार पर समुच्चयी संसक्ति-युक्त, सर्वनामी संसक्ति-युक्त, कर्तालोपी

संसक्ति–युक्त, विरामी संसक्ति युक्त, तथा सन्दर्भी संसक्ति–युक्त आदि भेद हो सकते हैं। इनमें प्रथम में संसक्ति(cohesion) समुच्चयबोधक अव्यय (जैसे तथा, एवं, और, कि, जो, जोकि, तो, इसलिए कि, यद्यपि .....तथापि/पर/परन्तु/लेकिन, जो......तो, क्या......क्या, चाहे... परन्तु/पर/लेकिन/किन्तु/मगर, या......या, न.........न, आदि) से होती है तो दूसरे में संज्ञा के स्थान पर सर्वनाम का प्रयोग करके (श्याम आज आया है। कल ही उसे जाना है)। ऐसे ही कर्तालोप, विरामचिह्न तथा सन्दर्भ आदि के द्वारा भी संसक्ति होती है। यों सर्वाधिक प्रयोग मिश्र संसक्ति युक्त प्रोक्ति का होता है, जिसमें उपर्युक्त में एकाधिक (अर्थात् दो, तीन, चार या पाँच) साधनों का एक ही में प्रयोग होता है। मिश्र संसक्ति–युक्त प्रोक्ति को भी द्विसंसक्ति-युक्त, त्रिसंसक्ति, चतुस्संसक्ति–युक्त आदि उपभेदों में (संसक्ति–साधनों के प्रकारों की कुल संख्या के आधार पर) विभाजित किया जा सकता है।

(ग) **सम्बद्ध व्यक्ति अथवा व्यक्तियों के आधार पर :** इस आधार पर मुख्यतः **संलाप** (दो व्यक्तियों में बातचीत) तथा **एकालाप** (एक ही व्यक्ति अकेले में बोलता है। वह वक्ता भी होता है और श्रोता भी) दो भेद होते हैं। फिर **संलाप** के **गत्यात्मक** (जिसमें जल्दी–जल्दी वक्ता श्रोता बनता जाए तथा श्रोता वक्ता अर्थात् वे बातचीत करते चलें। दूसरे शब्दों में वक्ता और श्रोता के रूप में अपनी भूमिकाएं बदलते चलें) तथा **स्थिर** (वक्ता बोलता जाए और श्रोता सुनता जाए) और **मौखिक** तथा **लिखित** आदि उपभेद होते हैं। फिर स्थिर के **द्वि–अभिमुख** (जैसे मन्च से भाषण जिसमें श्रोता सामने होता है) तथा **एकाभिमुख** (रेडियो से समाचार या वार्ता जिसमें श्रोता सामने नहीं होता) उपभेद होते हैं। **एकालाप** के भी **स्थिर** (जहां वक्ता के विचारों या भावों में स्थिरता हो), तथा **गत्यात्मक** (जहाँ विचार या भाव स्थिर न होकर बदलते रहें) उपभेद होते हैं।

(घ) **कथन के आधार पर** : इस आधार पर प्रोक्ति के **प्रत्यक्ष कथन** (डाइरेक्ट स्पीच) तथा **अप्रत्यक्ष कथन** (इनडाइरेक्ट स्पीच) भेद होते हैं। '**राम**—मैं तुम्हारा नाम जानना चाहता हूं? **मोहन**–मुझे मोहन कहते हैं' —प्रत्यक्ष कथन है तो 'राम ने मोहन से पूछा कि उसका नाम क्या है और मोहन ने उत्तर में कहा कि उसका नाम मोहन है' अप्रत्यक्ष कथन। हिन्दी में एक प्रकार का कथन दोनों के बीच का भी होता है—'राम ने मोहन से पूछा कि तुम्हारा नाम क्या है तो मोहन ने बतलाया कि मेरा नाम मोहन है'। इसे अर्धप्रत्यक्ष कथन कह सकते हैं। यों तत्त्वतः यह भी एक प्रकार प्रत्यक्ष कथन ही है, क्योंकि प्रत्यक्ष कही गयी बात यहां भी है। अन्तर केवल यह है कि इसमें 'कि' भी है। यों अंग्रेज़ी 'दैट' की तरह कुछ लोग हिन्दी 'कि' को अप्रत्यक्ष कथन का चिह्न मानते हैं, यद्यपि ऐसा मानना शायद बहुत ठीक नहीं है। यों अंग्रेज़ी में भी विना 'दैट' के अप्रत्यक्ष कथन होते हैं। जैसे Ram said he will go यदि ऐसा है तो 'दैट' महत्त्वपूर्ण नहीं है और न 'कि', महत्त्वपूर्ण है 'अप्रत्यक्ष कथन' या 'प्रत्यक्ष कथन'।

(ङ) **कथन की प्रकृति के आधार पर :** इस आधार पर विवरणात्मक (जिसमें विवरण हो), **व्याख्यात्मक** (जिसमें व्याख्या हो), **मूल्यांकनपरक** (जिसमें मूल्यांकन हो) तथा **मिश्र** (जिसमें

कथात्मक, प्रक्रियात्मक, उत्तेजक, प्रभावक, नाटकात्मक, आदि अन्य अनेक भेद भी विभिन्न सन्दर्भों में माने जा सकते हैं और माने गए हैं।

(च) **कथन शैली के आधार पर :** इस आधार पर **रूढ़िगत** (जैसे मेरा विनम्र निवेदन है कि आप कृपया अपने यहाँ के रिक्त स्थानों में एक पर मेरी नियुक्ति करने का कष्ट करें), **बहुत औपचारिक** (जैसे, कृपया अपने यहाँ रिक्त स्थानों में एक पर मेरी नियुक्ति करने का कष्ट करें), **औपचारिक** (जैसे, अपने यहाँ के रिक्त स्थानों में एक पर मेरी नियुक्ति करने की कृपा करें), **सामान्य** (जैसे, अपने यहाँ के रिक्त स्थानों में एक पर मेरी नियुक्ति कर दें), **अनौपचारिक** (जैसे अपने यहां के रिक्त स्थानों में एक पर मेरी नियुक्ति कर दो) तथा **अन्तरंग** (जैसे, भाई, अपने यहाँ के रिक्त स्थानों में एक पर मेरी नियुक्ति कर दो न) भेद किए जा सकते हैं। ये उदाहरण पूरी प्रोक्ति नहीं हैं, केवल स्पष्टीकरण के लिए यहाँ प्रोक्ति-अंश दिए गए है।

(छ) **प्रोक्ति में स्थान की दृष्टि से संसक्ति के आधार पर :** प्रोक्ति के विभिन्न घटकों में स्थान की दृष्टि से संसक्ति दो प्रकार की होती —(क) **स्थानिक** (लोकल) **संसक्ति** तथा (ख) **सार्वत्रिक** (ग्लोबल) **संसक्ति**। आगे इनको अलग-अलग लिया जा रहा है।

(क) **स्थानिक संसक्ति**—इसमें संसक्ति स्थान विशेष पर होती है। इसके अन्तर्गत अनेक प्रकार की संसक्तियां आती है जिनमें से कुछ मुख्य हैं :

(१) **सांकेतिक संसक्ति**—इसमें सर्वनामों (तुम, तुम्हारा, वह, उसका आदि) जो पीछे की किसी संज्ञा के लिए आते हैं (back reference) अथवा निर्देशकों (यह, वह, इसी, उसी, इसी कारण, उसी कारण आदि) के आधार पर संसक्ति होती है।

(२) **शाब्दिक संसक्ति** – इसमें सर्वनामों, निर्देशकों तथा समुच्चय बोधकों को छोड़कर अन्य शब्दों के आधार पर संसक्ति होती है। इसके कई भेद हैं : (अ) **पुनरावृत्तिक** संसक्ति इसमें पुनरावृत्ति (जैसे संसार **घूम** रहा है। सूरज **घूम** रहा है। चन्द्रमा **घूम** रहा है। पृथ्वी **घूम** रही है। मेरा मन **घूम** रहा है।) होती है। कबीर का एक पद है।

> अवधू माया **तजी** न जाई।
> गिरिह **तज** के **बस्तर** बाँधा, **बस्तर तज** के फेरी।
> लरिका **तज** के चेल्हा कीन्हा तहुँ मति माया घेरी।
> काम **तजे** ते **क्रोध** न जाई, **क्रोध तजे** तें लोभा।
> **लोभ तजे** अंहकार न जाई, मान बड़ाई सोभा।

शैलीविज्ञान में जिसे शब्दीय समानान्तरता कहते हैं, वह भी यही है। (आ) **पर्यायिक संसक्ति**—यह संसक्ति पर्यायों पर आधारित होती है। तुलसी की प्रसिद्ध चौपाई है :

विरह अगिन तनु तूल समीरा।
स्वास जरइ छन माहिं सरीरा।
नयन प्रवहि जलु निज हित लागी।
जरै न पाव देह बिरहागी। (मानस, सुन्दरकाण्ड)

(ई) **वैलोमिक संसक्ति**—यह विलोमों पर आधारित होती हैं। जैसे 'पुरुष कुतूहल और प्रश्न, स्त्री उत्तर' (स्कन्दगुप्त); (ई) **एकवर्गीय संसक्ति**— इसका आधार एक वर्ग के शब्द होते हैं। जैसे 'कापी, किताब, कलम,' 'नदी नाव, नाविक किनारा' या 'पर्वत, नदी, जंगल,' आदि।

(३) **संयोजनपरक संसक्ति** —संयुक्त वाक्य मिश्र वाक्य इसके उदाहरण होते हैं। यों कई वाक्यों को एक में मिलाना भी यही है। जैसे 'राम गया, मोहन गया, श्याम गया' का 'राम, मोहन और श्याम गये'।

(४) **समुच्चयबोधी संसक्ति**— इसमें और, तथा, एवं, या, अथवा, परन्तु, किन्तु, लेकिन पर, कि (जाना अच्छा होगा कि रुकना), तो (तुम्हें यह करना है तो मैं नहीं साथ दूँगा), फिर, और फिर यदि......तो आदि का प्रयोग होता है।

(५) **वैरामिक संसक्ति**— यह विराम-चिह्नों से होती है। जैसे पवित्रता की माप है मलिनता, सुख का आलोचक है दुःख, पुण्य की कसौटी है पाप। (स्कंदगुप्त)

(६) **पदलोपी संसक्ति**—कर्ता (राम सवेरे उठता है, बर्तन धोता है, खाना बनाता है, खाता है तब स्कूल जाता है), कर्ता और कर्म (घीसू रद्दी कागज़ प्लास्टिक के टुकड़े तथा चिथड़े आदि बटोरता है, बाज़ार ले जाता है, बेचता है और अपना काम चलाता है) तथा क्रिया (न मोहन खाएगा, न राम और न श्याम) आदि के लोप पर यह संसक्ति आधारित होती है।

(ख) **सार्वत्रिक संसक्ति** — संदर्भ, तर्क, वातावरण, प्रतीक, चरित्र, कथ्य, कथा, एक भाव तथा उद्देश्य आदि रूप में यह कृति में सर्वत्र बिखरी हुई होती है। उदाहरण के लिए—**तर्क** : बिजली के नंगे तार छू गए। आग लग गई। सब जल कर स्वाहा हो गया। **वातावरण** : सूरज निकल रहा है। अंधेरा फट रहा है। चिड़ियां चहक रही हैं। किसान खेतों की ओर चल पड़े हैं। **प्रतीक** : काले बादल छाते जा रहे हैं। अंधेरा होता जा रहा है। रौशनी छिपती जा रही है। 'काला' अंधेरा' तथा रोशनी का छिपना सभी दुःख के प्रतीक हैं। **कथा** : कथासाहित्य, नाटक तथा खण्डकाव्य एवं महाकाव्य में कथा पूरी कृति को एक में संसक्त कर उसे प्रोक्ति बनाती है। **चरित्र** : कहानी, उपन्यास, नाटक तथा खंडकाव्य एवं महाकाव्य मुख्य चरित्र भी एक में बांधने का काम करते हैं।

उपर्युक्त संसक्ति—साधनों में प्रयुक्त एक या मुख्य साधन के आधार पर विभिन्न प्रकार की प्रोक्तियों को (जैसे स्थानिक संसक्तियुक्त प्रोक्ति, वैरामिक संसक्तियुक्त प्रोक्ति आदि) अलग—अलग नाम दिए जा सकते है। यदि कइयों का प्रयोग हो तो उसे इस दृष्टि से 'मिश्र' नाम से अभिहित किया जा सकता है।

INFLUENCE OF GRAMMAR ON VĀMANA'S *KĀVYĀLAMKĀRASŪTRAVṚTTI*

Smt. Shrutidhara Chakravarty

Vāmana, the author of the *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtra-vṛtti* (henceforth abbreviated as *KSV*) is a celebrated authority on Poetics. He is known as the chief protagonist of the *Rīti* school of Sanskrit Poetics. But Vāmana also appears to have been held in high esteem and referred to as an authority even on the occasions of deciding certain grammatical issues. For example, Mallinātha, while commenting on *Śiśupālavadha*,[1] names and refers to Vāmana as an authority in respect of the grammatical issue of *abhidhāna*. Cf.

nāradasya karmatve'pi nipātaśabdenābhihitatvān na dvitīyā. tiṅām upasaṃkhyānasya upalakṣaṇatvāt. yathāha vāmanaḥ — 'nipātenābhihite karmaṇi na karmavibhaktiḥ. parigaṇanasya prāyikatvāt'.

Similarly Mallinātha quotes the authority of Vāmana also under other verse of the *Śiśupālavadha*.[2] In all these places, references are made to Vāmana's *KSV*.

It may be pointed out that Vāmana appears to have had a general interest in grammar, for, besides the *KSV* he is said to be the author of two other works which are decidedly grammatical. One of these two is the *Aviśrāntavidyādhara*, referred to in the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*.[3] In the latter work there is the expression :

vāmano'viśrāntavidyādharavyākaraṇakartā

In this expression the *Aviśrāntavidyādhara* is said to be a work on grammar and Vāmana is said to be a grammarian. This need not be construed as a

1. 1.3.
2. 1.8; 1.25; 1.70; 2.70, etc.
3. 1.2.

reference to Vāmana, the author of the *Kāśikā*, for, the author of the *Kāśikā*, being already a more celebrated authority on grammar would have hardly required an introduction as given in the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*. The other work of Vāmana is entitled *Liṅgānuśāsana*. This work is often quoted in various commentaries on grammatical works and later lexicons. It is a matter of regret that the *Aviśrāntavidyādhara* is irrecoverably lost. The other work has been edited by C. D. Dalal and published as No. 6 of the Gaekwad Oriental Series in 1918.

The *KSV*, which is a work on Poetics, also, to a great extent, is endowed with the flavour of grammatical work. *KSV* is the earliest work on Poetics to be written in the *Sūtra* style like the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. Like the grammarians, Vāmana also employs the device of *Anuvṛtti*. For example, a rule of the *KSV*, runs as : '*nityam saṃhitaikapadavat pādeṣvardhāntavarjam*'[4]. This is followed by the rule : '*na pādāntalaghor gurutvaṃ ca sarvatra*'. This latter rule is to be augmented with a part of the earlier rule dragged in by the device of *Anuvṛtti*[5].

The whole of the *KSV* is divided into 5 *Adhikaraṇa*-s (i.e., divisions) and each *Adhikaraṇa* is divided into two or three *Adhyāya*-s (i.e., chapters). There are altogether 32 *Sūtra*-s. There are altogether 12 *Adhyāya*-s. The number of *Adhyāya*-s might have been deliberately fixed at twelve. There is the popular saying : *dvādaśabhir varṣaiḥ vyākaraṇam śrūyate*. The number twelve might have been meant to imply that the *KSV* also should be studied with the same degree of seriousness as is required for studying grammar for twelve years.

In the *KSV* Vāmana attaches great importance to the science of grammar. In *KSV*[6] Vāmana names the *Śāstra*-s expected to be studied by one who aspires to be a poet. This *sūtra* reads :

śabdasmṛtyabhidhānakoṣacchandovicitikalākāmaśāstradaṇḍanītipūrvā vidyā

It is significant that Vāmana begins the list of the *Śāstra*-s with *Śabdasmṛti* or grammar. This warrants Vāmana's great respect for grammar, because, there is the maxim that the more respectable (*abhyarhitam*) should have preference in an order of naming (*pūrvam*). Sāyaṇa applies this principle

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4. 5.1.2.
5. *cakāro'rdhāntavarjam ityasyā'nukarṣaṇārthaḥ. Vṛtti* on *KSV.*, 5.1.3.
6. 1.3.3.

to establish the superiority of *Ṛgveda-bhāṣyopakramaṇikā.*[7] The origin of this tradition may be traced back to one of the master grammarians, viz. Kātyāyana, who has supplied the *Vārttika* : *'abhyarhitaṃ ca'*.

While discussing the *Doṣa*-s Vāmana dwells first of all on the *Padadoṣa*-s and of the *Padadoṣa*-s also first of all on what is called *Asādhu*. This *Doṣa* occurs because of grammatical inaccuracy of words. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* this *Doṣa* is called *Śabdacyuta* and is relegated to the last place. In Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin this *Doṣa* is called *Śabdahīna* and is given the sixth place. But by giving it the first place Vāmana establishes the importance of grammar.

Vāmana exhibits his concern for grammar once again in his treatment of *Kāvyasamaya*-s, i.e., poetical conventions. The first *Adhyāya* of the fifth and final *Adhikaraṇa*, containing 17 *Sūtra*-s, is devoted to the topic of *Kāvyasamaya*. The poetical conventions illustrated by Rājaśekhara or Viśvanātha are all concerned with the content of poetry. These poetical conventions are concerned with the presentation of certain unusual ideas. But Vāmana's poetical conventions are all concerned with the form of poetry. Vāmana appears to be concerned only with the 'diction' and not with the 'idea' contained. For example with regard to euphonic combination in poetical verses Vāmana offers the suggestion that *Sandhi*, if possible, must invariably occur in every foot and also between two feet except in between the end of the first half and the beginning of the second half, in the manner of a compulsory *Sandhi* of a single word. The concerned *Sūtra* reads : *'nityaṃ saṃhitaikapadavat pādeṣvardhāntavarjam'*[8]. This is out and out a grammatical opinion. In this connection Vāmana quotes the half verse : *'saṃhitaikapade nityā dhātūpasargayoḥ'*. This is the first half of celebrated verse given by Bhartṛhari in the *Vākyapadīya*. This verse is also quoted under *Siddhāntakaumudī.*[9]

The influence of grammar on the *KSV* is most prominent in the second *Adhyāya* of the fifth *Adhikaraṇa*. Incidentally this is the last *Adhyāya* of the whole book. This *Adhyāya* is concerned with *Śabdaśuddhi*, i.e., chastity of words. This chastity is determined on the basis of grammatical considerations. That Vāmana takes much interest in matters grammatical is confirmed also by the fact that this *Adhyāya* contains the highest number of

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7. Cf. *'atra kecidāhuḥ—ṛgvedasya prāthamyena sarvatra āmnātatvād abhyarhitatvāt tadvyākhyānam ādau yuktam'*, etc. in the very beginning of the said work of Sāyaṇa.
8. 5.1.2.
9. 2232.

Sūtra-s. The whole *Adhyāya* being directly concerned with grammatical issues looks more like a work on Grammar than on Poetics.

A close examination of the rules of this *Adhyāya* would show that it is as good as a commentary on certain select *Sūtra*-s of Pāṇini. Vāmana's own *Sūtra*-s rather appear to be as good as the *Vārttika*-s of Kātyāyana, for, they found to supplement the views contained in the relevant Pāṇinian rules.

It is interesting to note that while writing this *Adhyāya*, Vāmana simply follows the order of the *Sūtra*-s of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and his discussions are some times guided also by the contents of the *Kāśikā*. It appears that with the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the *Kāśikā* before him Vāmana goes on picking up the relevant rules of interest in the same order as they occur in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Vāmana does not have an occasion to dwell on each and every *Sūtra* of Pāṇini. But yet he finds it convenient to cover all the *Adhyāya*-s of Pāṇini. Thus while the first *Sūtra* of Vāmana[10] is concerned with Pāṇini's one *Sūtra*[11], the last *Sūtra* of Vāmana[12] is concerned with Pāṇini's other *Sūtra*.[13] That Vāmana follows the order of the *Sūtra*-s of Pāṇini may perhaps be warranted by the following few illustrations of correspondance between the two sets of *Sūtra*-s :

KSV	Pāṇini
5.2.1	1.2.67
5.2.2	1.3.1
5.2.3	1.3.12
5.2.4	1.3.12
5.2.5	1.3.13
5.2.6	1.3.13
5.2.7	1.3.67
5.2.8	1.3.78
5.2.9	1.4.52
5.2.10	1.4.56
5.2.11	1.4.71
5.2.12	2.1.4
5.2.13	2.1.24
5.2.14	2.1.50 f
5.2.15	2.1.56

10. *KSV*. 5.2.1.
11. *Aṣṭā*. 1.2.6.
12. *KSV*. 5.2.92.
13. *Aṣṭā*. 8.4.8.

How this *Adhyāya* of the *KSV* happens to be thoroughly grammatical may be shown with an exposition of the very first *Sūtra* of this *Adhyāya* : *rudrāvityekaśeṣo'nveṣyaḥ*[14] :

Exposition : We cannot have the word *rudrau* as an *Ekaśeṣa Samāsa* to mean 'Rudra and Rudrāṇī' (i.e., god Rudra and his consort Rudrāṇī). If we want to have it as a case of *Ekaśeṣa*, it must be formed in the light of the Pāṇinian rule, *pumān striyā*[15]. But this Pāṇinian rule is applicable only where the female with which the male is mentioned has no speciality other than its faminity (*strītva*), because there is the *Anuvṛtti* (following) of the clause '*tallakṣaṇaścedeva viśeṣaḥ*' from the Pāṇinian rule[16]. Thus we may have *Ekaśeṣa* in the word '*brāhmaṇau*'. which may be expounded as *brāhmaṇaśca brāhmaṇī ca*, where the word *brāhmaṇī*, formed according to a Pāṇinian rule[17], simply means a female belonging to the *brāhmin* caste. But the word rudrāṇī, involved in the word *rudrau*, if taken as an *Ekaśeṣa*, is formed by suffixing *ṅīṣ* according to the rule '*puṃyogād ākhyāyām*'[18] followed by the rule *indra-varuṇa-bhava-śarva-rudra*, etc.[19] Since the word *rudrāṇī* according to rule 4.1.48 means more than a female and has the additional speciality of being the wife of particular male, we cannot have an *Ekaśeṣa* with this word. Similarly, we cannot have the forms *indrau*, *bhavau*, *śarvau* etc. as cases of *Ekaśeṣa*. Vāmana, the author of *Kāśikā*, also observes almost the same thing under the rule '*pumān striyā*'[20] and suggests that instead of *indrau*, for example, we should have *indreṇdrāṇyau* as an *Ekaśeṣa*.

Ānandavardhana in the 9th century declared his esteem for the grammarians with the statement : *prathame hi vidvāṃso vaiyākaraṇāḥ, vyākaraṇamūlatvāt sarvaśāstrāṇām.*[21] The foregoing analysis should perhaps suffice to bring home the idea that Ānandavardhana's predecessor compatriot Vāmana also had the same type of reverence for the grammarians, and it is not unlikely that the tradition has been created by himself to be followed by Ānandavardhana later on. Yet it might be more scientific to trace back the tradition to Bhāmaha who says : '*śraddheyaṃ jagati mataṃ hi pāṇinīyam*'[22].

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14. *KSV*. 5.2.1.
15. 1.2.67.
16. 1.2.65.
17. 4.1.63.
18. 4.1.48.
19. 4.1.49.
20. 1.2.67.
21. *Dhvanyāloka*, I.
22. *Kāvyālaṃkāra*, 6.63c.

THEATRICAL PERFORMANCE IN ANCIENT INDIA—
An example in the *KUṬṬANĪMATA* of Damodaragupta

Bhawani Shanker Shukla

Unlike poetry, dramas in ancient India were written for performance. References to *Nāṭyaśālā*-s, *Prekṣaṇaka*, *Prekṣā* etc. in *Nilamata Purāṇa* (7th century A.D.) and *Kuṭṭanimata* (8th-9th century A.D.) abundantly show the existence of theatres in ancient India.[1] Amongst the cultivated people drama was certainly treated as a refined art. Study and knowledge of dramatics were compulsory for the members of the royalty. Theatre-halls were generally attached with palaces and mansions of kings and wealthy persons. Theatre was also employed for educating the people with the ancient *Ākhyāna*-s and the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. We find references to wandering artists in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, who performed dramas on the stage.[2] The stage was generally a raised platform, properly lighted and appropriately decorated. Care was taken for proper costumes and make-up. Sometimes the tyrant feudal lords and bureacrats were the objects of performance by the wandering players. We do not, however, know if there were also public theatre-halls where common man could go. May be, the common man witnessed the drama in open like the present day *Tamāshā*, *Nauṭaṅki* or any folk performance. The folk theatre of today seems to be the true tradition carrier of the ancient dramatic performance, for it still has the ingredients of music, dance and *abhinaya*—all in one, and also, to some extent, the stage-plan similar to one in ancient days. The closed theatre-halls of today are not probably in accordance with the stage-planning recommended by Bharata, Nārada etc.

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1. *Kuṭṭanīmata*, vv. 798, 882, 929, 930, 938, 940, 946, 949, 1008, 1009, 1010
2. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vii-285, 688; viii-1950, 1970, 2178

Also, ततश्चिचलिषावेष राज्ञि तत्कटको दिशः ।
स वृष्ट्यम्बुहतो रङ्गप्रेक्षिलोक इवाभवत् ॥ *R. T.* vii-1606

Though there is plenty of evidence to show that theatrical performances were common in India and most of the dramas written by prominent authors were actually staged by the professional artists, we do not have direct proof of a particular drama being staged. Luckily, the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Damodaragupta of Kashmir (8th-9th. Century A.D.) comes to our help. It provides not only an allusion to theatrical performance in the heaven by celestial actors and damsels[3] but also gives a clear picture of how a drama was played[4]. We find a fascinating scene of the Harsha's famous drama *Ratnāvali* being enacted in this book. *Kuṭṭanīmata* is, no doubt, a *Kāvya* dealing with the erotico-comic and satirical matters, which later paved the way for a type of literature perfected by Kṣemendra and Jalhaṇa, it is also a pleasant admixture of poetic art and rhetorics and a spring of socio-cultural realities. Coming to the performance of *Ratnāvali*, the relevant narrative in the *Kuṭṭanīmata*, gives not only the details of the art of drama but also shows the extent to which the theatrical performance was popular in Kashmir as elsewhere in India.

The fact that Kashmiri authors have written a remarkable number of dramas shows the popularity of this branch of literature. That the dramas in ancient India, as stated earlier, were written for performance on the stage and to entertain the educated and illiterate people alike and not for merely reading by a few should not be doubted. Existence of performance-halls and auditoria in the royal palaces and also perhaps in public places lends full support to the general belief about the performance of the drama on the stage. It appears that the performance of the drama was strictly in accordance with the rules laid down in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The *nāṭaka*-s invariably consisted of dances and music and were mostly the full night shows. We have reason to believe that a regular professional class of actors existed in Kashmir in the days of Damodaragupta. Some of the actors were highly skilled in the art and perhaps gave the performance in the top class of the society who witnessed these shows throughout night, spell-bound and

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3. नायकभूमौ भरतः कुशीलवाः कोहलादयो मुनयः ।
अप्सरसः स्त्रीनाट्ये गान्धर्वे कमलजन्मनस्तनयाः ॥
सुषिरस्वरप्रयोगप्रतिपादनपण्डितो मतंगमुनिः ।
यदि रञ्जयन्ति हृदयं भवतो भूमिस्पृशां कृतः शक्तिः ॥

[If (in the drama) wherein Bharata plays the hero, Kohala and other ascetics play as actors, the nymphs play female roles, Nārada, the son of lotus-born Brahmā, provides music, and sage Mataṅga plays on the flute to please your heart, who else has the capacity (to please you) on earth]. *Kuṭṭanīmata*, vv.876-77.

4. *K.M.*—vv.801-809, 880-928.

without caring for the weather. The fact that prostitutes staged the first act of *Ratnāvalī* shows that they were properly educated in the art of dramatics and that dramas written by standard writers were popular among this professional class. *Kuṭṭanīmata* shows what an important place the theatre had in the life of the Indian upper classes.

Coming to the performance of *Ratnāvalī* by prostitute Mañjarī and her associates, we may notice the technical aspects of the Sanskrit drama. The following description will show as to how a drama was opened on the stage: The dance master (*Nṛtyācārya*) having got all percussion instruments—(tabour and cymbal etc.) attuned and set, bade the *Śūtradhāra* (the principal actor who arranges the cast of characters and instructs them and takes a prominent part in the prelude of the drama) when the musical instruments were played in the fifth note (*Pañcama 'p'* of the Octave) being led by the flute-player and the introductory part (*prāveśikī*) ended, the *Sūtradhāra* entered the stage singing a '*dvipadī*'. Full of enthusiasm, pleasing the heart of the spectators, skilled in performing the character of the king of Vatsa (i.e. Udayana, the hero of *Ratnāvalī* drama), after singing the first stanza of the opening song upto 8th stage with rhythm and tempo, having called the *naṭī* and conversed with her, his domestic affairs, informing (the spectators) of the arrival of the characters (on the stage), having walked a few graceful steps singing an exit song, the *Sūtradhāra* left the stage with his wife. Having taken the thread from *Sūtradhāra* in the second stage of prelude of the drama (*Kathodghāta*), there appears on the stage the companion of king Udayana, happy and astonished due to difficult coincidence.[5]

Damodaragupta gives a vivid description of the drama in all its aspects running into about 68 *āryā*-s. He tells that the drama has a body which consists of seven notes of music. It has six souls and three measures and is predominantly good in character. The drama is variously entertaining with songs, instrumental music, dances and acting and it generates various moods. The costumes and acting of the characters are acccording to dress and nature and behaviour of characterised persons. The pronunciation of the actors is to be flawless. Applying the aforesaid characteristics of the dramatic performance, Mañjarī, the heroine of *Ratnāvalī*, acquitted herself excellently as an actress. She performed a variety of *sthānaka-s*, showed elegance in her body movements; the words she spoke were perfectly in accordance with the changing feelings, and their meanings varied with the change in her voice (*kāku*). She fully identified herself with the represented character. She evoked *sāttvika bhāva*-s, attired and made-up suitably, and did not violate

5. *K. M.* 880-885

the *laya*-s in the mixed and unmixed drama.[6] From what has been said here, it appears that theatrical performance was of two types—the mixed (*miśra*) and the unmixed i.e. pure (*amiśra*). The former type of drama consisted of recitation, music and dance while the *amiśra* drama had only the recitation.

The description of theatrical performance in the *Kuṭṭanīmata* proves beyond doubt that the rules of the drama as laid down in various treatises—particularly that of Bharata were strictly adhered to in ancient period and the Indian folk theatre still retains some of the characteristics of the performances of the yore.

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6. विविधस्थानकरचनापरिक्रमं गात्रवलनलालित्यम् ।
काकुविभक्तार्थगिरो रसपुष्टिवासनास्थैर्यम् ॥
सात्त्विकभावोन्मीलनमभिनयमनुरूपवर्तनाभरणम् ।
मिश्रामिश्रे नाट्ये लयाच्युतिं वर्णयन्ति मञ्जर्याः ॥

K, *M*, 804-805

प्रश्नोत्तरमणिरत्नमाला

अशोककुमार कालिया

प्रास्ताविकम्

उत्तरप्रदेशीयराजधान्यां लक्ष्मणपुर्यां (लखनऊ) विद्यमानायाम् अखिल-भारतीय-संस्कृत-परिषदि हस्तलिखितग्रन्थानामस्ति विपुलो महनीयश्च संग्रहः। एतस्मिन् संग्रहे विविधविषयकाणां ग्रन्थानां मध्ये वर्तते स्वाकारदृष्ट्या लघीयसी किन्तु विषयदृष्ट्या महीयसी प्रश्नोत्तर-रत्नमाला-नामधेया काचन कृतिः। परिषद्ग्रन्थागारे कृतेरस्या अस्ति हस्तलेखद्वयम्। गीताप्रेस-गोरखपुरात् 'प्रश्नोत्तरी' नाम्ना कृतिरियं प्रकाशिताऽवतिष्ठते।

सम्पादनसामग्रीविमर्शः

तस्यैतस्य प्रस्तुतसम्पादनकार्यस्य निर्वहणार्थं परिषदि विद्यमानं मातृकाद्वयं समुपयुक्तं गीताप्रेस-गोरखपुरान् मुद्रितं पुस्तकञ्च। आधाररूपेणोपयुक्तायाः सामग्र्या अस्याः संकेतादिविवरणं त्वित्थम्—

१. A. इति संकेतेन निर्दिष्टा अखिल-भारतीयसंस्कृतपरिषदि ७७/३५४५ संख्याका पत्रत्रयाऽऽत्मिका मातृका देवनागराक्षरैर्लिखिता पूर्णा च। अस्यां प्रतिपत्रम् १० पंक्तयः सन्ति प्रतिपंक्तावक्षराणि च ३२।

२. B. इति संकेतेन निर्दिष्टा अखिल-भारतीयसंस्कृतपरिषदि हस्तलिखितग्रन्थागारे संस्थिता ७६/३८९९ संख्याका पत्रपञ्चकाऽऽत्मिका देवनागराक्षरैर्लिखिता पूर्णा च मातृका। अस्यां प्रतिपत्रम् ७ पंक्तयः सन्ति, प्रतिपंक्तावक्षराणि च २४।

३. C. इति संकेतेन निर्दिष्टा गीताप्रेस-गोरखपुरान्मुद्रिता 'प्रश्नोत्तरी'-नामधेया लघु-पुस्तिका।

विद्यमानपाठेषु विनैव परिवर्तनमर्थसङ्गतिर्यथा भवेत् तथा सम्पादकेनाऽनेन विशेषतया प्रयतितम्। सर्वानपि विद्यमानान् पाठान् सम्यग् विचार्य समालोच्य च कश्चन पाठोऽर्थसङ्गत्य-

नुसारं स्वीकृतोऽत्र। अन्ते श्लोकानाम् अकाराद्यनुक्रमसूची नैव विनिबद्धा तत्र विशेषोपयोगिताया अदर्शनात्। तत्स्थाने अकारादिक्रमेण प्रश्नानुक्रमणिका उत्तरनिर्देशपूर्वकं विनिवेशिताऽवतिष्ठते।

रचनाया अभिधानविमर्शः

रचनाया उपर्युल्लिखितयोर् मातृकयोः पुस्तिकायाश्चावलोकनेन प्रथमा शङ्का रचनाया अभिधानमधिकृत्य समुदेति यतो हि मातृकयोः पुष्पिकयोर् भिन्नं भिन्नमभिधानं रचनाया एतस्या निर्दिष्टं दृष्टिपथमुपयाति। तथा हि A इति संकेतितायां मातृकायां प्रश्नोत्तराख्या मणिरत्नमाला इति नाम निर्दिष्टं विराजते। एवमेव B इति संकेतेन निर्दिष्टायां मातृकायां प्रश्नोत्तररत्नमाला इति नाम दृग्गोचरीभवति। गीताप्रेस-गोरखपुरान् मुद्रितायां C इति संकेतेन निर्दिष्टायां पुस्तिकायां यद्यपि पुष्पिका नास्ति तथापि 'प्रश्नोत्तरी' इति नाम मुद्रितमस्ति। एवं रचनाया एतस्या अभिधानत्रयमुपलभ्यते—

१. A. मातृकायां प्रश्नोत्तराख्या मणिरत्नमाला
२. B. मातृकायां प्रश्नोत्तररत्नमाला
३. C. पुस्तिकायां प्रश्नोत्तरी

इति चाऽस्ति नामत्रयम्। विद्यमानेषु त्रिष्वभिधानेषु किं वा स्यादेतस्या रचनाया वास्तविकं नामेत्यस्ति विचारणीयो विषयः। A. B. C. इति संकेतनिर्दिष्टासु मातृकापुस्तिकास्वन्तिमः श्लोक एवंविधः—

कण्ठङ्गता वा श्रवणङ्गता वा
प्रश्नोत्तराख्या मणिरत्नमाला।
तनोतु मोदं विदुषां सुरम्या
रमेशगौरीशकथेव सद्यः॥ (३२)

एतस्मिन् श्लोके प्रश्नोत्तराख्या मणिरत्नमाला इत्येतन्नाम निर्दिष्टम् अस्ति। A अत्रापि 'आख्या' इति पदं छन्दोऽनुरोधेन प्रयुक्तं स्याद् इति कृत्वा प्रश्नोत्तरमणिरत्नमाला इत्येतदेव वास्तविकं नाम स्याद्। B. मातृकायां निर्दिष्टं 'प्रश्नोत्तररत्नमाला' इति नामापि साधु भवितुमर्हं तथापि उपर्युद्धृतश्लोकानुसारं नाम्नि मणिशब्दस्य सद्भावो युक्तियुक्त एव मन्तव्यः। C. संकेतितपुस्तिकायां मुद्रितं 'प्रश्नोत्तरी' इति नामाऽप्रामाणिकमिव प्रतिभाति कुत्रापि मूले पुष्पिकायां वाऽनुल्लेखात्। अतः 'प्रश्नोत्तरमणिरत्नमाला' इत्येव समीचीनम् अभिधानं रचनाया मन्तव्यम्।

रचयितृविमर्शः

रचयितृप्रश्नो विशेषतयाऽस्ति जटिलः। तत्स्थाने त्रीणि नामानि प्राप्यन्ते, तद्यथा—

१. A. इति निर्दिष्टाया मातृकायाः पुष्पिकायां रचयितृत्वेन श्रीतुलसीदासस्य नाम्नः समुल्लेखो दृष्टिपथमुपयाति। एवमस्ति पुष्पिकाया योजना—'इति श्रीतुलसीदासकृता प्रश्नोत्तराख्या मणिरत्नमाला समाप्ता'।

२. B. इति निर्दिष्टाया मातृकाया पुष्पिकायां श्री शुकयतीन्द्रस्य नामोल्लिखितं विराजते। इत्थमस्ति पुष्पिकायोजना 'इति श्री शुकयतीन्द्रविरचितं प्रश्नोत्तररत्नमाला सम्पूर्ण समाप्तम्'।

३. C. इति निर्दिष्टायां पुस्तिकायां रचयितृरूपेण स्वामि-श्रीशङ्कराचार्यस्य नाम मुद्रितमस्ति।

इत्थं मातृकयोः पुस्तिकायाञ्च त्रिष्वपि स्थलेषु रचयितुर् नामत्रयं प्राप्यते—१. श्रीतुलसीदासः २. श्री शुकयतीन्द्रः ३. श्री शङ्कराचार्यश्च। एषु को वास्ति प्रश्नोत्तरमणिरत्नमालाया रचयिता इत्यस्ति विचारणीय प्रश्नः। श्री-तुलसीदासस्य कर्तृत्वं न क्षमं कल्पयितुम्, A निर्दिष्ट-मातृकातिरिक्तम् केनाप्यन्येन प्रमाणेन तत्कर्तृत्वस्यासङ्केतितत्वात्। यदि रामचरितमानसस्य रचयिता तुलसीदास एवाऽस्या अपि रचयिता स्यात् तर्ह्ययनन्यैकान्तरामभक्तो महाकविरयं परमपुरुषत्वेन श्रीरामस्य तद्भक्तेश्च प्रतिपादनमवश्यं कुर्याद् रचनायामेतस्याम्। रामस्य नामापि नोपलभ्यते कुत्राप्यत्र। शिवस्य विष्णोश्च तद्भक्तेश्च प्रधानतया प्रतिपादनमनेकत्राऽस्यां रचनायां दृष्टिगोचरतामायाति। यथा—

'कार्या प्रिया का? शिवविष्णुभक्तिः' ॥१०॥

अन्यान्यप्युद्धरणीयानि तत्र तत्राऽवलोकनीयानि प्रश्नोत्तरमणिरत्नमालायामस्याम्। एवं श्रीतुलसीदासस्य रचयितृत्वं नितरां सन्दिग्धमेव।

B. इति सङ्केतेन निर्दिष्टाया मातृकाया पुष्पिकायां श्रीशुकयतीन्द्रस्योल्लेखो रचयितृत्वेनोपलभ्यते। कोऽसौ शुकयतींन्द्रः इति तु न केनापि प्रमाणेन ज्ञायते। सर्वथाऽप्रसिद्ध एवाऽयं जनः। एतस्य कर्तृत्वकल्पनं स्यादधिकं विवादास्पदम्।

श्रीशङ्कराचार्यो गीताप्रेसगोरखपुरप्रकाशितायां पुस्तिकायां रचयितृरूपेण निर्दिष्टः। वाणीविलासप्रेस-श्रीरङ्गात् प्रकाशितेषु श्रीशङ्कराचार्यग्रन्थेषु (The Works Of Sri Sankaracharya) कृतिरियं नैव दृष्टिगोचरतामुपयाति। यद्यपि तस्य १६ तमे सम्पुटे कृतिरेका प्रश्नोत्तररत्नमालिकेति नाम्नोपनिबद्धा वर्तते तथापि सा प्रस्तुतरचनातो नितान्तं भिन्ना। तत्र ६७ श्लोकाः सन्ति, एतस्यां पुनः ३२ श्लोका एव सन्ति। एवं श्रीशङ्कराचार्यस्यापि कर्तृत्वं प्रमाणैरसाधितमेव।

एवमेकतरपक्षपातिन्या युक्तेरभावाद् एतस्मिन् विषये न किञ्चिदपि निर्णेतुं शक्यते। अत एव उपर्युल्लिखितसामग्र्या अनुरोधेन सन्दिग्धकर्तृका अनिर्णीतकर्तृका वा रचनेयम् इति मन्तव्यं सुधीभिः।

प्रतिपाद्यविमर्शः

अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे प्रश्नोत्तरशैल्यां संसारस्य निःसारतानिरूपणपूर्वकं ततो विरक्तिः परस्मिन् पुरुषेऽनुरक्तिश्च ग्रन्थकृता सुष्ठु प्रतिपादिताऽस्ति । भगवद्भक्तेः संसाराद् विमुखीभवनं वैराग्यं वाऽस्ति किञ्चित् प्रभावि साधनम् । एतत्प्रतिपादनमेवाऽस्त्यस्य ग्रन्थस्य मुख्यो विषयः । अत्र वर्ण्यविषयस्य संक्षिप्तं क्रमिकं च विवेचनमपेक्षितं स्याद् इति बुद्ध्या तादृशे कर्मणि किञ्चित् प्रयस्यत इदानीम् ।

परमतत्त्वविमर्शः

प्रश्नोत्तरमणिरत्नमालायां परमतत्त्वस्याऽवधारणाप्रश्नोऽप्यस्ति विचारणीयः । एतस्यां परमलघुकृतौ कस्याश्चिदेकस्या देव्या देवताया वा परमतत्त्वरूपेण प्रतिपादनं नोपलभ्यते स्पष्टतया । यदि केषाञ्चित् प्रश्नानाम् उत्तरेषु शिवपारम्यमस्ति प्रतिपादितं तर्हि अन्यप्रश्नानामुत्तरेषु विष्णोरथवा शिवविष्ण्वोरुभयोरथवा ब्रह्मणः प्रतिपादनं दृष्टिपथमुपयाति । किं रूपमस्त्येतत्प्रतिपादनमित्यस्माभिरवश्यं ज्ञातव्यमित्यतः क्रमशो प्रस्तूयते विषयोऽयम्—

ब्रह्मतत्त्वम्—

ब्रह्मतत्त्वस्य समुल्लेखोऽस्यां लघुरचनायां चतुर्वारं कृतः । तद्यथा—

(१) के हेतवो ब्रह्मगतेस्तु सन्ति ?
सत्सङ्गतिर्दान्तिविचारशक्तिः ।। ९

(२) विद्या हि का ; ब्रह्मगतिप्रदा या ।। ११

(३) ज्ञाते तु कस्मिन् विदितं जगत्स्यात् ?
सर्वात्मके ब्रह्मणि पूर्णरूपम् ।। २७

(४) किं दुर्लभम् ? सद्गुरुरस्ति लोके
सत्सङ्गतिर् ब्रह्मविचारणा च ।
त्यागो हि सर्वस्य शिवात्मबोधः ।।२८।।

प्रथम उद्धरणे प्रश्न एव ब्रह्मगतिशब्दः प्रयुक्तः । द्वितीय उद्धरणेऽपि ब्रह्मगतिशब्दो विराजते । प्रथमोद्धरणे 'ब्रह्मगतेः के हेतवः सन्ति' इत्यस्ति प्रश्नः । 'सत्सङ्गतिर् दान्तिर् विचारशक्तिश्च ब्रह्मगतेर् हेतवः सन्ति' इत्युत्तरं चाऽस्ति । 'विद्या हि का ?' इत्यस्ति द्वितीयोद्धरणस्थः प्रश्नः । उत्तरञ्चाऽस्ति 'या ब्रह्मगतिं प्रयच्छति सा विद्या' । उत्तरञ्चेदं मुण्डकोपनिषद एतद्वाक्यं स्मारयति—'अथ परा यया तदक्षरमधिगम्यते' (मुण्डक० १.१.५) । अत्रोद्धरणयोः प्रयुक्तो ब्रह्मगति-शब्दो ब्रह्मस्वरूपविषये न कञ्चिन्निश्चितार्थं प्रापयति । तृतीयोद्धरणस्थस्य प्रश्नस्यैतत्तात्पर्यम्—'कस्मिन् तत्त्वे ज्ञाते सति सर्वमिदं 'जगज्ज्ञातं भवेत् ?' प्रश्नोऽयं मुण्डकोप-

निषदः प्रश्नमिमं संस्मारयति—'कस्मिन् नु भगवो विज्ञाते सर्वमिदं विज्ञातं भवति ।' उपनिषदां तात्पर्यमनुसरत्युत्तरमपि—'सर्वात्मके ब्रह्मणि ज्ञाते सति सर्वं जगत् ज्ञातं भवति' इति । चतुर्थ उद्धरणे किं दुर्लभम् ? इत्यस्ति प्रश्नः । उत्तरञ्चास्ति–'सद्गुरुः, सत्सङ्गतिः, ब्रह्मविचारणा, त्यागः शिवात्मबोधश्च सुदुर्लभाः सन्ति' ।

यद्यप्युपर्युद्धृतेषु स्थलेषु परमतत्त्वस्य किं स्वरूपं ग्रन्थकृतोऽस्ति विवक्षितम् इति नैव स्पष्टतया प्रकाशते तथाप्यस्मद्दृष्टिम् अद्वैत–वादाभिमुखं प्रेरयतीव ।

ईशः —

स्थलद्वयेषु परमतत्त्वमिदम् ईश इति शब्देन सामान्यतया निर्दिष्टं विराजते । तद्यथा—

(१) अपारसंसारसमुद्रमध्ये
समज्जतो मे शरणं किमस्ति ?
गुरो ! कृपालो ! कृपया वदैतद्
विश्वेशपादाम्बुजदीर्घनौका ॥ १ ॥

(२) मुमुक्षुणा किं त्वरितं विधेयम्
सत्सङ्गतिर्निर्ममतेशभक्तिः ॥१७॥

अत्रोभयत्रापि 'ईशभक्तिः कार्या' इत्यस्ति प्रतिपादितम्, किन्त्वनेन ईश-शब्देन तत्स्वरूपविषये न किञ्चिदप्युक्तं भवति इति तु सुस्पष्टमेव ।

शिवः —

शिवस्य प्रतिपादनं पञ्चस्थानेषूपलभ्यते । तद्यथा—

(१) के सन्ति सन्तो? ऽखिलवीतरागा—
अपास्तमोहाः शिवतत्त्वनिष्ठाः ॥६॥

(२) तत्त्वं किमेकम् ? शिवमद्वितीयम् ॥२०॥

(३) बुद्ध्वा न बोध्यं परिशिष्यते किम्
शिवं प्रशान्तं सुखबोधरूपम् ॥ २७॥

(४) कण्ठङ्गतैरप्यसुभिर्न कार्यं
किम् ? किं विधेयम् ? मलिनं, शिवार्चा ॥ ३०

(५) अहर्निशं किं परिचिन्तनीयम् ?
संसारमिथ्यात्वशिवात्मतत्त्वम् ॥ ३१॥

उपर्युद्धृतेषु स्थलेषु शिवतत्त्वस्य सामान्यप्रतिपादनमस्ति। 'सन्तो विद्वांसो ज्ञानिनो वा के सन्ति' इति प्रश्नोस्यत्तरेणैतदुच्यतेऽत्र यद् 'ये जना वीतरागा निरस्तमोहाश्च सन्ति अथ च शिवतत्त्वपरायणाः सन्ति त एव सन्तः'। द्वितीयमुद्धरणमस्त्यधिकं प्रासङ्गिकम्। 'तत्त्वं किमेकम्?' इत्ययमस्ति प्रश्नः। अयमभिप्रायः प्रश्नस्य 'यत् तत्त्वं एकं च यत् तत् किमस्ति' इति। उत्तरञ्चैतस्य साक्षात्सम्बद्धमस्त्यस्मत्समस्यायाः परमतत्त्वविषयिकायाः —'शिवमद्वितीयम्'— अर्थात् शिव एवास्ति तत्परम् तत्त्वम् एकमद्वितीयञ्च। तस्यैतस्य परमतत्त्वस्य शिवस्य स्वरूपं तृतीय उद्धरणे प्रतिपादितमुपलभ्यते स्पष्टतया। प्रश्नस्त्वित्थमस्ति। बुद्ध्वा न बोध्यं परिशिष्यते किम्? अर्थात् किं तदस्ति यस्मिन् ज्ञाते न किञ्जिदन्यज् ज्ञेयमवशिष्यते उत्तरं त्वस्ति "शिवं प्रशान्तं सुखबोधरूपम्" अर्थात् आनन्दरूपं चिद्रूपं प्रशान्तञ्च शिवतत्त्वं ज्ञात्वा न किञ्जिज्ज्ञेयमवशिष्यते। एतावता ग्रन्थकृता प्रतिपादितमेतद् 'यद् आनन्दरूपः चिद्रूपः प्रशान्त एकोऽद्वितीयश्च शिव एव परमं तत्त्वम्'। उद्धरणं त्वेतच्छान्दोग्योपनिषद एकविज्ञानेन सर्वविज्ञानप्रतिज्ञां स्मारयतीव प्रतीयते। छान्दोग्योपनिषदि श्वेतकेतुमधीतविद्यं स्वपुत्रमारुणिस्त्वित्थं पृच्छति—

येनाऽश्रुतं श्रुतं भवत्यमतं मतमविज्ञातं विज्ञातमिति
(छा० ६.१.३)

अर्थात् किं त्वं तज्ज्ञानं प्राप्तवानसि यस्मिन् ज्ञाते न किञ्चिदप्यविज्ञातमवतिष्ठते अर्थात् सर्वं ज्ञातं भवतीति।

चतुर्थोद्धरणस्थः प्रश्नस्त्वयम्—'कण्ठङ्गतैरप्यसुभिः किं विधेयम्' इति। प्रश्नस्य तात्पर्यं त्विदम् 'अन्तकाले समुपस्थिते सति किं जनैः करणीयम्' इति। उत्तरं त्वस्ति शिवार्चा—शिवस्य अर्चनं पूजनमिति वा। अत्र शिवस्याऽर्चनीयत्वं प्रतिपादितम्। 'अहर्निशं किं परिचिन्तनीयम्'— अर्थाद् 'दिवाऽपि रात्रावपि निरन्तरमविच्छिन्नतया किं परिचिन्तनीयमि'त्यस्ति पञ्चमोद्धरणस्थः प्रश्नः। प्रश्नस्यैतस्योत्तरमेवं प्रतिपादितमस्ति—'संसारमिथ्यात्वशिवात्मतत्त्वम्'—अर्थात् 'शिव एवात्मतत्त्वम्, तदेव सत्, अन्यत् सर्वं मिथ्येति' परिचिन्तनीयमिति। एवम् आनन्दरूपः चिद्रूपः प्रशान्त एकोऽ द्वितीयः शिव एवात्मतत्त्वम्, तदतिरिक्तं सर्वं मिथ्येत्यद्वैतवादचित्रं स्पष्टं प्रस्फुटिवाभाति।

विष्णुः —

यद्यपि शिवविषये निर्विवादा ग्रन्थकृतो रुचिस्तथापि नैतेन विष्णुविषये तस्योदासीनता विद्वेषो वाऽवगन्तव्यः। एतस्यां रचनायां स्थलयोर् द्वयोर् विष्णोः स्पष्टं प्रतिपादनमस्ति। तदित्थम्—

(१) उपस्थिते प्राणहरे कृतान्ते
किमाशु, कार्यं विदुषा प्रयत्नात्?
वाक्कायचित्तैः सुखदं यमघ्नं
मुरारिपादाम्बुजचिन्तनञ्च ॥२४॥

(२) किं कर्म ? यत्प्रीतिकरं मुरारेः ।। ३१।।

अत्र प्रथमोद्धरणस्थप्रश्नस्याऽऽशयस्त्वयम्—जीवनान्तकाले सम्प्राप्ते सति ज्ञानिना प्रयत्नपूर्वकं किं करणीयमिति'। अस्य प्रश्नस्योत्तरम् एवं प्रयच्छति कृतिकारः—'मनसा वाचा कर्मणा भगवतो मुरारेश्चरणारविन्दयोः प्रीतिकरं यमभीतिविनाशकमनुस्मरणं करणीयमिति'। अत्रत्यः प्रश्न उत्तरञ्च ३० तमश्लोकस्थप्रश्नोत्तरमिदं संस्मारयति—'कण्ठङ्गतैरप्यसुभिः किं करणीयमिति', किन्तूत्तरं भिन्नमेव। चतुर्विशतितमे श्लोक उक्तम्—'मुरारिपादाम्बुजचिन्तनं करणीयमिति', त्रिंशत्तमे च श्लोके 'शिवार्चा कार्ये' त्युक्तम्। विष्णोश्चरणाम्बुजचिन्तनं करणीयं शिवार्चा वा करणीयाऽन्तिमवेलायाम् इति विरोधे समुपस्थिते उभयोर्विकल्प एव ग्रन्थकृदिष्ट इव प्रतिभाति। अर्थात् विष्णुचरणाम्बुजचिन्तनशिवार्चयोर्मध्ये किञ्चिदेकं यथाशक्ति यथारुचि जनेनाऽनुष्ठेयमिति।

द्वितीय उद्धरणे 'किं कर्म ?' इत्यस्ति प्रश्नः। प्रशस्तं कर्म किम् इत्यस्ति प्रश्नस्याशयः। उत्तरं त्विदम् 'यत्प्रीतिकरं मुरारेः'—'यत् कर्म विष्णोः प्रीतिकरं प्रीतिवर्द्धकं वाऽस्ति तदेव कर्मेति वक्तव्यम्' यद्यपि उभयोरप्युद्धरणयोर् विष्णोर्भक्तिः स्पष्टतया प्रतिपादितेति नास्त्यत्र शङ्कायाः स्वल्पोऽप्यवकाशस् तथापि पूर्वप्रतिपादितशिवविषयिकाया निष्ठायास्त्वस्ति काचिदन्यैव कथा।

शिवविष्णू:—

प्रश्नोत्तरमणिरत्नमालायामेतस्यां त्रिषु स्थानेषु शिवस्य विष्णोश्चोभयोरपि प्रतिपादनमुपलभ्यते। तच्चेत्थम्—

[१] कार्या मया का ? शिवविष्णुभक्तिः ।। १०।।

[२] किं कर्म कृत्वा न च शोचनीयम् ;
कामारिकंसारिसमर्चनाख्यम् ।। २० ।।

[३] कण्ठङ्गता वा श्रवणङ्गता वा
प्रश्नोत्तराख्या मणिरत्नमाला।
तनोतु मोदं विदुषां सुरम्या
रमेशगौरीशकथेव सद्यः ।।३२।।

प्रथमोद्धरणे 'किं मया करणीयम्' इति प्रश्ने शिवस्य विष्णोश्च भक्तिः कार्ये'त्युक्तम्। द्वितीयोद्धरणस्थप्रश्नस्यायमाशयः 'किं तत् कर्म यस्मिन् कृते शोचनीयं किञ्चिन्न भवति' पश्चात्तापो न भवतीत्यर्थः। उत्तरमस्ति "कामारिकंसारिसमर्चनाख्यम्" कामारेः शिवस्य कंसारेर् विष्णोश्च समर्चनाख्यम् आराधनाख्यं कर्म कृत्वा न किञ्चिच्छोचनीयं भवति। एतयोरुद्धरणयोः शिवस्य विष्णोश्च भक्तिः स्पष्टं प्रतिपादिताऽवलोक्यते। अत्रापि स एव संशयः कथं वा शिवस्य विष्णोश्च भक्तिर्युगपत्कर्तुं शक्या। तदेव भक्तेर्भक्तित्वं यदनन्यत्वं नाम। एकमेवालम्बनं भक्तेर् भवितुमर्हति न त्वनेकम्। एवं पूर्वं विष्णुतत्त्वप्रतिपादनावसरे उभयोर्विकल्प एव ग्रन्थकृदिष्ट

इव प्रतिभाति इत्यस्मद्विचारोऽत्रापि समर्थितो भवति शिवविष्णुभक्तिप्रतिपादनेन। शिवभक्तिर् विष्णुभक्तिर्वा यथाशक्ति यथारुच्यनुष्ठेयेति निर्गलितार्थः। तृतीय उद्धरणे रमेशस्य विष्णोर् गौरीशस्य शिवस्य च कथासु ग्रन्थकृतः काचिद् विलक्षणप्रीतिरनुभवपदमुपयाति। अनेनैव श्लोकेन लघुग्रन्थोऽयमुपसंहृतः। अस्योपसंहारश्लोकस्याऽयमाशयः यथा लक्ष्मीपतेर्विष्णोर् गौरीपतेः शिवस्य च सुरम्या कथा विदुषां कृते मोदं तनुते तथैव कण्ठस्था श्रवणस्था वैषा सुरम्या प्रश्नोत्तराख्या मणिरत्नमाला विदुषां मोदं तनोतु इति।

एवं पर्यालोचने कृते वक्तुमिदं शक्यते यद् आनन्दरूपम्, चिद्रूपम्, प्रशान्तम्, एकम्, अद्वितीयञ्च तद् ब्रह्मैव तत्त्वम्, तद्व्यतिरिक्तं सर्वं मिथ्येति प्रतिपादनाद् अद्वैतवादे ग्रन्थकारस्याऽभिरुचिः प्रगाढैव प्रतिभाति। शिवविष्ण्वोः प्रतिपादनमपरब्रह्माभिप्रायं स्यादिति मन्तव्यम्। सिद्धान्ततः शिवे विष्णौ च कञ्चिद् भेदमस्वीकुर्वतोऽपि ग्रन्थकृतः शिवे काचिदनन्या भक्तिर् विशेषतया परिलक्ष्यत इव।

नारीविषयकधारणाविमर्शः

नारीजागरणप्रधानं युगमिदम्। प्रश्नोत्तरमणिरत्नमालाख्ये लघुतमेऽपि ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् नारीविषयमधिकृत्य बहु प्रपञ्चितं ग्रन्थकारेण। तच्च मूले प्रहरदिव प्रतिभाति नारीसम्मानस्य। तानि स्थलान्यत्रोदाह्रियन्ते—

१. 'द्वारं किमेकं नरकस्य ? नारी।'—३

२. 'सम्मोहयत्येव सुरेव का ? स्त्री।'—६

३. 'किमत्र हेयम् ? कनकं च कान्ता।'—८

४. 'प्राज्ञोऽथ धीरश्च समस्ति को वा ?
प्राप्तो न मोहं ललनाकटाक्षैः॥'—१२

५. 'विज्ञान्महाविज्ञतमोऽस्ति को वा ?
नार्या पिशाच्या न च वञ्चितो यः।'—१५

६. 'ज्ञातुं न शक्यं च किमस्ति सर्वैः ?
योषिन्मनो यच्चरितं तदीयम्॥'—१६

७. विश्वासपात्रं न किमस्ति ? नारी।'—१९

८. त्याज्यं सुखं किम् ? स्त्रियमेव सम्यक्।'—२०

९. किं तद् विषं भाति सुधोपमम् ? स्त्री।'—२९

उपर्युदाहृतेषु स्थलेषु नारीविविधगर्ह्यरूपेषु प्रतिपादिताऽवलोक्यते। किमर्थमियं बलवती गर्हणा नार्या इत्यस्ति विवेचनीयम्। वस्तुतो नारीविषयिका रतिर् आध्यात्मिकमार्गे बाधिकारूपेण स्वीकृता विद्वद्भिरित्यतः साधकानां हृदयेषु नारीविषयकविरक्तिजननार्थमयं नारीनिन्दाप्रसङ्गः। गृहस्थानां कृते नाऽयं नारीविरक्त्युपदेश इति स्फुटं प्रतिभाति।

एवं लघुतमोऽपि ग्रन्थोऽयं कञ्चिद् बृहत्तरं विशेषं स्वात्मनि क्रोडीकरोति।

१२. ११. ८६ **अशोक कुमार कालिया**

लखनऊ

प्रश्नोत्तरमणिरत्नमाला

ओम् श्रीगणेशाय नमः

[१]

अपारसंसारसमुद्रमध्ये
समज्जतो[1] मे शरणं किमस्ति ?
गुरो ! कृपालो ! कृपया वदैतद्
विश्वेशपादाम्बुजदीर्घनौका ॥

[२]

बन्धो[2] हि को ? यो विषयानुरागः[3]
का वा विमुक्तिर्[4] ? विषये विरक्तिः ।
को वाऽस्ति घोरो नरकः ? स्वदेहः
तृष्णाक्षयः, स्वर्गपदं किमस्ति ?

[३]

संसारहृत्कः ? श्रुतिजात्मबोधः
को मोक्षहेतुः ? प्रथितः स एव ।
द्वारं किमेकं नरकस्य ? नारी
का स्वर्गदा प्राणभृतामहिंसा ॥

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१. समज्जितो A
२. बद्धो C
३. विषयानुरागी C
४. विरक्तिर् A
विमुक्तोर् B

[४]

शेते सुखं कस्तु[१] ? समाधिनिष्ठो
जागर्ति को वा ? सदसद्विवेकी ।
के शत्रवः सन्ति ? निजेन्द्रियाणि
कान्येव[२] मित्राणि ? जितानि[३] तानि ।।

[५]

को वा दरिद्रो ? हि विशालतृष्णः[४]
श्रीमांश्च को ? यस्य समस्ति[५] तोषः ।
जीवन्मृतः कस्तु ? निरुद्यमो यः[६]
का[७] वा[८] ऽमृता स्यात् ? सुखदा निराशा ।।

[६]

पाशो हि को यो ममता[९]ऽभिमानः
सम्मोहयत्येव[१०] सुरेव का ? स्त्री[११] ।
को वा[१२] महान्धो ? मदनातुरो यो
मृत्युश्च को वा ? ऽपयशः स्वकीयम् ।।

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१. त्व A
२. तान्येव B
३. जितात्मिकानि B
४. A Omits ष्णः
५. समस्त C
६. A Omits यः
७. किं C
८. वामृतं C
   वामृता AB
९. ममताभ्यधानः A
१०. सम्मोहिनी कैव A
११. सुभ्रू A
१२. कोपान् AB

[७]

को वा गुरुर् ? यो हि हितोपदेष्टा
शिष्यस्तु को ? यो गुरुभक्त[१] एव ।
को दीर्घरोगो ? भव एव साधो[२] ।
किमौषधम् ? तस्य विचार एव ॥

[८]

किं भूषणाद्[३] भूषणमस्ति[४] ? शीलं
तीर्थं परं किम् ? स्वमनो[५] विशुद्धम्[६] ।
किमत्र हेयम् ? कनकं च कान्ता
श्राव्यं सदा[७] किम् ? गुरुवेदवाक्यम् ॥

[९]

के हेतवो ब्रह्मगतेस्तु सन्ति ?
सत्[८]संगतिर्दा[९]न्तिविचारशक्तिः[१०] ।
के सन्ति सन्तो ! ऽखिलवीतरागा
अपास्तमोहाः शिवतत्त्वनिष्ठाः[११] ॥

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१. गुरुभक्ति B
२. साध्यों A
३. भूषनं B
४. दूषणं B
५. सुमनो B
६. विशुद्धिः A
७. परं B
८. सत्यंगतिर् B
९. दान C
१०. तोषाः BC
११. विष्ठाः A

[१०]

को वा ज्वरः प्राणभृताम् ? हि चिन्ता
मूर्खोऽस्ति को ? यस्तु विवेकहीनः ।
कार्या मया[1] का ? शिवविष्णुभक्तिः
किं जीवनम् ? दोषविवर्जितं यत् ॥

[११]

विद्या हि का ? ब्रह्मगतिप्रदा या
बोधोऽस्ति को ? यस्तु विमुक्तिहेतुः ।
को लाभ ? आत्मावगमो हि वेद्यो[2]
जितं जगत्[3] केन ? मनो हि येन ॥

[१२]

शूरा[4]न्महाशूरतमोऽस्ति को वा ?
मनोज[5]वाणैर्व्यथितो[6] न यस्तु ।
प्राज्ञो[7]ऽतिधीरश्च[8] समस्ति को वा ?
प्राप्तो न मोहं ललनाकटाक्षैः ॥

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१. प्रिया B
२. वेदो A, वेयो B
३. जगद्येन A
४. शूरात्म B
५. मणोज B
६. विथितो B
७. प्राप्तो B
८. धोरश्च B

[१३]

विषाद् विषं किम् ? विषयाः समस्ताः
दुःखी सदा को ? विषयानुरागी ।
धन्योऽस्ति को ? यस्तु परोपकारी
कः पूजनीयो[१] ? ननु[२] तत्त्वदृष्टिः[३] ॥

[१४]

सर्वास्ववस्थास्वपि किं न कार्यम् ?
किं वा विधेयं विदुषा प्रयत्नात् ? ।
स्नेहश्च[४] पापं पठनञ्च धर्मः[५]
संसारमूलं हि किम् ? अस्त्यविद्या[६] ॥

[१५]

विज्ञान्महाविज्ञतमोऽस्ति[७] को वा ?
नार्या पिशाच्या न हि[८] वञ्चितो[९] यः ।
का शृङ्खला प्राणभृताम् हि नारी[१०]
दिव्यं व्रतं[११] किञ्च[१२] ? समस्तदैन्यम् ॥

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१. पूजनीयं B
२. शिव C
३. निष्ठः BC
४. स्नेहं C
५. धर्मं C
६. चिन्ती B चिन्ता C for अविद्या
७. विग B
८. ही B, च C
९. वंचतो B
१०. ना for नारी B
११. वृतं B
१२. विरव B

[१६]

ज्ञातुं न शक्यं हि किमस्ति[1] सर्वैर् ।
योषिन्मनो यच्चरितं तदीयम् ।
का दुस्त्यजा सर्वजनैर्? दुराशा
विद्याविहीनः[2], पशुरस्ति को वा ?॥

[१७]

वासो न संगः सह कैर्विधेयो ?
मूर्खैश्च पापैश्च खलैश्च नीचैः ।
मुमुक्षुणा किं त्वरितं विधेयम् ?
सत्संगति[3]र्निर्ममतेशभक्तिः ॥

[१८]

लघुत्वमूलं च किम् ? अर्थितैव[4]
गुरुत्वमूलं किम्[5] अयाचनं यत्[6] ।
जातोऽस्ति[7] को[8] ? यस्य पुनर्न जन्म
को वा मृतो ? यस्य पुनर्न मृत्युः ॥

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१. समस्ति A
२. विहीना A
३. सत्संगति for सत्संगतिर् AB
४. अर्थतेव B
५. यद् AC, पद् B
६. किम् AB, च C
७. जाते B
८. किम् B

[१९]

मूकोऽस्ति को वा ? बधिरश्च को वा ?
युक्तं न वक्तुं समये समर्थः ।
तथ्यं सुपथ्यं न शृणोति वाक्यं,
विश्वासपात्रं न किमस्ति ? नारी ॥

[२०]

तत्त्वं किमेकम्? शिवमद्वितीयं
किमुत्तमम् ? सच्चरितं यदस्ति ।
किं कर्म कृत्वा न च शोचनीयम्[1]?
कामारिकं[2]सारिसमर्चनाख्यम्[3] ॥[4]

[२१]

शत्रोर्महाशत्रुतरोऽस्ति को वा ?
कामः सकोपानृ[5]तलोभतृष्णः ।
न पूर्यते को विषयैः ? स एव
किं दुःखमूलम् ? ममताभिमानः[6] ॥

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१. शोचनीचः A
२. कामादि B
३. समर्चनीख्या B
४. 3rd and 4th line of this verse are 3rd and 4th line of verse 22 in C and vice versa
५. स को याजितलोभतृष्णः C
६. ममताभिधानम् C

[२२]

किं मण्डनम् ? साक्षरता मुखस्य
सत्यं च किम् ? भूतहितं यदेव[१] ।
त्याज्यं[२] सुखं किम् ? स्त्रियमेव सम्यग्
देयं परं किम् ? त्वभयं[३] सदैव[४] ॥

[२३]

कश्चास्ति[५] नाशो[६] मनसो[७] ? हि मोक्षः
क्व सर्वथा नाऽस्ति[८] भयम्? विमुक्तौ ।
शल्यं परं किम् ? निजमूर्खतैव
के के[९] ह्युपास्याः[१०] ? गुरवश्च वृद्धाः ॥

(२४)

उपस्थिते प्राणहरे कृतान्ते
किमाशु[११] कार्यं[१२] विदुषा प्रयत्नात्?
वाक्कायचित्तैः सुखदं यमघ्नं[१३]
मुरारिपादाम्बुज[१४]चिन्तनञ्च ॥

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१. तदेव B

२. त्यक्ता, A, त्यक्तवा B

३. तु भयं B

४. 3rd and 4th line of this verse are 3rd and 4th line of verse 20 in C and vice versa

५. कस्यास्ति C

६. नाशे C

७. मनशो B

८. नाति A

९. यो B

१०. ह्युपाशा B

११. किमस्ति B

१२. कार्या A

१३. A Omits this

१४. मुरारिपादाम्बुजमेव चिन्त्यम् AB

[२५)

के दस्यवः सन्ति ? कुवासनाख्याः
कः शोभते[1] ? यः[2] सदसि प्रविद्यः ।
मातेव[3] का ? या सुखदा सुविद्या
किमेधते दानवशात् ? सुविद्या ॥

[२६]

कुतो हि भीतिः सततं विधेया ?
लोकापवादाद् भवकाननाच्च ।
को वाऽस्ति[4] बन्धुः पितरौ[5] च कौ वा[6] ?
विपत्सहायः[7] परिपालकौ[8] यौ[9] ॥

[२७]

बुद्ध्वा न बोध्यं[10] परिशिष्यते किम् ?
शिवं प्रशान्तं[11] सुखबोधरूपम् ।
ज्ञाते तु कस्मिन् विदितं जगत् स्यात् ?
सर्वात्मके ब्रह्मणि पूर्णरूपम्[12] ॥

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१. संशोभते कः for कः शोभते B
२. यः शोभते कः for कः शोभते यः A, B omits यः
३. B omits 3rd and 4th line
४. वाति C
५. पितरश्च के for पितरौ च कौ C
६. B adds माता च कोपि
७. च यप्सहायः B
८. परिपालका C
९. ये C
१०. बुद्धानबोध A and कु न वीद्ध B for बुद्ध्वा न बोध्यम्
११. प्रशान्ता B; शिवप्रसादं for शिवं प्रशान्तं C
१२. पूर्णंरूपम् C

[२८]

किं दुर्लभम् ? सद्गुरुरस्ति लोके
सत्सङ्गतिर् ब्रह्मविचारणा च ।
त्यागो हि सर्वस्य शिवात्मबोधः,
किं दुर्जयम्[1] ? सर्वजनैर्मनोजः ॥

[२९]

पशोः पशुः को ? न करोति धर्मं
प्राधीतशास्त्रोऽपि न चाऽऽत्मबोधः ।
किं तद् विषं[2] भाति सुधोपमम् ? स्त्री
के शत्रवो मित्रवद्? आत्मजाऽऽद्याः ॥

[३०]

विद्युच्चलं किम् ? धनयौवनायुर्
दानं परं किञ्च[3] ? सुपात्रदत्तम् ।
कण्ठङ्गतैरप्यसुभिर्न कार्यं
किम् ? किं ! विधेयम् ? मलिनं शिवार्चा ॥

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१. को दुर्जयः for किं दुर्जयम् C
२. हितं B
३. तु for च A

[३१]

किं कर्म ? यत् प्रीतिकरं मुरारेः
क्वा[1] ऽऽस्था न कार्या सततम् ? भवाब्धौ[2] ।
अहर्निशं किं परिचिन्तनीयम् ?
संसारमिथ्यात्वशि[3]वात्मतत्त्वम्[4] ॥

[३२]

कण्ठं गता[6] वा श्रवणं गता[7] वा
प्रश्नोत्तराख्या मणिरत्नमाला ।
तनोतु मोदं[8] विदुषां सुरम्या[9]
रमेशगौरीशकथेव सद्यः[10] ॥

इति प्रश्नोत्तराख्या मणिरत्नमाला समाप्ता[11]

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१. का स्था A
२. भवाद्धौ B
३. शे B
४. बोधः B
५. 1st and 2nd lines of this verse are 3rd and 4th lines and 3rd and 4th lines are 1st and 2nd lines in C.
६. गतं A
७. गतं A
८. येयं A
९. सुरम्यां A, सुरम्यं C
१०. सद्यः B
११. इति श्री तुलसीदासकृता प्रश्नोत्तराख्या मणिरत्नमाल समाप्ताः A
इति श्री शुकयतीन्द्र विरचितं प्रश्नोत्तररत्नमाला सम्पूर्णं समाप्तम् । शुभमस्तु ।
संवत् १८७४ मार्ग शुक्ल ३ शुभम् B

प्रश्नोत्तरमणिरत्नमालायामुल्लिखितप्रश्नानां सोत्तरनिर्देशम्
अकारादिक्रमसूची

क्रम संख्या	श्लोक संख्या	प्रश्नाः	उत्तराणि
१	१	अपारसंसारसमुद्रमध्ये समज्जतो मे शरणं किमस्ति ? गुरो ! कृपालो ! कृपया वदैतद्	विश्वेशपादाम्बुजदीर्घनौका
२	३१	अहर्निशं किं परिचिन्तनीयम्	संसारमिथ्यात्वशिवात्मतत्त्वम्
३	२४	उपस्थिते प्राणहरे कृतान्ते किमाशु कार्यं विदुषा प्रयत्नात् ?	वाक्कायचित्तैः सुखदं यमघ्नं विश्वेशपादाम्बुजचिन्तनञ्च ।
४	१३	कः पूजनीयो ?	ननु तत्त्वदृष्टिः ।
५	२५	कः शोभते ?	यः सदसि प्रविद्यः ।
६	३०	कण्ठङ्गतैरप्यसुभिर्न कार्यं किम् ?	मलिनम् ।
७	२३	कश्चाऽस्ति नाशो मनसो ?	हि मोक्षः ।
८	१६	का दुस्त्यजा सर्वजनैर् ?	दुराशा ।
९	४	कान्येव मित्राणि ?	जितानि तानि ।
१०	१०	कार्या मया का ?	शिवविष्णुभक्तिः ।
११	५	का वाऽमृता स्यात् ?	सुखदा निराशा ।
१२	२	का वा विमुक्तिर् ?	विषये विरक्तिः ।
१३	१५	का शृङ्खला प्राणभृताम् ?	हि नारी ।
१४	३	का स्वर्गदा ?	प्राणभृतामहिंसा ।
१५	८	किमत्र हेयम् ?	कनकं च कान्ता ।
१६	२०	किमुत्तमम् ?	सच्चरितं यदस्ति ।
१७	२५	किमेधते दानवशात् ?	सुविद्या ।
१८	७	किमौषधम् ?	तस्य विचार एव ।
१९	२०	किं कर्म कृत्वा न च शोचनीयम् ?	कामारिकंसारिसमर्चनाख्यम् ।

२०	३१	किं कर्म ?	यत् प्रीतिकरं मुरारेः ।
२१	१०	किं जीवनम् ?	दोषविवर्जितं यत् ।
२२	२९	किं तद्विषं भाति सुधोपमम् ?	स्त्री ।
२३	२८	किं दुर्जयं सर्वजनैर् ?	मनोजः ।
२४	२१	किं दुःखमूलम् ;	ममताभिमानः ।
२५	२८	किं दुर्लभम् ?	———सद्गुरुरस्ति लोके । सत्सङ्गतिर्ब्रह्मविचारणा च । त्यागो हि सर्वस्य शिवात्मबोधः ।
२६	८	किं भूषणाद् भूषणमस्ति ?	शीलम् ।
२७	२२	किं मण्डनं……मुखस्य ?	साक्षरता ।
२८	१४	किं वा विधेयं विदुषा प्रयत्नात् ?	पठनञ्च धर्मः ।
२९	३०	किं विधेयम् ?	शिवार्चा ।
३०	२६	कुतो हि भीतिः सततं विधेया ?	लोकापवादाद् भवकाननाच्च ।
३१	२३	के के ह्युपास्याः ?	गुरवश्च वृद्धाः ।
३२	२५	के दस्यवः सन्ति ?	कुवासनाख्याः ।
३३	२९	के शत्रवो मित्रवद्?	आत्मजाद्याः ।
३४	४	के शत्रवः सन्ति ?	निजेन्द्रियाणि ।
३५	९	के सन्ति सन्तोऽखिलवीतरागाः ?	अपास्तमोहाः शिवतत्त्वनिष्ठाः ।
३६	९	के हेतवो ब्रह्मगतेस्तु सन्ति ?	सत्संगतिदान्तिविचारशक्तिः ।
३७	७	को दीर्घरोगो ?	भव एव साधो ।
३८	३	को मोक्षहेतुः ?	प्रथितः स एव ।
३९	७	को वा गुरुर् ?	यो हि हितोपदेष्टा ।
४०	१०	को वा ज्वरः प्राणभृताम् ?	हि चिन्ता ।
४१	५	को वा दरिद्रो ?	हि विशालतृष्णः ।
४२	६	को वा महान्धो ?	मदनातुरो यः ।
४३	१८	को वा मृतो ?	यस्य पुनर्न मृत्युः ।
४४	२	को वाऽस्ति घोरो नरकः ?	स्वदेहः ।
४५	२६	को वाऽस्ति बन्धुर् ?	विपत्सहायः ।
४६	११	को लाभ ?	आत्मावगमो हि वेद्यो ।
४७	२३	क्व सर्वथा नाऽस्ति भयम् ?	विमुक्तौ ।
४८	३१	क्वाऽऽस्था न कार्या सततम्	भवाब्धौ ।
४९	१८	गुरुत्वमूलं किम् ?	अयाचनं यत् ।
५०	४	जागर्ति को वा ?	सदसद्विवेकी ।
५१	१८	जातोऽस्ति को ?	यस्य पुनर्न जन्म ।

५२	११	जितं जगत् केन ?	मनो हि येन ।
५३	५	जीवन्मृतः कस्तु ?	निरुद्यमो यः ।
५४	१६	ज्ञातुं न शक्यं हि किमस्ति सर्वैर् ?	योषिन्मनो यच्चरितं तदीयम् ।
५५	२७	ज्ञाते तु कस्मिन् विदितं जगत् स्यात् ?	सर्वात्मके ब्रह्मणि पूर्णरूपम् ।
५६	२०	तत्त्वं किमेकम् ?	शिवमद्वितीयम् ।
५७	८	तीर्थं परं किम् ?	स्वमनो विशुद्धम् ।
५८	२२	त्याज्यं सुखं किम् ?	स्त्रियमेव सम्यग् ।
५९	३०	दानं परं किञ्च ?	सुपात्रदत्तम् ।
६०	१५	दिव्यं व्रतं किञ्च ?	समस्तदैन्यम् ।
६१	१३	दुःखी सदा को ?	विषयानुरागी ।
६२	२२	देयं परं किम् ?	त्वभयं सदैव ।
६३	३	द्वारं किमेकं नरकस्य ?	नारी ।
६४	१३	धन्योऽस्ति को ?	यस्तु परोपकारी ।
६५	२१	न पूर्यते को विषयैः ?	स एव ।
६६	२९	पशोः पशुः को ?	प्राधीतशास्त्रोऽपि न चाऽऽत्मबोधः । न करोति धर्मम्
६७	६	पाशो हि को ?	यो ममताभिमानः ।
६८	२६	पितरौ च कौ वा ?	परिपालकौ यौ ।
६९	१२	प्राज्ञोऽतिधीरश्च समस्ति को वा ?	प्राप्तो न मोहं ललनाकटाक्षैः ।
७०	२	बन्धो हि को ?	यो विषयानुरागः ।
७१	२७	बुद्ध्वा न बोध्यं परिशिष्यते किम् ?	शिवं प्रशान्तं सुखबोधरूपम् ।
७२	११	बोधोऽस्ति को ?	यस्तु विमुक्तिहेतुः ।
७३	२५	मातेव का ?	या सुखदा सुविद्या ।
७४	१७	मुमुक्षुणा किं त्वरितं विधेयम् ?	सत्संगतिर्निर्ममतेशभक्तिः ।
७५	१९	मूकोऽस्ति को वा ?	युक्तं न वक्तुं समये समर्थः ।
७६	१०	मूर्खोऽस्ति को ?	यस्तु विवेकहीनः ।
७७	६	मृत्युश्च को वा ?	अपयशः स्वकीयम् ।
७८	१८	लघुत्वमूलं च किम् ?	अर्थितैव ।
७९	१९	वधिरश्च को वा ?	तथ्यं सुपथ्यं न शृणोति वाक्यम् ।
८०	३०	विद्युच्चलं किम् ?	धनयौवनायुर् ।
८१	१७	वासो न संगः सह कैर्विधेयो ?	मूर्खैश्च पापैश्च खलैश्च नीचैः ।
८२	१५	विज्ञान्महाविज्ञतमोऽस्ति को वा ?	नार्या पिशाच्या न हि वंचितो यः ।
८३	१६	पशुरस्ति को वा ?	विद्याविहीनः ।

८४	११	विद्या हि का ?	ब्रह्मगतिप्रदा या ।
८५	१९	विश्वासपात्रं न किमस्ति ?	नारी ।
८६	१३	विषाद् विषं किम् ?	विषयाः समस्ताः ।
८७	२१	शत्रोर्महाशत्रुतरोऽस्ति को वा ?	कामः सकोपानृतलोभतृष्णः ।
८८	२३	शल्यं परं किम् ?	निजमूर्खतैव ।
८९	७	शिष्यस्तु को ?	यो गुरुभक्त एव ।
९०	१२	शूरान्महाशूरतरोऽस्ति को वा ?	मनोजवाणैर्व्यथितो न यस्तु ।
९१	४	शेते सुखं कस्तु ?	समाधिनिष्ठो ।
९२	८	श्राव्यं सदा किम् ?	गुरुवेदवाक्यम् ।
९३	५	श्रीमांश्च को ?	यस्य समस्ति तोषः ।
९४	१४	संसारमूलं हि किम् ?	अस्त्यविद्या ।
९५	३	संसारहृत् कः ?	श्रुतिजात्मबोधः ।
९६	२२	सत्यं च किम् ?	भूतहितं यदेव ।
९७	६	सम्मोहयत्येव सुरेव का ?	स्त्री ।
९८	१४	सर्वास्ववस्थास्वपि किं न कार्यम् ?	स्नेहश्च पापम् ।
९९	२	स्वर्गपदं किमस्ति ?	तृष्णाक्षयः ।

BOOK REVIEWS

PĀṆINI (A Survey of Research) by George Cardona. Published by M/s Mouton & Co. B. V. Publishers, The Hague 1976. First Indian Reprint by M/s Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi. 1980. Pp. XVI+384. Price Rs. 75.00.

Reviewed by **Dr. J. P. Sinha**, Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, Lucknow University.

This is the first Volume of a projected larger work in which the author plans to treat the history and methodology of Indian grammatical thought. In this volume the author has presented a critical survey of research carried out in the specific area of Pāṇini grammar, including works by Pāṇiniyas on Semantics and philosophy of grammar. The learned author claims to have considered articles and monographs devoted specifically to other Indian schools of grammar and to *Prātiśākhya*-s and the *Nirukta* only in so far as reference to them was required for the specific topic in hand. He promises to furnish more detailed bibliographical information on them in subsequent volumes. Sanskrit scholars shall be eagerly looking forward for the promise of the author fulfilled before long.

The volume is divided into three parts. Part I comprises Bibliography running in 136 pages. After making some preliminary remarks the author has given an Alphabetical list of Abbreviations of journals and Festschriften and collective works followed by the bibliography. Part 2 is the most exhaustive of all and contains the main survey. Some of the important topics included in this survey are Histories of Sanskrit grammar; Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, Editions, translations, indices and lexica of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Evidence of pre-Pāṇinian grammarians, and extant works attributed to them; Āpiśali, Śākaṭāyana, Indra, Kāśakṛtsna; Principles for discovering rules to be interpolations which Kātyāyana and Patañjali knew as parts of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*; Authorship of the *Śiva-Sūtra*-s; Authorship of the *dhātu-pāṭha*; authorship of the *gaṇa-pāṭha*; the *uṇādi Sūtra*-s; the *phiṭ-sūtra*-s—the text, authorship and date; The *liṅgānuśāsana*—the text, authorship and date;

The Pāṇinīya-śikṣā texts—authorship and date; Pāṇini's technical terminology; generalities; Pāṇini's technical terminology; particular terms; phonologic terminology; Pāṇini's system of phonology and morphophonemics; semantics; The *Mahābhāṣya*—General Introduction, early commentaries, The relation between Kātyāyana and Patañjali and their attitudes towards Pāṇini; The dates of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, Relative chronology: Pāṇini and Yāska; Pāṇini and the *Prātiśākhya*-s; the *Bhāṣā Vṛtti*; The *Durghaṭa-Vṛtti*; The *Rūpāvatāra*; the *Prakriyā-Kaumudī*; The *Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, Evaluations of commentaries; *Bhartṛhari*; The *Vākyapadīya*: editions and translations; The authorshisp of the *Vṛtti*, studies on the doctrines set forth in the *Vākyapadīya*; Later semantic treatises—Introduction, Editions, translations and studies, literary works illustrating grammatical rules, and a summary of trends. The list of topics discussed in the work under review is only illustrative. Part 3 comprises Footnotes and Index.

The bibliography is not, and could not be, exhaustive but it represents the research done in the field of grammar and allied subjects in India and abroad upto 1975. The bibliography is accompanied by the author's appraisal of the work that has been done and the conclusions which have been reached. The learned author treats the ideas and conclusions of scholars, sifts conflicting views he considers to be reasonable and tenable conclusions warranted by the evidence, refraining from such conclusions where the evidence appears inconclusive.

The author, George Cardona, is a scholar of Linguistics with specialization in Indo-Eropean. Besides, he has studied Pāṇinian grammatical works in India under the scholars like Jagannath S. Pade Shastri, Ambika Prasad Upadhyaya, K. S. Krishnamurti Shastri and Raghunath Sharma. In this respect he combines in himself the critical and analytical faculty of the occident and traditional learning of the orient, particularly in the field of Pāṇini grammar. Being a linguist he could have an access to the works written in most of the European languages as well as in original Sanskrit. This has enabled him to go through most of the works he came across in course of the Survey and draw his own conclusions. The work is a mine of information, useful for the students and scholars aspiring to make a thorough study of Sanskrit grammar and allied subjects. It is hoped that the author will go on supplementing the information contained in the present work in the subsequent editions and make the work up-to-date as far as possible.

The book is neatly printed and nicely got up to catch the eye of the scholars, yet it is moderately priced.

THE *ŚUKRANĪTI*—A Nineteenth Century Text by Prof. Lallanji Gopal. Published by M/s Bharati Prakashan, Varanasi, 1978. PP. X+112. Rs. 35.00.

Reviewed by **Dr. J. P. Sinha**, Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, Lucknow University.

The *Śukranīti* is a unique text in many respects, but its date has been a subject of controversy. Prof. Lallanji Gopal has discussed the question thoroughly and has arrived at the conclusion that in its present form the text was composed about the middle of the nineteenth century. In the *Postscript* he has mentioned some of the views on the date of the *Śukranīti* published after 1962.

In the midst of divergent views expressed on the date of the *Śukranīti* by scholars like Oppert, V. S. Agrawala, Shyamlal Pandeya, Rajendra Lal Mitra, Keith and Kane, the author has studied the text in its various aspects and has concurred with the opinion of Dr. V. Raghavan that the text was forged by a Paṇḍit in the nineteenth century to please some Sahab enthusiastic about old texts.

The study is divided into several sections, but unfortunately the reader badly misses the sub-titles. In the Appendix there are details of the known manuscripts of the text as referred to in various catalogues. In the *Postscript* the author has referred to the views of some scholars like Padma B. Udgaonkar, U. N. Ghoshal, B. P. Mazumdar and B. N. S. Yadava, who had discussed the question of the date of the *Śukranīti* after the publication of the views of the author and Dr. (Mrs.) Krishna Kanti Gopal in Volume XXV, Part 3 of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (pp. 524-556) in 1962.

Opinions of scholars like Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane, Prof. Suniti Kumari Chatterji, Dr. J. D. M. Derrett, Dr. Buddha Prakash, Prof. Louis Renou, Dr. L. Sternbach, Dr. J. G. de Caspaus, Dr. Jean Filliozat, Prof. A. L. Basham and Prof. R. S. Sharma are also appended at the end as a testimony to the worth of the monograph. Its worth is amply proved by the opinion of the late M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane who put on record that 'I agree with you that it may have been a fabrication made between 1827 and 1850 A.D. You deserve praise for forretting out all MSS and editions, which I could not do in 1930... your painstaking research makes it clear that it was fabricated so late as the first half of the 10th century A.D.'

THE *GURUSAṂHITĀ* (AN ANCIENT TEXT ON WEATHER—FORECASTING) by Prof. Lallanji Gopal. Published by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University. 1981. Pp. IV+101. Price Rs. 40.00.

Reviewed by **Dr. J. P. Sinha**, Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, Lucknow University.

In the present monograph Prof. Lallanji Gopal has given a critical text of the *Gurusaṃhitā*. It is preceded by a scholarly introduction presenting a study of the manuscript of the text, its name, its date and its contents. The text deals with weather-forecasting. The beginnings of the sciences of astronomy and climatalogy in India go back to the Ṛgvedic times. The requirements of sacrificial rituals supported them. The importance of these two sciences can not be overemphasised for a country like India which entirely depends upon agriculture. The cycle of religious rites and festivities round the year further deepened interest in them. The *Gurusaṃhitā* is one such text on climatalogy and weather-forecasting. Similar information is also found in a number of texts like the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, *Kṛṣiparāśara*, *Mayūracitraka*, *Meghamālā* and *Vanamālā*. The editor discusses in detail the name of the text keeping in view various imports of the term '*Guru*' and arrives at a conclusion that 'though the name *Bṛhaspatisaṃhitā* is apparently reasonable, being synonymous with the title *Gurusaṃhitā*, it cannot be accepted as it is based on a wrong reading'. On the basis of the authors and works quoted in the text, viz. Varāhamihira, Vaśiṣṭha, Garga, *Mayūracitraka*, *Kṛṣiparāśara* and *Meghamālā* as well as on the basis of its relation to the *Rudrayāmalatantra*, the learned editor assigns it 'to the period between the sixth and ninth centuries, with additions made down to the tenth century'. In tracing out the cultural indications from the text he has discussed the geographical names occuring in the text; references to *Dīpotsava* and *Vijayadaśamī* and the term *Rājaputra*, and the traditions of the written texts. The study concludes with an analysis of the contents of the *Gurusaṃhitā*. According to this analysis, the text contains 492 verses grouped in many sections. Upto verse 343 the account is presented in terms of the twelve months of the year beginning with *Kārttika*. Then there are sections on *Sadyogarbhalakṣaṇa* (characteristics of imminent delivery—verses 344 to 356); *Vāyudhāraṇa* (retaining of the wind—verses 357 to 360); *Vidyutphala* (effect of lightning—verses 361 to 367) and *Ārdrāphala* (effect of *Ārdarā*—verses 368 to 372). These are followed by the sections on the movements of certain planets, namely Śukra (verses 373 to 393), Rāhu (verses 394 to 396) and

Ketu (verses 397 to 429). Verses 430 to 463 describe the effects of the passage of a planet from one zodiacal sign to another (*saṅkrānti*). Then follow two sections dealing with weather-forecasting as indicated by the nest of a crow (*Kāka-nilaya*—verses 464 to 485) and eggs of a crow(*Kākāṇḍātphala*—verses 486 to 488). The four concluding verses (489-492) are related to the effects of *Saṅkrānti*. The text is in the form of a dialogue between Pārvatī and Śiva, which is further stated to have been communicated by Garga to Indra. The text aims at forecasting rainfall on the basis of astronomical facts. Such as a sign of zodiac (*rāśi*), a lunar day (*tithi*), a day of the week (*vāra*), the movement of planets and the planetary conjunctions (*yoga*), and certain natural phenomena like the clouds, lightning and wind.

The editor has done his job faithfully and with utmost care and caution. The introduction testifies to the scholarship and erudition of the editor. But for a few printing mistakes (397 for 373 and 389 for 489 on page 46, etc.) the work is nicely printed.

SEXUAL METAPHORS AND ANIMAL SYMBOLS IN INDIAN MYTHOLOGY by Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty. Published by M/s Motilal Banarsidass. 41–U. A. Bungalow Road, Delhi-110 007, 1981. Pp. XVIII+382+10 plates. Price Rs. 100.00.

Reviewed by **Dr. J. P. Sinha**, Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, Lucknow University.

The present work is a collection of papers presented by the author at various gatherings on androgynes and thesiomorphic women in myths, in which she had discussed the use of sexual metaphors and animal symbols to express religious concepts of the relationship between men and women, gods and goddesses and humans and deities. The analysis attempts to understand these dominant themes as they occur in myths, rituals and other cultural manifestations throughout the ancient world and in our contemporary culture.

Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty uses an electic methodological approach, drawing upon insights from psychoanalysis, anthropology, traditional philology and history of religions.

The work is divided into five sections, viz. Introduction, Sexual Fluids, Gods and Goddesses in oppositions, Cows and Mares, and Androgynes. These sections are further divided into chapters. Section I, The Introduction, comprises one chapter, entitled the Myth of Method in Mythology. It is discussed under five sub-headings, viz. A. The Myth, B. The Toolbox of Pluralism, C. What People think and What People Think They think : Explicit and Implicit levels, D. The Pitfalls. Section II, Sexual Fluids, also comprises one chapter, Sexual Fluids in Vedic and Post-Vedic India. It is discussed under two sub-headings—A. The Vedas and B. The Post-Vedic Period. Section III, Gods and Goddesses in opposition, contains three Chapters. Chapter 3 entitled 'The Shazam Syndrome : The Banalization of the Hindu Gods' is studied under three sub-headings. A—The Dangers of Upward Mobility. B. The Shazam Syndrome : Divinity Concealed and Revealed, and C. Banalization and Derison of the Gods. Chapter 4 Captioned 'The shifting Balance of Power in Indian Hierogamies' comprises three sub-headings A. Male Dominance in the *Ṛgveda*, B. Transition in the Epics, and C. Female Dominance in the Purāṇas. Chapter 5 is entitled 'The Dance of Śiva with Kālī and Pārvatī' and comprises seven sub-headings. A. The Dance of Śiva in poetry and myth, B. Death as a Dancer, C. Dance as the conquest of death, D. The Dance in the Forest, E. The Control of Śiva and Kālī through the Dance. F. The Dance contest and G. Pārvatī as spectator of the Dance. Section IV—Cows and Mares, again comprises three chapters. Chapter 6, entitled 'The Indo-European Mare' is studied under four sub-headings. A. Introduction : The Mythical Prototype, B. The Ritual, C. The Myth of the Mare and D. Interpretations : From Mare to Stallion. Chapter 7 has six sub-headings—A. The Doomsday : Doomsday Mare, B. The Post-Vedice Symbolism of the Mare, C. The Myths of Search : Dadhyañc and Sagara, D. Viṣṇu as the Horse's Head—Hayagrīva, E. The Origin of the Submarine Mare-fire-Aura, and F. Śiva and the Mare. Chapter 8 is entitled 'Sacred Cows and Profane Mares'. It contains fifteen sub-headings A.—The Vedic Stallion, B. The Vedic cow and bull, C. The Turnabout and the Indus Civilization, D. The Hindu Stallion and Mare, E. The Hindu Cow, F. The Hindu Bull, G. Sun Stallions and Moon Mare Goddess and the Demise of the Mare, J. Currents of Power : The Two-way Tantric Flow, K. Eat or ye shall be Eaten, L. Rebirth from the Devouring Goddess, M. The Vicious Circle of the Mother and the Son, N. The Denial of the Goddess, and O. The Acceptance of the Goddess. Section V, Androgynes, consists one chapter, entitled 'The comparison of Androgynes'. It is divided into five sub-headings—A. An Introduction to the Androgyne, B. The search for the Androgyne, C. Types of Androgynes, The Evolution of

the Androgyne in India, and E. Meanings of the Androgyne. In addition, the work contains Notes, Abbreviations of Periodicals and series, Bibliography, and Index and Glossary.

The study of Sexual Metaphors and Animal Symbols in Indian Mythology is quite interesting and testifies to the sound knowledge of and keen insight into the Indian Mythology of the authoress. Nevertheless, 'This is a women's view of a group of men's views about women', as honestly confessed by the authoress herself and hence it is, indeed, her 'literary love child rather than the product of planned scholarly parenthood'.

The book is attractive from every point of view—the printing, the get up and the price.

DHVANYĀLOKA of Ānandavardhana. Critically Edited With Introduction, Translation And Notes by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, with a Foreword by Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar. Published by M/s Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi. Second Edition, 1982, pp. XLI+407.

Reviewed by **Dr. J. P. Sinha**, Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, Lucknow University.

The present edition of the *Dhvanyāloka* with Notes and English translation is a result of Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy's varied labours in the field of Sanskrit studies, especially Sanskrit poetics. He has specialised in the study of *Dhvanyāloka*. His dissertation entitled '*Dhvanyāloka and Its Critics*' had won laurels from great savants like the late M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane and the late Professor H. D. Valenkar.

There are other works on *Dhvanyāloka* or its translations in part, but the credit for completely translating the *Kārikā*-s as well as the *Vṛtti*-s goes only to Dr. Krishnamoorthy. In the present edition of the *Dhvanyāloka*, the learned author has collated readings from ten manuscripts as also the earlier editions, and has arrived at an almost definitive text of this great classic on the basis of manuscript evidence and also on the basis of the evidence of the *Locana*. Variants are also given in the footnotes. The Notes are the result of his constant study of the subject for about four decades. The author has revised the English translation, which had first appeared in

the Poona Oriental Series in 1955. The present edition is substantially a reprint of the first edition published by the Karnatak University, Dharwar in 1974, but which was not available for some time. The author availed himself of the opportunity of adding an appendix of 'Additions and Corrections' incorporating revisions in the light of reviews appearing in various journals. The *Dhvanyāloka* is a text abounding in subtleties and quotations and what was needed was not a merely facile or free paraphrase, but an exact translation, that reproduces faithfully the original text in its entirety. Dr. Krishnamoorthy has kept this ideal before him. His rendering of the *Dhvanyāloka* is free from clumsy phrases and, therefore, quite pleasant to read and easy to understand. The learned author claims—and rightly—to have endeavoured strictly to follow Abhinavagupta's explanations throughout his English translation.

In the Introduction the author has discussed the topics like the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*, improved readings in this Edition, title of the Text, the importance of the *Dhvanyāloka*, *Dhvani* theory after Ānandavardhana, Ānandavardhana's semantics and *Rasa* in the *Dhvani* theory.

For easy reference the Sanskrit Original and the English translations are arranged face to face. Lines are numbered and the chapter-headings prominently provided on each page. Indices of *Kārika*-s, *parikaraśloka*-s, illustrative verses and of works and authors have been appended at the end. A glossary of Sanskrit and English equivalents preceding the Appendices is another useful feature of the Edition. The world of Sanskrit scholars is eagerly looking forward for an edition of the *Locana* also on similar lines from the pen of Dr. Krishnamoorthy.

The Publishers deserve the credit for neat and faultless printing and nice get-up.

STORIES OF INDIAN SAINTS by Justin E. Abott and Pt. Narhar R. Godbole with an introduction by G. V. Tagare. Parts I and II bound together. M/s Motilal Banarsidass, 41-U. A., Bungalow Road, Delhi-110 007. First published in 1933. Reprinted 1982, pp. XXXVII+499. Price Rs. 120.00.

Reviewed by **Dr. J. P. Sinha**, Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, University of Lucknow.

Stories of Indian Saints is an English translation of Mahīpati's *Bhaktivijaya* in Marathi. The translation is by Justin E. Abbott and Pt. Narhar R.

Godbole. It also includes a scholarly Introduction by Dr. G. V. Tagare, dealing with 'Mahīpati, the Biographer of the Poet-saints' and 'Mahīpati—A General Survey'. The Forewords by J. F. Edwards to both the parts are quite scholarly and informative. The foreword to the Part I deals with some interesting topics such as 'How the *Bhaktivijaya* was translated'; 'The Editor's task'; 'Dr. Abbott's English Style'; 'Mahīpati's place in literature'; 'How to understand the Indian Heart', India's Insurrection against Religion'; 'the Nationalising and Democratizing Value of *Bhakti*'; 'Untouchability still in Vithoba Worship'; 'India's Yearning for a personal God'; 'Mysticism in Maharashtra' and 'the Heart, a safer Guide Than the Head'. The topics dealt with in the Foreword of Part II are: 'The Late Pandit N.R. Godbole'; 'Usefulness of Dr. Abbott's Benefactions'; 'The Best Edition of Mahīpati's *Bhaktivijaya*'; 'The Idea of Sin in India'; 'The Empire of the Spirit in India's Religious Quest'; 'India's Incorrigible Religiousness'; 'Religion, the Backbone of India'; 'The Maratha Epic Fight for Religious Liberty'; 'The Biographical Method of studying Indian Religion'; 'Religious Value of Mahīpati's Biographies'; 'India's Religion of Grace'; 'India's Battle against Pantheism'; 'India's struggle for God'; 'Pauranic Atmosphere of much *Bhakti* Literature'; '*Bhakti* and Pantheism often found together'; 'An *Advaitic* strain in much Marathi *Bhakti*'; 'Pioneers of Indian Religious Reform'; 'Political India's need of Religion'; and 'Helping Things Human by Things Divine'. It ends with 'Request, Acknowledgement, Recognition'. The Introduction to Part I tries to evaluate Mahīpati as the biographer of the Saint–Poets and discusses his birth and early influences; his Literary sources and Methods; his honesty as an Author; his historical Material and his trustworthiness. Part II does not have any Introduction. Lives of the saint-poets narrated in Part I are those of Jayadev; Tulsidas; Namadev; Kabir, his son Kamal, his guru Ramanand; Jñānadev; Kumardas; Raka; Gora; Jagmitra Naga; Joga Paramanand; Narahari; Janabai; Matsyendra-nath; Gorakhnath; Changdev; Chokhamela; Padmanabh; Rabidas; Pipa and Narsi Mehta. Those narrated in Part II are of Ramdas; Kalyan; Surdas; Sena; Satvik; Janajasvant; Rasik Murav; Mirabai; Kanhopatra; Damajipant; Mṛtyuñjaya Bhanudas; Ekanath; Ramdas; Tukaram; Mankoji Bodhla; Ganeshnath; Keshav Swami; Lalitesha; Santobha; Pawan; Niloba; Uddhava; Chidghan and Visoba Saraf. The subject matter of the five appendices is Notes on Pauranic Names in *Bhaktivijaya*, Pauranic Narratives Referred to in *Bhaktivijaya*, Words with Numerical significance used in *Bhaktivijaya*, Epithets of Vishnu found in the *Bhaktivijaya* and Poetic fancies used in the *Bhahtivijaya*. In the Appendix of Part I is given page to page English translation of 103 verses alongwith the text found scattered in various chapters of an

unpublished manuscript of the *Bhaktivijaya.*

The translation is 'literal' 'jerky' and 'disjointed' due to the attempt to turn oriental poetry, and that Mahipati's difficult poetry, into occidental prose. This is one of the important publications carried out in the series of devotional works by M/s Motilal Banarsidas which include the *Devotional Poems of Mirabai* by A. L. Alston, *Life of Tukārāma* by Justin E. Abbott, '*Life of Ekanath*' by the same author, *Gorakhnath and the Kanphaṭā yogi* by George W. Briggs, *Kabir—the Apostle of Hindu-Muslim Unity* by M. Hidayetullah, *Life and Teaching of Anandamayi Ma* by Alexander Lipski, *The Compassionate Touch of Ma Anandamayi* by Narayan Chaudhuri and *Spiritual Treasure of St. Ramadasa* by V. H. Date. The importance and utility of these works which aim at bringing various sects of Hindus and Muslims on the same spiritual platform need not be overemphasised.

THE *SĀHITYAKAṆṬAKODDHĀRA*: Edited by Prof. T. Venkatacharya, Published by M/s Motilal Banarsidass, 41-U. A. Bungalow Road, Delhi-110 007. 1980, Pp. xxiv+70, Price Rs. 35

Reviewed by Dr. J. P. Sinha, Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, Lucknow University.

The *Sāhityakaṇṭakodhāra* is a work belonging to the field of Grammar as an Applied Science. In the opinion of the author, who probably chose to remain anomymous, the incorrect or incorrect-looking usages of Poets are like thorns (*Kaṇṭaka*) in the path of the *Sāhitya* and the work aims at clearing the path of these thorns.The subject matter is similar to those on *Śabdaśuddhi* in the *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtravṛtti of* Vāmana, the 6th Chapter in Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, the *Prayogādhikaraṇa* of Vāmana and *Durghatavṛtti*. It tries to present a systematic treatment pointing out the correctness or otherwise of some of the usages of Sanskrit poets. The work is divided into seven sections, viz. Abbreviations, Introduction, Note on the Manuscripts, The Sanskrit Text of the *Sāhityakaṇṭakoddhāra*, Index of verses cited in the *Sāhitya-kāṇṭakoddhāra*, index of expressions discussed in the *Sāhityakaṇṭakoddhāra*, and Additions and corrections.

The Introduction deals with the authorship of the work, date of the author, the title and the subject of the work, the role played by it and some names of new works and authors cited in it. The Editor is of the view that

till we get some positive evidence it is difficult to have any definite information about the name of the author of the *Sāhityakaṇṭakoddhāra*. However, the authorship of the work is traced to the later part of the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th century A. D. Though the majority of the examples is collected from the *Kāvya*, there are some examples from other sources, such as the Smṛtis, *Devīmāhātmya*, *Vāyupurāṇa* *Madhukośa*, works on medicine, astronomy, etc. The number of works and authors mentioned in the text is 80. For preparing a critical edition the author has consulted and collated 7 MSS, five of which belong to the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras and the two are preserved in the collection of the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Madras. It is neatly printed, nicely got up and reasonably priced.

INDIAN KĀVYA LITERATURE by A. K. Warder, Published by M/s Motilal Banarsidass, 41-U. A., Bungalow Road, Delhi-110 007. Vol. I (1972). Pp. XIX+281. Price Rs. 40.00; Vol. II (1974). Pp. 393. Price Rs. 65.00; Vol. III (1977). Pp. 307. Rs. 65.00

Reviewed by **Dr. J. P. Sinha,** Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, Lucknow University.

Indian Kāvya Literature is planned in six Volumes, which will make a comprehensive study of Sanskrit Literature from the point of view of literary criticism of the Indian Tradition. The three volumes, published so far and under review, contain eight, eleven and ten chapters, respectively. The first eight chapters comprising Volume One are introductory and present the Indian aesthetic and critical theories and also the social milieu of the literature studied under the chapters entitled (1) *Kāvya* and its languages (2) Indian Aesthetics, (3) Indian Dramaturgy: the construction of Plays (4) Indian Poeties (5) The Literary Forms: The Drama, (6) The Literary Forms: Epic and Lyric Poetry, (7) The Literary Forms: Biography and the Novel (including the *Campū* and short story), and (8) The Audience and the Readers of *Kāvya* and its social functions; the Writers. A detailed Bibliography and an Index are appended at the end. Eleven Chapters entitled (i) Pre-*Kāvya* Literature: The veda, (2) The Epic Tradition: *Itihāsa*, (3) The origins of the *Kāvya* Movement (C—500), (4) New Techniques in Poetry and Contemporary Trends in Dramatic Literature and Narrative Prose in Pāli (C.—450 to 200), (5) The Earliest *Kāvya* Literature in Sanskrit (C—400 to—150) :Vālmīki,

(6) The Novel C.—100 : Guṇāḍhya, (7) The fully Developed *Kāvya* Epic and Drama in the +1 : Aśvaghoṣa, (8) Māhārāṣṭrī *Kāvya* in the +2, especially the Lyric : Sātavāhana, Pādalipta, (9) Sanskrit Lyric and Prose in +2 : Mātrceṭa and Sūra ; (10) Drama in the +2 : Bhāsa (11) Drama : Bhāsa's contemporaries, especially Bodhāyana, Vararuci, Īśavaradatta (Comedy and satirical Monologue) and an Index comprise Volume two. Volume Three contains ten chapters captioned (1)Drama in the+3 : Śūdraka ; Contemporary Lyric Poetry, (2) Prose in the +3 and +4 ; Sarvasena and Epic, (3) Dramatists of the +4 and other development in Kāvya (4) Menṭha, Fictions of about the +5, (5) Kālidāsa (6) Pravavasena, Śyāmilaka and Saṃghadāsa (7) Amaruka (8) Bhāravi (9) Subandhu (ii) and Kāvya in the +6, and (10) Viśākhadatta ; Index, Corrections to Volumes I and II and Additional Notes to Volumes I and II.

The main purpose of this work is literary criticism, evaluating a great tradition of literature which till now has remained practically in oblivion for all but a few specialists in Sanskrit. A new evaluation of Sanskrit literature was overdue. This task has been done ably by Prof. Warder, who has studied the Sanskrit poets keeping in view the social and cultural history of India of their respective times. The learned author has claimed that 'all statements in our text are based on the original sources, i.e. the literary works in their original Indian languages'. He further claims to have 'done his best to make it as authentic as possible and to embody his subject in his book without interposing his own personality'. One can only wish that the following Volumes are prepared in the same spirit. It is gratifying to note that the author has made a successful attempt to analyse and appreciate various forms of Sanskrit poetry in the light of Indian literary criticism. The world of Sanskrit scholars in India and abroad will eagerly look forward to coming to the light the following volumes promised by the author. The work, meticulously prepared, neatly printed and nicely got up, as it is, is sure to find a place on the shelves of the scholars and students of Sanskrit literature alike.

SEXUAL ETHICS IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA IN THE LIGHT OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA RULINGS by Bhakti Datta, Published by Asia Publications, London, 1979.

Reviewed by **Dr. J. P. Sinha,** Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, Lucknow Univerity.

The work under review was submitted for the degree of Doctor of

Philosophy in the University of Tubingen by the author, Dr. Bhakti Datta. Precisely, the subject of the work is "The evolution of the concept of transgression of sex-ethics in the Ādiparva of the *Mahābhārata* in the light of Dharmaśāstra rulings". It takes up the study of the cases of sexual transgressions in the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* by analyzing the moral traditions reflected in the transgression of moral limits by the members of the Aryan community, and also of the evolution of *dharma* concepts in relation to the rulings found in the Dharmaśāstras. For this purpose the author has selected four legends related to Mamatā and Bṛhaspati; Yayāti and Śarmiṣṭhā; Śvetaketu (including Pāṇḍu and Kuntī) and Dīrghatamas—all from the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. In tracing the evolution of sex morality in the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, the author has collected versions of a particular legend found either in the epics or in the purāṇas; he has scrutinized them in the light of various changes found in different versions of the legend and has finally compared parallel evidences of customary laws with the legal rulings detailed in the Dharmaśāstras. The two problems successfully investigated by the author are: (1) whether the legends selected and their later modifications, where transgression of sex morals took place, indicate any pattern of evolution of the *dharma* concepts, and if they simultaneously indicate any process of brahmanification of the society and (2) whether the Dharmaśāstra rulings formulated and prescribed by the culturally much advanced social guardians were at odds with the current practices in vogue and if later interpolators attempted to bridge these differences in order to bring the legends within the brahmanic fold.

On the basis of his study the author has drawn the conclusion that the legends indieate a pattern of evolution in sexual morality which centres round four main characteristics, viz (1) promiscuous situation when women were free outside the period of their *ṛtu*; (2) privileged intimaey between brother-in-law and sister-in-law; (3) *niyoga*, where brother-in-law or a near relative was appointed to raise issues on a wife whose husband was either dead or impotent, and (4) *niyoga* slowly giving way to restricted and chaste conduct of the wife. In the Annexe are given quotations from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Matsyapurāṇa*.

THE POEMS OF TUKĀRĀMA : Translated and re-arranged with notes and introduction by J. Nelson Fraser and K. B. Maratha. Published by M/s Motilal Banarsidass, 41-U. A. Bungalow Road, Delhi-110007. First Edition 1909. Reprinted 1981. Pp. XIII+522. Price Rs. 65 (cloth) and Rs. 45 (Paper).

Reviewed by **Dr. J. P. Sinha**, Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, Lucknow University.

The book under review is an English rendering of a collection of Tukārāma's poems. The translators do not claim to make an attempt to settle the text of the poems. They have simply followed the edition of S. P. Pandit published at the Indu Prakash Press in 1869, occasionally preferring an alternative reading in the footnotes. The life of Tukārāma included in the translation is based on that printed in the same edition. In the words of the translators the literal translation has often been replaced by accurate paraphrases; and religious expressions peculiar to the Hindu System have been rendered by the nearest equivalents. The poems, 1424 in number, have been grouped into thirtyfive sections, according to their subject-matter. The translation is followed by Notes. The three appendices given at the end contain Proper Names, Ceremonies and beliefs referred to by Tukārāma and certain clarifications which are referred to by Tukārāma. The hope of the translators that 'critical readers will pardon occasional mistakes in our translation and will treat with consideration cases where they will find we have chosen a rendering which they would have rejected' seems to be quite justifiable taking into consideration the stupendous task taken by the translators upon themselves. What can not be justified are certain observations contained in the Notes and Proper Names contained in Appendix I. Sample a few of them. 'It is to be noted that the name betel really belongs to the leaf and is wrongly though usually applied to the nut' (p. 487) and 'Bharata—son of Daśaratha and Kaikeyī; elder brother of Rama (p.504)' An attentive reader is also likely to stumble at some spellings such as Ajamala (p. 503) for Ajāmila, Amrāvatī (p. 503) for Amarāvatī; Hanumāna (p. 503) for Hanumān, Jaganātha (p. 505) for Jagannātha; Vemunada (p. 514) for Veṇunāda, रास् (p. 517) for रजस्, आहावनीय (p. 519) for आहवनीय etc. These small drawbacks have, however, been compensated by neat printing and nice get up of the book.

HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE by Maurice Winternitz. Translated by V. Srinivasa Sarma, Vol. I, Motilal Banarsi Dass, 41-U.A. Bungalow Road, Delhi-110 007. 1981. Pp. XVI+603. Price Rs. 100.00.

Reviewed by **Dr. J. P. Sinha**, Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, Lucknow University.

The book was originally written by Professor Winternitz in German under the title 'Geschichte der Indischen Literatur' and was published by K. F. Koehler Verlag, Stuttgart in the year 1907. This was translated into English by Mrs. Ketkar after a period of about two decades. The present English Translation is based on the original German work and has been revised in the light of further researches on the subject by scholars in India and abroad.

The Volume is divided into Sections—Section I deals with the Veda or the Vedic Literature. Here the author has discussed the subjects like, What is the Veda, The Ṛgveda Saṃhitā, The Atharvaveda Saṃhitā, Sacrifice in ancient India and the Vedic Saṃhitā-s, The Sāmaveda Saṃhitā, The Saṃhitā-s of the Yajurveda, The Brāhmaṇa-s, Āraṇyaka-s and Upaniṣads, The Fundamental Doctrines of the Upaniṣads, The Vedāṅga-s, The Ritual Literature, The exegetic Vedāṅga-s and the Age of the Veda. The Popular Epics and the Purāṇa-s is the subject matter under discussion in Section II. This subject is further subdivided into topics like, The beginnings of epic poetry in India, What is the Mahābhārata, The mainstay of the myth, poetry and legend poetry in the Mahābhārata, Fables, Parables and moral stories in the Mahābhārata, The didactic portion of the Mahābhārata, The Harivaṃśa—an apdendix to the Mahābhārata, The Age and History of the Mahābhārata; The Rāmāyaṇa, Popular Epic and Ornate Poetry in one, Contents of the Rāmāyaṇa, The genuine and the spurious in the Rāmāyaṇa, The Age of the Rāmāyaṇa, The Purāṇas in Indian Literature, Survey of the Purāṇa—literature and The Tantra Literature (Saṃhitās, Āgamas, Tantras). Subjects like Extent and significance of Indian Literature, The beginnings of the study of Indian Literature in Europe, The Chronology of Indian Literature, The Script and the tradition of Indian Literature and Indian languages in their relationship to literature have been dealt with in the Introduction.

There are several works on History of Indian Literature in English, the latest being the one brought out under the general Editorship of Professor J. Gonda and published from Wiesbaden (FRG). There are works on the

subject in Hindi and there may be works dealing with the same subject in other foreign and Indian languages also, of which I may not be aware, yet the importance and utility of the work under review does not need to be overemphasised. Mrs. Ketkar's translation was out of print for long time and although Hindi translation of this important work was made available by the courtesy of M/s. Motilal Banarsidass, the non-Hindi knowing students and scholars did feel the need of the reprint of the great work of Profesror Winternitz, and the need has been well fulfilled by the new authoritative English translation by V. Srinivasa Sarma. It is hoped that similar translations of the remaining Volumes of the History of Indian Literature by Professor Maurice Winternitz will also be in the hands of the Publishers, who have been doing great service to the cause of Sanskrit and Indology for many decades.

BHAṬṬIKĀVYAM EDITED WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION by Dr. M. A. Karnadikar and Dr. (Mrs.) Shailaja Karnadikar. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi. Pp. XXXVI+355.

Reviewed by **Dr. (Mrs.) Priti Sinha**, C-954/955, Sector B, Mahanagar, Lucknow—226 006.

Bhaṭṭikāvya, named after its author Bhaṭṭi, is also called, according to its subject matter, as *Rāmacarita*, *Rāvaṇavadha* and *Rāmakāvya*. The present edition of the work is a welcome addition to the already available ones, viz. those of Prof. K. P. Trivedi (Bombay Sanskrit Series), the Venkateshwar Press edition, the Nirnayasagar Press edition; the Banaras edition of Sri Śeṣarāja Śarma Śāstrī, the Calcutta edition of Prof. S. Ray, the one with the commentary of Bharatamallika, the English translation of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* by Prof. G. G. Leonardi, etc.

The *Bhaṭṭikāvya* is a narrative (*Lakṣya*) and illustrative (*Lakṣaṇa*) combined in one. As a narrative it describes the life of Rāma in twenty-two cantos, and as an illustrative work it illustrates most of the important *sūtra*-s, of Pāṇini, divided into four *Kāṇḍa*-s—(1) *Prakīrṇa kāṇḍa* (Miscellaneous rules—cantos: 1-4), (2) *Adhikāra-Kāṇḍa* (Leading rules—cantos: 5-9), (3) *Prasanna Kāṇḍa* (Rhetorics—cantos : 10-13) and (4) *Tiṅanta Kāṇḍa* (Verbal formatives, terms and Moods-cantos : 14-22). The principal aim of the poet was teaching of grammar and the life of Rāma was a means to serve that end. The popularity of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* is proved by the fact that his style was emulated by many other Sanskrit grammarian-poets.

Bhūmaka has illustrated the *Aṣṭādhyāyi* of Pāṇini in his *Rāvaṇārjuniyam* and *Yaduvaṃśa-Kāvya* of Kāśīnātha illustrates the rules laid down by Pāṇini, Vararuci and Trivikrama on the narration drawn from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. *Subhadrāharaṇam* and *Dhātukāvyam* of Nārāyaṇa, *Vāsudevavijayam* of Vāsudeva and *Śricihnakāvyam* of Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka have also followed Bhaṭṭi's pattern.

The present edition of the poem with English translation has its own importance. It carries the text and the translation under it on the same page. On the one hand it saves unnecessary wastage of space in the page to page text and translation facing each other and on the other hand it saves the time of the reader in turning over to the pages containing the whole text and then finding out the translation in the subsequent pages. The latter method is not only inconvenient but also disturbs the harmony and pleasure of the poem. In part One of the Introduction the learned editors have discussed *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and its Author. The title–Authorship–Bhaṭṭi, life and Date–Bhaṭṭi, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin–Bhaṭṭi's life. Part Two deals with *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, A Critical study. The plan of the work—(i) Critical Appreciation—The Art Epic Form–Description–Sentiments–Style and Diction–Metres– *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* (ii) Grammatical Analysis: General Technique–Omission—The *Prasanna-Kāṇḍa*: Figures of speech. Index of verses given at the end has enhanced the utility of the edition. The inquisitive reader will certainly miss the all important and useful Notes, which are said to be issued separately. One would not mind the bulk and price of the work containing the Notes, without which the intricacies and application of the *sūtra*-s of Pāṇini will not be clear to an ordinary reader, not even to the scholars of Sanskrit Literature. Those who have the text and the translation will be deprived of the advantage of the scholarly Notes, and those who could lay their hands on the Notes, published separately, will not be able to appreciate the application of the rules of Pāṇini grammar as envisaged by the poet. It is hoped that further editions of the work will contain the Notes also. Anyway, both the paperback and the hardbound editions are neatly printed and nicely got up. The present work will certainly fulfil the long-felt need of a good English translation.

PROFESSOR KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI FELICITATION VOLUME : Edited by Dr. Mukunda Madhava Sharma. Published by Sri Radha Bora, Jt. General Secretary, Jorhat J. B. College Golden Jubilee Celebration Committee, Guwahati Branch, Rajgarh Road, Guwahati, Assam. 1983. Pp. XIV+330+2 Plates. Price : Rs. 200.00.

Reviewed by **Dr. (Mrs.) Priti Sinha**, C-954/955, Sector B, Mahanagar, Lucknow-226 006.

The Felicitation Volume under review is divided in three parts. Part One comprises Messages and Tributes, Part Two contains thirty two articles and Part Three is in the form of Appendix.

The papers contained in the Volume are on various branches of Sanskrit and Indological studies from the pen of scholars belonging to different places and disciplines. The papers included in the Volume can be classified under Vedic literature, Puranic literature, Dharmaśāstra, Philosophy, Grammar and Linguistics, Classical Sanskrit literature and Poetics, and History and Culture of Assam. Part One comprising Messages and Tributes contains messages from Prof. J. Gonda, Prof. Ernest Bender, Prof. (Mrs.) C. Caillat, Prof. A. L. Basham, Sri S. K. Dutta, Sri Chidananda Das, Sri Janeswar Sarma, Prof. V. B. Mishra, Sri Abdus Sattar and Prof. M. M. Sharma.

The papers included in the Volume are: Vedic Speculations on the Ultimate; Some observations on Vaśiṣṭha and His Progeny in the *Ṛgveda*, The origin of the Idea of Triveṇī, The Adaptation of Viṣṇu-Bali Legend by Jain Writers, Rādhā in the Purāṇas and the Allied Literatures. धर्मशास्त्रे गृहीतस्य ऋणस्य आदानोपाय:, Some observations on the date of *Kālikāpurāṇa*, More about Kumārilabhaṭṭa—His birth place, Origin and Development of the concept of *Lakṣaṇā* in the works of Jaimini and Śabarasvāmin, The Buddhist Theory of Not-self, Concept of Īśvara, A monist's Love of God: *Bhakti* in Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, The order of Naming the Pramāṇas in Indian Philosophy, The concept of *Akṣara* in the early Upaniṣads, महर्षिपाणिने: व्यावहारिकदृष्टि: A note on the *Prayoga-mukhi*, The Prakrit and Deśabhāṣā passages in Someśvara's *Mānasollāsa*, Sanskrit Word in Siamese, L'enseignement de la prononciation sanscrite aux Francophones, Note on the date of Padmaśrī's *Nāgara(ka)Sarvasva*, Svāmī Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī (1829?–1909) and His *Vicāratrayi*, The Relation between the Poetic Act and the Aesthetic Experience, The Textual verses in the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* of Vāmana and their Authorship, A note on the Concept of the *Rasavadalaṃkāra*, Concept of obscenity

(*aślīlatā*) in Sanskrit, *Mandaḥ Kaviyaśaḥprārthi*, Some Images in Subandhu's Vāsavadattā, Assam : Her Cultural Heritage, Studies on the Nidhanpur Copper-plate Grant of Bhāskaravarmā—An Economic Approach, The contribution of the Sankaradeva Movement of the Culture and Civilisation of India, Francis Buchanan's Description of the Ahom Coronation : Recorded—(on the basis of Material drawn from indegenous historical records), and Contribution of Williams Carey to Assamese. Appendix A contains letters from some eminent scholars. An introduction of the contributors to the Volume forms Appendix B and a list of Members of Jorhat J. B. College Golden Jubilee Celebrations Committee is contained in Appendix C.

By going through the papers included in the Volume, it is quite evident that the emphasis of the editor was more on quality than on quantity. These papers amply evince the care and caution with which they have been selected. In fact every paper is a piece of research. From every standard—subject-matter printing and get-up the Volume is a welcome addition to the existing number of Felicitation Volumes presented in India and abroad. The Organising Committee, specially the editor, deserves all the credit and congratulations for bringing out such a valuable Volume to felicitate the great Savant, as Prof. Handiqui was.

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THE DOCTRINE OF THE TANTRAYUKTI-S by Dr. W. K. Lele, Published by M/s Chaukhamba Surabharati Prakashan, Varanasi. 1981. Pp. VIII+180. Price Rs. 50.00

Reviewod by **Dr. (Mrs) Priti Sinha**, C-954/955, Sector B, Mahanagar, Lucknow-226 007.

The work entitled 'the *Doctrine of the Tantrayukti*-s' defines, details, discusses and demonstrates the methodology of the ancient Indian theoretico-scientific compositions in five chapters. viz. (1) The Sources of the *Tantrayukti*-s, (2) Number and Role of the *Tantrayukti*-s, (3) Definitions and Applications of the *Tantrayukti*-s, (4) Analysis and (5) Conclusions. It also contains a Bibliography and an Index. The word *Tantrayukti* stands for an inevitable device of the composition of a theoretico-scientific treatise. The *tantrayukti*-s are both verbal—relevant to words and sentences and significative—relevant to the sense. They are thirtysix in number. They are useful for the composition of a scientific work in as much as they enable the author of a scientific work (a) to express a topic which cannot otherwise be explicitly expressed (b) to suggest to the reader the ways and means of reconciling the apparently contradictory statements, (c) to express certain topics only tangen-

tially and to leave the fuller understanding thereof to the imagination of the readers, (d) to express certain topics in peculiar phraseology, (e) to refute the statements of a wicked disputant, (f) to conceal the meaning intentionally and to direct the readers to explore it and (g) to throw light in the secrets of a scientific subject. In the opinion of the author the doctrine of *Tantrayukti*-s emerged before the fifth century B. C. and had at least five traditions. Scientific works in all disciplines were written in conformity with the *Tantrayukti*-s. Dr. Lele has tried to decode the *Tantrayukti*-doctrine. He has also demonstrated the actual applications of the *Tantrayukti*-s in the works on Sanskrit poetics. Their knowledge is essential for every student and critic of ancient Indian Scientific treatises. The author rightly claims that this is the only book of its kind so far published on the subject. The apprehension of the author that there might be some commissions or omissions and lapses or lacunae in the pages to follow appears to be just a gesture of his modesty, because he has handled a hitherto untouched subject in a masterly manner. By the neat printing and attractive get-up one is tempted to have a peep through the book at the first sight, but as one goes through it one finds it more and more informative and interesting.

MALLINĀTHAMANĪṢĀ Edited by Dr. P. G. Lalye. Published by the Department of Sanskrit, Osmania University, Hyderabad. 1981. Pp. 163. Price Rs. 30.00

Reviewed by **Dr. (Mrs) Priti Sinha** C-954/955, Sector B, Mahanagar, Lucknow--226 006

Mallināthamaniṣā is a collection of papers presented at the seminar on Mallinātha, held under the auspices of the Department of Sanskrit, Osmania University, Hyderabad (India). These papers, twenty two in number, aim at presenting a comprehensive study of Mallinātha's commentaries. They are entitled *Mallināthasya vaiduṣyam, Mallināthasya vedāntavaiduṣī, Mallināthasya mīmāmsāśāstrapāṇḍityam, Mallināthasya Vyākaraṇavaiduṣyam Mallināthasūreḥ vyākaraṇaśāstravaiduṣyam, sarvaṇkaṣatattvaṇikaṣaḥ, Dharmasūreḥ Mallināthasyādhamaraṇatvam, Mallināthasya sanapāṭhīnā-Eko vimarṣaḥ,* Mallinatha and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikh, Mallinatha and Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Advaitic Thoughts in Mallinatha's commentaries, the discussions related to the Figures of speech in the commentaries of Mallinatha, Mallinatha and *Raghuvaṃśa*, Mallinātha and *Meghadūta*, *Nāmūlam likhyate Kiñcannānapekṣitamucyate*, Allusions to Ayurveda in commentaries of Mallinātha, Mallinatha's Tarala, A critical Estimate of *Ghaṇṭāpatha*, Abhinavagupta and Mallinātha on two verses of *Meghadūta*, *Mallināthuni*

Vyākhyalu Tulanātmaka Pariśilana, *Mallināthasuri-Jivaluvu* and *Naiṣadhīyacaritamu-Mallinathuni Vyākhyāvaishiṭyamu*. The contributors to this collection include the scholars of eminence like Prof. K. Kunjunni Raja, Prof. E. R. Srikrishna Sharma, Prof. P. G. Lalye, Dr. S. B. Raghunathacharya Dr. S. Raghunatha Sarma, Mrs. Nalini Sadhale, Mrs. M. Annapurna, etc. These articles throw a flood of light on the various aspects of Mallinātha and fulfil to a large extent a long-felt need of a comprehensive study of Mallinātha' Commentaries. It is not understood why the learned Editor prefers to call the Collection as *Mallinātha Manjūṣā* whereas everywhere else it is named *Mallināthamanīṣā*. One wishes that an English or atleast a Sanskrit abstract of the three Telugu articles at the end would have also been given at an appropriate place.

THE DEVOTIONAL POEMS OF MIRĀBĀI by A. J. Alston. Published by M/s Motilal Banarsidass, 41-U. A., Bungalow Road, Delhi-110008. 1980. Pp. X+144. Price Rs. 30 (Paper) and Rs. 45 (cloth).

Reviewed by **Dr. (Mrs.) Priti Sinha**, C-954/955, Sector B, Mahanagar, Lucknow–226 006

It is an English Translation of two hundred *Pada*-s of Mīrābāi. Mīra's Life, Mīrā and Bhakti Movement and Mīrā's Poems are dealt with in the introduction. Notes explaining mythological references to the non-Hindu reader, indicating some linguistic difficulties and recording minor deviations from the fifteenth edition of Parashuram Chaturveid's *Mirābai Ki Padāvali* are appended at the end. An Index of poems has added to the worth of the work; a list of authorities quoted is useful and gives credibility to the translation and only a two-line corrigenda proves the care and caution observed in the printing. The translation is lucid and faithful and is couched in a language which is quite simple and readable. With the thorough knowledge of Śaṅkara and Post—Śankara Advaita Philosophy at the background, the author has tried to enter into the spirit of Mīrābai's devotional songs and has rendered them into simple English verse. It is neatly printed, nicely got up and reasonably priced.

श्रीदुर्गासप्तशती (हिन्दी व्याख्या सहित) व्याख्याकार तथा सम्पादक–डा० सत्यव्रतसिंह। प्रस्तावना लेखक --डा० गौरीनाथ शास्त्री। प्रकाशक—पौराणिक तथा वैदिक अध्ययन एवं अनुसन्धान-संस्थान, नैमिषारण्य, सीतापुर, १९८३। पृष्ठ १८+१७७. विशिष्ट संस्करण ४०-०० रु०, सामान्य संस्करण २५-०० रु०।

समीक्षा—डा० **श्रीमती प्रीति सिनहा**, सी–९५४/९५५, सेक्टर बी, महानगर, लखनऊ–२२६००६

मार्कण्डेयपुराणान्तर्गत श्रीदेवीमाहात्म्य (श्रीदुर्गासप्तशती) शाक्तोपासकों में अत्यन्त प्रचलित है। यद्यपि शाक्तोपासना का मूल स्रोत आगमों में माना जाता है, इसके बीज निगमों में भी उपलब्ध होते हैं। मार्कण्डेयपुराण के अनुसार चण्डिका अथवा शक्ति का अस्तित्व सृष्टि के पूर्व भी था। सृष्टि के आदि में चण्डिका ही महालक्ष्मी के रूप में मान्य हुई। महालक्ष्मी की स्वयं के विस्तार की इच्छा से ही महाकाली का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ, जिसमें तमस् का प्राधान्य हुआ। सत्त्व गुण के प्राधान्य से एक तृतीय शक्ति अवतरित हुई जो महासरस्वती के रूप में प्रसिद्ध हुई। महालक्ष्मी, महाकाली और महासरस्वती की यही त्रयी शाक्तोपासना का आधार बनी। श्री दुर्गासप्तशती में इसी त्रयी के चरित्र तथा माहात्म्य का वर्णन है। महाभारतान्तर्गत श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता तथा मार्कण्डेयपुराणान्तर्गत श्री दुर्गासप्तशती समान रूप से प्रसिद्ध है। इन दोनों ग्रन्थों का पाठ-पारायण शैव, वैष्णव तथा शाक्त सभी में अत्यन्त प्रचलित है। वाराही तन्त्र के अनुसार जिस प्रकार समस्त यज्ञ-भाग में अश्वमेध और समस्त देववृन्द में भगवान् विष्णु का महत्त्व अप्रतिम है उसी प्रकार समस्त स्तोत्र-साहित्य में श्री दुर्गासप्तशती की महिमा भी अपूर्व है। हिन्दी सहित अनेक भाषाओं में श्री दुर्गासप्तशती के अनुवाद हो चुके हैं, किन्तु प्रस्तुत अनुवाद की अपनी एक विशेषता है। सभी अनुवादकों ने प्रत्येक पद्य को एक इकाई मानकर उनका स्वतन्त्र अनुवाद किया है, किन्तु प्रो० सिंह ने सम्पूर्ण श्री दुर्गासप्तशती की एक-वाक्यता को ध्यान में रखकर उसका अनुवाद किया है। भूमिका में मार्कण्डेय पुराण के प्रमुख प्रतिपाद्य के अन्तर्गत देवी-माहात्म्य और मार्कण्डेय पुराण का महामायादर्शन जैसे महत्वपूर्ण विषयों का प्रतिपादन किया गया है। विद्वान् अनुवादक ने श्री दुर्गासप्तशती के मर्म को कितनी भली-भाँति समझा है इसका अनुमान उनके द्वारा किये गये प्रथम अध्याय के विषय-प्रतिपादन से ही किया जा सकता है। उनके अनुसार इस अध्याय के प्रतिपाद्य विषय है सावार्णमन्वन्तर के वर्णन-प्रसङ्ग में बल के प्रतीक ऋषि सुमेधा के द्वारा क्षेत्र के प्रतीक महाराज सुरथ तथा वैश्यवर समाधि (विश् के प्रतीक) को आत्मज्ञान का उपदेश—इन्द्रियजन्य ज्ञान और आत्मज्ञान में भेद—पराशक्ति महामाया अथवा विष्णुमाया के शरणवरण में स्वात्मानुभूति की सिद्धि—स्वायम्भुव स्वारोचिष प्रभृति पूर्वमन्वन्तरों में भी महामाया के अनुग्रह से ब्रह्मा प्रजापति के महाविघ्न मधु और कैटभ नामक असुरों का विनाश। अनुवाद में शैली का बांकपन, भाषा की प्राञ्जलता तथा शब्दचयन पाठक को आकृष्ट करते हैं। एक उदाहरण पर्याप्त होगा—

स च सिंहो महानादमुत्सृजन् धुतकेसरः।
शरीरेभ्योऽमरारीणामसूनिव विचिन्वति ॥ (श्री दुर्गासप्तशती; २.६९)

'देवी का वाहन वह सिंह अपने केसर-कलाप हिला-हिलाकर भयङ्कर गर्जन-तर्जन, करता हुआ देवशत्रु दानवों के प्राण मानों उनके शरीरों से चुन-चुन कर बाहर निकालने लगा।'

परिशिष्ट (क) में मार्कण्डेय पुराण का देवीमाहात्म्य और दुर्गासप्तशती का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन, परिशिष्ट (ख) मे दुर्गासप्तशती की पाठविधि, दुर्गासप्तशती पाठ के प्रथम अङ्ग (देवी-कवच-पाठ), द्वितीय अङ्ग (अर्गला स्तोत्र-पाठ), तृतीय अङ्ग (कीलक-मन्त्र-पाठ), चतुर्थ अङ्ग (प्राधानिकरहस्य-पाठ), पञ्चम अङ्ग (वैकृतिरहस्य-पाठ) और षष्ठ अङ्ग (मूर्तिरहस्य-पाठ) का विवेचन किया गया है। परिशिष्ट ग, घ, ङ, च, छ और ज में क्रमशः कवच, अर्गला स्तोत्र, कीलक, प्राधानिक रहस्य, वैकृतिक रहस्य और मूर्तिरहस्य मूल रूप में सङ्कलित हैं। परिशिष्ट झ के अन्तर्गत श्री दुर्गासप्तशती के ध्यान-श्लोक का अध्ययन किया गया है। अनुवाद, मुद्रण, साज-सज्जा आदि सभी दृष्टियों से ग्रन्थ अत्यन्त उपादेय और ग्राह्य है।

संस्कृत काव्यशास्त्र को महिमभट्ट के देयांश का मूल्याङ्कन। लेखिका डा० (श्रीमती) ज्ञान देवी श्रीवास्तव। प्रकाशक श्री कमला प्रसाद, शिवनिलय, ५ जी, अलोपीबाग, इलाहाबाद। १९७६, पृष्ठ ११ + ४ + २१६ + ६ + ४. मूल्य ४०-०० रु०

समीक्षा–**डा० श्रीमती प्रीति सिनहा**, सी–९५४/९५५, सेक्टर 'बी', महानगर, लखनऊ-२२६००६

प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय द्वारा डी० फिल्० उपाधि के लिए स्वीकृत शोध प्रबन्ध का संशोधित रूप है। इसमें सात अध्याय हैं— प्रास्ताविक नामक प्रथम अध्याय महिमभट्ट के व्यक्तित्व, उनके समय तथा कर्तृत्व से सम्बद्ध है। द्वितीय अध्याय में महिमभट्ट कृत अनुमिति-वाद की स्थापना का विवेचन किया गया है। काव्यशास्त्र में अनुमितिवाद तृतीय अध्याय का विषय है। चतुर्थ अध्याय में रस के स्वरूप का महिमकृत विवेचन और उसका परीक्षण किया गया है। आचार्य महिमभट्ट की काव्यदोषविषयक कल्पना पंचम अध्याय का विषय है। षष्ठ अध्याय में महिमभट्ट की कुछ मौलिक उद्भावनायें दी गयी हैं। सप्तम अध्याय उपसंहारा-त्मक है।

डा० ज्ञानदेवी श्रीवास्तव के शोध-प्रवन्ध के पूर्व डा० व्रजमोहन चतुर्वेदी को भी इसी विषय पर डी० फिल्० की उपाधि प्राप्त हो चुकी थी और उनका शोध-प्रबन्ध प्रकाशित भी हो चुका था। श्रीमती श्रीवास्तव अवश्य ही डा० चतुर्वेदी के विचारों से प्रभावित हुई होंगी, तथापि उनकी प्रतिपादन शैली तथा निष्कर्ष मौलिक है। लेखिका की विवेचना शक्ति तथा चिन्तन की मौलिकता सराहनीय है, किन्तु वाक्य-विन्यास में शैथिल्य अवश्य खटक जाता है। उदाहरणार्थ—'उनका अधिकार न केवल साहित्यशास्त्र पर था अपितु दर्शन एवं व्याकरण शास्त्रों

पर भी उन्हें समान अधिकार था' (पृ० ३) :, 'दोष-विवेचन के प्रसङ्ग में बड़े-बड़े महाकवियों तक के पद्यों में दोषों की उद्भावना तथा उन दोषों के सुधारविषयक महिमा के सुझाव उनके सूक्ष्म सूझ-बूझ के परिचायक हैं, तो वृत्तों के दुःश्रत्व विषयक विवेचन उनके सहृदयत्व एवं उच्च कोटि कवित्व का' (पृ० ३); 'सम्भवत: मम्मट को महिमकृत विवेचन इतना पुष्ट प्रतीत हुआ कि उन्होंने उस विवेचन को उपस्थित करना अनावश्यक समझा केवल उसका निष्कर्ष देना ही पर्याप्त समझा' (पृ० १७८) इत्यादि । इस छोटे से दोष के रहते हुए भी ग्रन्थ की उपादेयता स्वयं सिद्ध है । विदुषी लेखिका ने एक दुरूह विषय का प्रतिपादन सफलतापूर्वक क्रिया है ।

ऋग्वेदीय आप्रीसूक्त (अध्ययन और व्याख्या) । लेखिका—डा० श्रीमती शशि तिवारी प्राक्कथन—डा० रसिक विहारी जोशी । प्रकाशक—भारतीय विद्या प्रकाशन २.१—यू० पी० बंगलो रोड, दिल्ली, १९८१ । पृ० ३४४ । मूल्य ७५-०० रु० ।

समीक्षा—**डा० श्रीमती प्रीति सिनहा**, सी—९५४/९५५, सेक्टर 'बी', महानगर, लखनऊ-२२६००६

आप्रीसूक्त सभी संहिताओं में उपलब्ध होते हैं, किन्तु ऋग्वेदीय आप्रीसूक्तों ने समान रूप से भारतीय तथा पाश्चात्य वेदभाष्यकारों का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है । ये सूक्त अपने स्वरूप और विषय के आधार पर याज्ञिक कहे जा सकते हैं । यास्क, शौनक आदि आचार्यों ने आप्री-मन्त्रों के देवताओं का विश्लेषण किया है तथा ब्राह्मणों और सूत्रग्रन्थों में उनके विनियोग की विवेचना की गयी है । यास्क आदि आचार्यों ने इन सूक्तों में स्तुत द्वादश आप्रीदेवताओं के विवेचन के अन्तर्गत इनके नामों का निर्वचन प्रस्तुत किया है । मैक्समूलर, ग्रासमैन, हाग, मैक्डानल, ब्लूमफील्ड, विण्टरनित्ज, ख़ोण्डा आदि पाश्चात्य विद्वानों ने भी इन सूक्तों के सम्बन्ध में कतिपय महत्त्वपूर्ण तथ्य प्रस्तुत किये हैं । प्रो० के० आर० पोतदार के विद्वत्तापूर्ण निबन्ध के अतिरिक्त ऋग्वेदीय आप्रीसूक्तों का समालोचनात्मक अध्ययन उपलब्ध नहीं होता है । इस न्यूनता की पूर्ति समीक्ष्य ग्रन्थ के द्वारा पूर्ण हुई है ।

प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ लेखिका के दीर्घकालीन अध्ययन और उसकी बौद्धिक परिपक्वता का फल है । ग्रन्थ तीन खण्डों में विभक्त है । प्रथम—अध्ययन—खण्ड के अन्तर्गत चार अध्यायों में ऋग्वेदीय आप्रीसूक्त के स्वरूप, उनके ऋषि और छन्द, उनके देवता और कर्मकाण्ड में उनके विनियोग का अध्ययन किया गया है । द्वितीय—व्याख्याखण्ड—में सभी दश आप्रीसूक्तों की व्याख्या की गयी है । परिशिष्ट में सन्दर्भग्रन्थसूची, नामपदानुक्रमणिका, व्याख्यात शब्दानुक्रमणिका तथा शुद्धि-पत्र सम्मिलित हैं । अध्ययन खण्ड में विदुषी लेखिका ने आप्रीसूक्तों का वैदुष्यपूर्ण समीक्षा-त्मक अध्ययन प्रस्तुत किया है । इसमें कुछ महत्त्वपूर्ण विषय हैं—आप्री शब्द का निर्वचन; वेद में आप्री नाम; ऋग्वेदीय आप्रीसूक्त और प्रैषसूक्त; आप्रीसूक्तों का वर्गीकरण, आप्रीसूक्त और

अवेस्ता की आफ़्रिन्गन स्तुतियां, आप्रीसूक्तों में प्राप्त काव्य-सौन्दर्य; आप्रीसूक्तों के ऋषि, छन्द और देवता; आप्रीसूक्तों का याज्ञिक स्वरूप; आप्रीसूक्तों से अभिप्रेत प्रारम्भिक कर्मकाण्ड का स्वरूप और प्रक्रिया; आप्रीसूक्तों के पुशयाग में विनियोग का आधार इत्यादि। छन्दो-विवेचन के प्रसङ्ग में प्रत्येक आप्रीसूक्त में प्रयुक्त छन्दों तथा उनके प्रविभागों का अध्ययन किया गया है। देवताओं का अध्ययन भी विविध व्याख्याओं के आधार पर उनके अग्निपरक और यज्ञाङ्गपरक रूपों में किया गया है। व्याख्या खण्ड में संहितापाठ, पदपाठ, प्राचीन आचार्यों की व्याख्याओं को देकर हिन्दी में मन्त्रार्थ दिया गया है। तदनन्तर विशेष तथा महत्त्वपूर्ण शब्दों के सम्बन्ध में विवेचनात्मक टिप्पणियां भी दी गयी हैं। इन टिप्पणियों में लेखिका का वैदुष्य, उसका गहन अध्ययन तथा उसकी विवेचनात्मक शक्ति स्पष्ट रूप से परिलक्षित होती है।

अच्छा होता कि ग्रन्थ के मुद्रण में भी अध्ययन के अनुरूप सावधानी रखी जाती, जिससे अवाञ्छित रूप से दीर्घ शुद्धिपत्र की आवश्यकता न पड़ती।

THE PARROT AND THE STARLING--Translation by K. P. Bahadur. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi. 1977. Pp. XI+183. Price Rs. 70.

Reviewed by **Dr. (Mrs.) Priti Sinha**, C—954/955, Sector B, Mahanagar, Lucknow—226 006

The book under review is an English translation of the collection of 32 stories in Hindustani, Entitled '*Qissā tolā-mainā*'. These popular tales have delighted readers for a very long time. In the words of the author of the tales, their aim is 'the entertainment of amorous people', because they are full of love and romance. In this respect these tales are not delighting to amorous people only, but they can be enjoyed by men and women of all tastes and temperament, because, as Ānandavardhana says, the sentiment of love is most pleasing in as much as it touches the heart not only of the human beings, but also that of other creatures. The tales also aim at revealing to the readers situations of guile and cunning so that he can avoid them--'friends, whoever reads and hears these tales, can never be deceived by another'.

The tales are in the form of a dialogue between a parrot and a starling, who, per chance, are sitting on the same tree. In course of their conversation they start quarrelling, the point being the nature of men and women. While the parrot takes side with men and asserts that there is no

such a treacherous creature on the earth as a woman, the starling, taking side with women and refuting the assertion of the parrot, charges men for being abominable. To support their assertion the parrot and the starling go on narrating tales after tales, which lay bare before the readers the whole gamut of treachery, deceit, cunning and stubbornness of both sexes. Interestingly the quarrel is settled by the mediation of a swan who flies in and gets the two married !

The tales narrated by the parrot and the starling describe amours of all kinds between servants and mistresses, wives and lovers, princes and princesses, and even between humans and superhumans. They are amorous without being obscene. Mostly the lovers are of royal blood. Generally the love affair is between a princess and a chief Police Officer of a city (Kotwal). Supernatural powers also play an important role in the tales. Alongwith love, the primary object of men and women described in the tales is adventure and they get pleasure in travelling to far off and, sometimes, to unknown lands.

Pandit Rangilal, as the name of the author of the tales is, appears to be a pseudonym of some happy-go-lucky and jovial man because the term *'raṅgi'* itself means one who is jovial or passionate.

The translator has succeeded in maintaining the flow and flavour of the tales throughout. To achieve this end he has omitted the verses interposed in the narrative. He has also condensed, and in some places modified, the tales to make them more acceptable to the modern readers. The translation is free and reads like the original. In the footnotes the learned translator has explained some technical aud obscure terms and phrases. It will certainly help the readers, not well versed with Indian mythology, social system, and beliefs as well as Hindustani terminology.

The publishers appear to have kept in mind the foreign readers in printing, get-up and price of the book.

करुण-रस—सिद्धान्त तथा प्रयोग (वाल्मीकि रामायण और महाकाव्यों में—श्रीहर्षपर्यन्त)। लेखिका—डा० (श्रीमती) प्रीति सिन्हा। प्रकाशक-भारती प्रकाशन, धर्मसंघ, दुर्गाकुण्ड रोड, वाराणसी, १९८३। पृष्ठ १५+३२६, मूल्य ८५.०० रु०

समीक्षा—डा० **अशोक कुमार कालिया,** संस्कृत तथा प्राकृत-भाषा विभाग, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय

प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय द्वारा डी० फिल्० उपाधि के लिए स्वीकृत शोध प्रबन्ध का संशोधित तथा परिष्कृत रूपान्तर है। प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ दो खण्डों में विभक्त है। प्रथम खण्ड में करुण रस के सिद्धान्तपक्ष का निरूपण किया गया है और द्वितीय खण्ड विवेच्य अवधि में रचित महाकाव्यों में करुणरस के प्रयोग से सम्बद्ध है। द्वितीय खण्ड तीन उपखण्डों में विभक्त है। प्रथम उपखण्ड में महाकाव्यों की परम्परा पर विचार प्रस्तुत किया गया है, द्वितीय उपखण्ड में उक्त अवधि में विरचित महाकाव्यों में करुणरस के परिपाक का विवेचन है और तृतीय उपखण्ड में इन महाकाव्यों में परिपुष्ठ करुणरस का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन किया गया है। ग्रन्थ सात अध्यायों में विभक्त है—(१) करुण-रस-विचार, (२) करुणरस—सिद्धान्त पक्ष, (३) करुणरस-तद्विषयक विविध तत्व (४) करुण तथा करुण-विप्रलम्भ—भेद-निरूपण, (५) करुण-रस—आस्वाद, (६) महाकाव्यों में करुणरस—प्रयोग की दृष्टि से (७) करुणरस—काव्यगत स्थिति। 'महाकाव्यों में करुण प्रयोग की दृष्टि से' नामक छठे अध्याय में जिन महाकाव्यों का अध्ययन किया गया है, वे हैं—रामायण, महाभारत, बुद्धचरित, सौन्दरनन्द, कुमारसम्भव, रघुवंश, भट्टिकाव्य, जानकीहरण, रावणार्जुनीय, वराङ्गचरित, रामचरित, युधिष्ठिरविजय, जिनदत्तचरित, द्विसन्धान, प्रद्युम्नचरित, नेमिनिर्वाण, विक्रमाङ्केदेवचरित, दशावतारचरित, चन्द्रप्रभचरित, पार्श्वनाथचरित यशोधरचरित, रामचरित, रामचरित अथवा रामपालचरित, राघवपाण्डवीय और नैषधीय चरित। परिशिष्ट में सहायक-ग्रन्थ-सूची, शब्दानुक्रम और शुद्धि-पत्र दिये गये हैं।

ग्रन्थ में आद्योपान्त लेखिका के वैदुष्य, उसकी विवेचना शक्ति तथा प्रतिपादन शैली की नवीनता की झलक प्राप्त होती है। सिद्धान्त पक्ष में लेखिका के रसशास्त्र विषयक गहन ज्ञान तथा प्रयोग पक्ष में उसकी भावयित्री प्रतिभा का प्रमाण उपलब्ध होता है। वैसे तो समस्त ग्रन्थ ही उपादेय हैं, किन्तु करुणरसविषयक विभिन्न तत्त्वों से सम्बद्ध तृतीय अध्याय विशेष रूप से रोचक है। उसमें विदुषी लेखिका ने करुण रस के प्रसङ्ग में गुणों तथा रीतियों के विवेचन के अति-रिक्त उसके देवता—यम, उसके वर्ण, उसके अनुकूल छन्दों तथा करुण के प्रसङ्ग में अर्द्धरात्रि का सम्यक् रूप से विवेचन किया है। सिद्धान्तपक्ष नामक द्वितीय अध्याय में करुण रस के उद्भव और विकास, करुण शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति, उसके स्वरूप-विवेचन, करुणाभास, करुण रस की सामग्री, उसके विभाव, अनुभाव, सात्त्विकभाव, व्यभिचारी भाव तथा रसों के क्रम में करुण की गणना हास्य के बाद ही क्यों इत्यादि विषयों का निरूपण भी समीक्षात्मक ढङ्ग से किया गया

है। आस्वादविषयक पांचवां अध्याय भी लेखिका की चिन्तनशक्ति तथा उसकी मौलिक प्रतिपादन शैली का परिचायक है।

मुद्रण सम्बन्धी छोटी-बड़ी त्रुटियां अवश्य खटकतीं हैं, किन्तु उससे ग्रन्थ के महत्व और उसकी उपादेयता पर कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ता है।

UPANIṢADIC SYMBOLISM by Dr. Satya Prakash Singh, Meharchand Lachhmandas, New Delhi, 1981. IX+475. Pp. Rs. 150/-.

Reviewed by **Dr. Harsh Narain**, 42/59, Ram Ratan Bajpai Road, Narhi, Lucknow.

This book is a comprehensive account of Upaniṣadic symbolism. It serves to open rather a new panorama of Upaniṣadic thought. There are books and books on the history and metaphysics of the Upaniṣads but none, to the best of our knowledge, on the symbolism enshrined in them, on the psychology behind their thought–structure. This book ventures to fill this vacuum.

The author brings a lot of deliberation on symbols, Indian as well as foreign, to bear on his disquisition on Upaniṣadic symbolism. He claims, not without justification, to reorient and develop the psychology of symbolization as worked out by Freud, Jung, Whitehead, Urban, Langer, and Cassirer, by bringing these to the radiance of the Upaniṣadic thought.

The author takes his que from Bādarāyaṇa, the putative author of the great *Brahma-Sūtra*, who provides illuminating explanations of certain significantly symbolic expressions of the Upaniṣads. In the treatment of his topic, Dr. Singh has a method seldom adopted by the commentators of the Upaniṣads, traditional or modern. The Upaniṣads are generally dealt with as if they were independent treatises of a particular genre. The fact of the matter, however, is that they are in the nature of a superstructure raised on the substructure of the Vedic hymns. Therefore, they need to be interpreted against the hymnal background for a fuller grasp of their import. Professor Singh is fully conscious of it. For his purpose, the Vedic hymns provide the spacious background against which the hints of Bādarāyaṇa could be systematized and built into a system.

This method has served a double purpose in Dr. Singh's project. It throws the Upaniṣadic world-view into bolder relief as well as provides a key to a better understanding of the Vedic hymns, as also the Brāhmaṇas, which at the hands of the author no longer remain merely Karmakāṇḍic. Indeed, there appears to be enough force in his contention that 'the intermixture of the spiritual and the gross physical in the Saṃhitās has been a matter of constant tug-of-war in the history of Vedic exegesis.... Through the application of the symbolic viewpoint of the present work, not only the spiritual content would be given its rightful place but the rest of the element also would receive cognition in an undistorted form'.

All the same, there is room for disagreement with the author on certain suggestions in the book stressing the spiritualistic interpretation.

The book has four parts with an introduction prefixed. Part One deals with Symbols of Ātman, Two with Symbols of Brahman, Three with Symbols of Devotion, and the last with Symbolic Usage and Metaphysics. The Introduction critically examines the theories of symbolism current today.

According to the author, the Upaniṣads are like a big worship of symbols showing all probable stages of formation. As a whole, the symbols 'are explicable, neither in terms of magic, nor in those of the unconscious, neither in terms of perception nor in those of conception, neither in terms of self-expression nor in those of mystic exposition exclusively'. The Upaniṣadic symbolism involves all these, to be judiciously combined for better understanding.

Dr. Singh appears to follow Sri Aurobindo's approach to the Upaniṣads to a considerable extent without committing himself to his view that the symbolim is purely mystic.

Sri Aurobindo binds the Upaniṣads to the Vedic Saṃhitās rather inextricably, but leaves the Brāhmaṇas wholly out of account. This is the line adopted by Dr. Singh also. It is Madhusudana Ojha who appears to have been the first to evolve a method of synthetizing the Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads etc. and reducing the welter of their symbols to something like a system or supersystems. One wishes Dr. Singh had taken notice of Ojha alongside of Aurobindo.

The book under review is very well written one and a must for students of, not only the Upaniṣads, but also Vedic hymns.

A small lapse on the part of the author needs to be pointed out here. The seer of the *Vāgāmbhriṇi* hymn is a female and not a male as inadvertently indicated by the use of 'himself' on page 59.

Professor Singh has produced authoritative accounts of the philosophies of Sri Aurobindo and Whitehead vis-à-vis the nature of God as well as of Aurobindo and Jung vis-à-vis Yoga annd Depth Psychology. The book under review promises to place him in the galaxy of the paragons of Vedic-Upaniṣadic scholarship.

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घोषणा–पत्र

समाचारपत्र-रजिस्ट्रीकरण (केन्द्रीय) नियमावली, १९५६ के नियम ८ (१) के अधीन प्रकाशितव्य स्वामित्व-सम्बन्धी तथा अन्य ब्यौरे।

प्रारूप चार

१—प्रकाशन का स्थान—अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, महात्मा गांधी मार्ग,
हज़रतगंज, लखनऊ।

२—प्रकाशन की कालिकता—षाण्मासिक

३—मुद्रक का— [१] नाम—श्री विश्वमोहन
[२] राष्ट्रिकता—भारतीय
[३] पता—प्नार मुद्रक, ११७ नज़ीराबाद, लखनऊ—२२६००१

४—प्रकाशक का— [१] नाम—डॉ० जगदम्बा प्रसाद सिनहा
[२] राष्ट्रिकता—भारतीय
[३] पता—सी० १, युनिवर्सिटी फ्लैट्स, गोकरन नाथ रोड,
लखनऊ—२२६००७

५—सम्पादक का— [१] नाम—डॉ० जगदम्बा प्रसाद सिनहा
[२] राष्ट्रिकता—भारतीय
[३] पता—सी० १, युनिवर्सिटी फ्लैट्स, गोकरननाथ रोड,
लखनऊ—२२६००७

६—स्वामी का नाम और पता—अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्,
महात्मा गांधी मार्ग, हज़रतगंज, लखनऊ—२२६००१

मैं, जगदम्बा प्रसाद सिनहा, एतद् द्वारा घोषित करता हूं कि ऊपर दिये हुये ब्योरे मेरे पूर्णतम ज्ञान और विश्वास के अनुसार सत्य हैं।

(ह०) जगदम्बा प्रसाद सिनहा
प्रकाशक [अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्,
लखनऊ की ओर से]

